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PROCEEDINGS OF THE
BRITISH ACADEMY
1944

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LIST OF FELLOWS, 1944

- †³⁶ Professor F. E. ADCOCK, O.B.E.
- ⁴¹ Mr. J. ALLAN.
- ⁴⁴ Dr. C. K. ALLEN.
- ⁴² Mr. T. W. ALLEN.
- ³⁸ Professor B. ASHMOLE.
- ³⁸ The Rt. Hon. Lord ATKIN (d. 25 June).
- ³³ Dr. C. BAILEY, C.B.E.
- ⁴⁴ Professor H. W. BAILEY.
- ³⁶ Mr. E. A. BARBER.
- ³⁶ Dr. L. D. BARNETT, C.B.
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- ³⁷ Professor J. D. BEAZLEY.
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- ⁴⁴ The Rev. Professor J. F. BETHUNE-BAKER.
- ³⁷ Sir W. H. BEVERIDGE, K.C.B., M.P.
- ³³ Professor A. L. BOWLEY, C.B.E.
- ³² Dr. C. M. BOWRA.
- ³⁶ Professor C. D. BROAD.
- ⁴⁰ Professor Z. N. BROOKE.
- ⁴⁰ Professor W. W. BUCKLAND.
- ³⁷ Dr. W. H. BUCKLER.
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- ⁴⁴ Miss G. CATON THOMPSON.
- ²⁵ Professor H. M. CHADWICK.
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- ³³ Professor S. A. COOK.
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- ³¹ Sir WILLIAM A. CRAIGIE.
- ³¹ Dr. W. E. CRUM (d. 18 May).
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- ³³ Professor R. M. DAWKINS.
- ⁴³ Mr. CHRISTOPHER DAWSON.
- ³⁷ Mr. J. D. DENNISTON, O.B.E.
- ⁴² Professor E. R. DODDS.
- ³⁹ Dr. CAMPBELL DODGSON, C.B.E.
- ³⁹ Professor G. R. DRIVER.
- ³⁰ Professor J. WIGHT DUFF (d. 8 Dec.).
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- ²⁴ Professor H. D. HAZELTINE.
- ⁴² Professor J. R. HICKS.
- ¹⁷ Sir G. F. HILL, K.C.B.
- ²² Sir W. S. HOLDSWORTH, O.M., K.C. (d. 2 Jan.).
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- ⁴⁴ Dr. W. H. S. JONES.
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- ⁸ Sir F. G. KENYON, G.B.E., K.C.B.
- ²⁹ The Rt. Hon. Lord KEYNES, C.B.
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- ³³ Professor R. W. LEE.
- ²³ Dr. A. G. LITTLE.
- ³⁰ Sir J. E. LLOYD.
- ¹⁴ Dr. J. W. MACKAIL, O.M.
- ³⁴ Dr. NORMAN McLEAN.
- ³⁹ Sir A. D. McNAIR, C.B.E.
- ³⁶ Sir JOHN MARSHALL, C.I.E.
- ³² Dr. W. MILLER.
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- ³⁴ Dr. A. W. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE.
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- ³⁰ Dr. A. F. POLLARD.
- ²² Dr. A. W. POLLARD, C.B. (d. 8 March).
- ³⁷ Professor F. M. POWICKE.
- ⁴⁰ Professor EDGAR PRESTAGE.
- ²⁸ Professor C. W. PREVITÉ-ORTON.
- ⁴³ Professor H. H. PRICE.
- ³³ Professor H. A. PRICHARD.
- ⁴¹ Dr. F. J. E. RABY, C.B.
- ³⁹ Sir SARVEPALLI RADHAKRISHNAN.
- ³⁸ Dr. D. RANDALL-MACIVER.

† The year of election is indicated by the number: e.g. 4 = 1904; 13 = 1913.

LIST OF FELLOWS, 1944 (*continued*)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>³⁷ Admiral Sir HERBERT W. RICHMOND, K.C.B.
 ⁴² Professor L. C. ROBBINS, C.B.
 ³² Professor D. H. ROBERTSON, C.M.G.
 ⁴⁰ Professor D. S. ROBERTSON.
 ⁴¹ Mr. E. S. G. ROBINSON.
 ³⁴ Professor H. J. ROSE.
 ³⁷ Sir W. D. ROSS, K.B.E.
 ³⁰ The Rev. H. E. SALTER.
 ⁴⁴ Dr. F. SAXL.
 ³² Professor R. W. SETON-WATSON.
 ⁴¹ Mr. K. SISAM.
 ³² Professor D. NICHOL SMITH.
 ³⁴ Professor N. KEMP SMITH.
 ⁴¹ Professor SIDNEY SMITH.
 ²⁸ Professor ALEXANDER SOUTER.
 ²⁶ Professor F. M. STENTON.
 ³ Professor G. F. STOUT (d. 18 Aug.).
 ⁴⁴ Professor R. SYME.
 ²⁸ Dr. W. W. TARN.
 ³⁴ Professor R. H. TAWNEY.
 ¹¹ Professor A. E. TAYLOR.
 ³⁵ The Rev. Dr. F. R. TENNANT.
 ²⁷ Professor F. W. THOMAS, C.I.E.</p> | <p>³⁴ Dr. H. THOMAS.
 ²⁸ Professor A. HAMILTON THOMPSON, C.B.E.
 ²⁹ Dr. MARCUS N. TOD, O.B.E.
 ³⁷ Professor ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE.
 ²⁵ Dr. GEORGE M. TREVELYAN, O.M., C.B.E.
 ³¹ Mr. G. J. TURNER.
 ⁴² Professor R. L. TURNER.
 ⁴¹ Professor H. T. WADE-GERY.
 ³⁷ Dr. C. C. J. WEBB.
 ³⁰ Professor C. K. WEBSTER.
 ⁴¹ Dr. R. E. MORTIMER WHEELER.
 ³¹ Professor A. N. WHITEHEAD.
 ³⁵ Professor BASIL WILLIAMS, O.B.E.
 ⁴⁴ Mr. H. H. WILLIAMS.
 ³⁸ Professor IFOR WILLIAMS.
 ⁴³ Professor F. P. WILSON.
 ³¹ Professor J. DOVER WILSON, C.H.
 ³⁴ Professor P. H. WINFIELD.
 ⁴⁰ The Rt. Hon. Lord WRIGHT.
 ²⁹ The Most Hon. the Marquess of ZETLAND, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
 ²⁹ Professor F. de ZULUETA.</p> |
|---|--|

RETIRED FELLOWS, 1944

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>³⁴ Mr. E. W. BROOKS.
 ³⁵ Professor A. BERRIEDALE KEITH (d. 6 Oct.).</p> | <p>²¹ Professor JAMES TAIT (d. 4 July).
 ³³ Sir HERBERT THOMPSON, Bart. (d. 26 May).</p> |
|--|--|

CORRESPONDING FELLOWS, 1944

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>³³ The Duke of BERWICK AND ALBA (Spain).
 ³⁷ Professor JOSEPH BIDEZ (Belgium).
 ³⁸ Professor ETTORE BIGNONE (Italy).
 ⁴² Professor CAMPBELL BONNER (U.S.A.).
 ²³ M. JEAN CAPART (Belgium).
 ³⁵ Senatore BENEDETTO CROCE (Italy).
 ¹⁶ M. F. CUMONT (Belgium).
 ³⁷ Professor CHARLES DIEHL (France) (d. 2 Nov.).
 ³⁷ M. RENÉ DUSSAUD (France).
 ³⁷ Professor EILERT EKWALL (Sweden).
 ⁴² Professor W. S. FERGUSON (U.S.A.).
 ³⁴ Professor MAX FÖRSTER (Germany).
 ³⁹ M. ALFRED FOUCHER (France).
 ²⁸ Professor WILHELM GEIGER (Germany).
 ²⁷ Professor ÉTIENNE GILSON (France).
 ³⁶ Dr. PAUL JACOBSTHAL (Germany).
 ²⁷ Professor WERNER JAEGER (Germany).
 ²⁹ M. PIERRE JOUGUET (France).
 ³⁸ Professor PAUL KEHR (Germany).</p> | <p>³¹ Professor HALVDAN KOHT (Norway).
 ⁴⁴ Dom HENRI LECLERCQ, O.S.B. (France).
 ⁴² Professor PAUL LEHMANN (Germany).
 ³⁶ Professor H. L. LÉVY-ULLMANN (France).
 ³¹ Professor EINAR LÖFSTEDT (Sweden).
 ³⁵ Professor FERDINAND LOT (France).
 ²⁸ Professor E. A. LOWE (U.S.A.).
 ³⁶ Professor J. LIVINGSTON LOWES (U.S.A.).
 ⁴¹ Dr. PAUL MAAS (Germany).
 ⁴¹ Professor C. H. McILWAIN (U.S.A.).
 ³⁸ M. ÉMILE MÂLE (France).
 ²⁰ Professor RAMÓN MENÉNDEZ PIDAL (Spain).
 ⁴⁰ Professor B. D. MERITT (U.S.A.).
 ⁴³ Professor VLADIMIR MINORSKY (Russia).
 ³⁹ Professor MARTIN P. NILSSON (Sweden).
 ⁴³ Professor A. D. NOCK (U.S.A.).
 ³⁸ Professor WALTER OTTO (Germany).</p> |
|--|--|

CORRESPONDING FELLOWS, 1944 (*continued*)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>³¹ Professor PAUL PELLIOU (France).
 ⁴⁰ M. CHARLES PETIT-DUTAILLIS (France).
 ⁴⁰ Professor ROSCOE POUND (U.S.A.).
 ³⁸ Professor LUDWIG RADERMACHER (Germany).
 ³⁷ Professor EDWARD KENNARD RAND (U.S.A.).
 ¹⁷ Professor MIKHAIL ROSTOVITZ (U.S.A.).
 ³⁸ Dr. HAAKON SHETELIG (Norway).</p> | <p>³⁶ Professor JYUN TAKAKUSU (Japan).
 ⁴⁰ Professor A. M. TALLGREN (Finland).
 ⁴⁴ Professor E. V. TARLÉ (Russia).
 ⁴⁴ Professor TSCHEN YINKOH (China).
 ³⁹ Père L. HUGUES VINCENT (France).
 ²⁶ Professor ULRICH WILCKEN (Germany) (d. Dec.).
 ³¹ Professor ADOLF WILHELM (Germany).
 ²³ Professor THADDEUS ZIELINSKI (Poland) (d. 8 May).</p> |
|---|---|

DECEASED FELLOWS, 1944

ORDINARY

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>¹³ The Rev. Dr. E. A. ABBOTT.
 ³⁷ Dr. LASCELLES ABERCROMBIE.
 ¹³ Professor SAMUEL ALEXANDER, O.M.
 ²³ Dr. P. S. ALLEN.
 [*] The Rt. Hon. Sir W. R. ANSON, Bart.
 ⁵ Mr. EDWARD ARMSTRONG.
 ²⁶ Sir T. W. ARNOLD, C.I.E.
 ²⁷ Dr. THOMAS ASHBY.
 ³⁸ The Rt. Hon. Lord ATKIN.
 [*] The Rt. Hon. the Earl of BALFOUR, K.G., O.M.
 ⁴² Dr. E. R. BEVAN, O.B.E.
 ³⁰ Dr. J. BONAR.
 ³ Professor B. BOSANQUET.
 ¹⁰ Dr. A. C. BRADLEY.
 ⁷ Dr. HENRY BRADLEY.
 ²⁶ The Rev. F. E. BRIGHTMAN.
 ³⁴ The Rev. Dr. A. E. BROOKE.
 ²⁴ Professor G. BALDWIN BROWN.
 ³ Professor HUME BROWN.
 ³ Professor E. G. BROWNE.
 [*] The Rt. Hon. Viscount BRYCE, O.M.
 ⁵ Professor F. C. BURKITT.
 ¹⁰ Professor JOHN BURNET.
 [*] Professor J. B. BURY.
 [*] Mr. S. H. BUTCHER.
 [*] Mr. INGRAM BYWATER.
 [*] Dr. EDWARD CAIRD.
 ³⁸ The Rev. Dr. A. J. CARLYLE.
 ²⁷ The Rt. Hon. Lord CHALMERS, G.C.B.
 ²⁷ Professor R. W. CHAMBERS.
 ⁶ The Ven. Archdeacon CHARLES.
 ⁴ The Rev. Professor T. K. CHEYNE.
 ¹⁰ Dr. A. C. CLARK.
 ³ The Rt. Hon. ARTHUR COHEN, K.C.
 ³⁴ Professor R. G. COLLINGWOOD.
 ¹⁸ Professor R. S. CONWAY.
 ³ Dr. F. C. CONYBEARE.
 ³⁷ Professor F. M. CORNFORD.
 ⁶ Dr. W. J. COURTHOPE, C.B.
 [*] Professor E. B. COWELL.
 ¹⁹ Sir ARTHUR E. COWLEY.</p> | <p>³⁹ The Rev. Professor J. M. CREED.
 ²³ Dr. WILLIAM CROOKE, C.I.E.
 ³¹ Dr. W. E. CRUM.
 [*] The Ven. Archdeacon CUNNINGHAM.
 ⁸ The Most Hon. the Marquess CURZON OF KEDLESTON, K.G.
 ²⁷ The Most Rev. C. F. D'ARCY.
 ⁵ The Rt. Hon. Lord DAVEY.
 [*] Professor T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.
 ²⁵ Professor H. W. C. DAVIS, C.B.E.
 ³⁸ Professor W. G. DE BURGH.
 [*] Professor A. V. DICEY, K.C.
 [*] The Rt. Hon. Viscount DILLON, C.H.
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 ³⁰ Professor J. WIGHT DUFF.
 ³ Professor F. Y. EDGEWORTH.
 [*] Professor ROBINSON ELLIS.
 [*] Sir A. J. EVANS.
 [*] The Rev. A. M. FAIRBAIRN.
 ¹⁶ Dr. L. R. FARNELL.
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 ⁵ Professor H. S. FOXWELL.
 ³ Professor A. CAMPBELL FRASER.
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 ²⁵ Professor E. G. GARDNER.
 ³ Professor P. GARDNER.
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 [*] Sir ISRAEL GOLLANZ.
 ⁵ The Rt. Hon. Lord GOSCHEN.
 ⁵ Professor B. P. GRENFELL.
 ²⁴ Professor F. LLEWELLYN GRIFFITH.
 ¹⁴ The Rt. Hon. Viscount HALDANE, K.T., O.M.
 ²⁶ Dr. H. R. H. HALL.</p> |
|--|---|

* One of the First Fellows.

DECEASED FELLOWS, 1944 (continued)

- ⁴ Professor F. J. HAVERFIELD.
- ²² Sir T. L. HEATH, K.C.B., K.C.V.O.
- ²⁸ Professor C. H. HERFORD.
- ²⁷ Professor G. DAWES HICKS.
- ²⁶ Professor A. PEARCE HIGGINS, C.B.E., K.C.
- ²⁵ Professor L. T. HOBHOUSE.
- * Dr. THOMAS HODGKIN.
- * Dr. S. H. HODGSON.
- ⁵ Dr. D. G. HOGARTH, C.M.G.
- ²² Sir W. S. HOLDSWORTH, O.M., K.C.
- * Sir T. ERSKINE HOLLAND, K.C.
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- ³ Dr. M. R. JAMES, O.M.
- * Sir R. C. JEBB, O.M.
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- ²³ Mr. W. E. JOHNSON.
- ⁴ Sir HENRY JONES, C.H.
- ¹⁵ Sir H. STUART JONES.
- ³⁰ Mr. H. W. B. JOSEPH.
- ⁹ The Rt. Hon. Lord Justice KENNEDY.
- ⁹ Professor C. S. KENNY.
- ³ Professor W. P. KER.
- ²⁴ Mr. C. L. KINGSFORD.
- ⁶ Mr. ANDREW LANG.
- ³¹ Professor S. H. LANGDON.
- * The Rt. Hon. W. E. H. LECKY, O.M.
- ¹⁰ Sir SIDNEY LEE.
- ³ The Rt. Hon. Lord LINDLEY.
- ⁵ Professor W. M. LINDSAY.
- ³ The Rt. Hon. Sir A. LYALL, G.C.I.E., K.C.B.
- ¹⁵ Sir CHARLES J. LYALL, K.C.S.I.
- ¹³ Sir GEORGE MACDONALD, K.C.B.
- ⁶ Professor A. A. MACDONELL.
- ¹³ Sir JOHN MACDONELL, K.C.B.
- ³⁴ Professor J. S. MACKENZIE.
- ³² Dr. R. B. MCKERROW.
- ⁶ Dr. J. ELLIS McTAGGART.
- * Professor F. W. MAITLAND.
- ³¹ Dr. R. R. MARETT.
- ¹⁵ Professor D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.
- * Professor ALFRED MARSHALL.
- ³⁰ Sir ALLEN MAWER.
- * Sir H. C. MAXWELL-LYTE, K.C.B.
- * The Rev. Professor J. E. B. MAYOR.
- * Mr. D. B. MONRO.
- ⁶ The Rev. Canon MOORE.
- ³ Professor W. R. MORFILL.
- * The Rt. Hon. Viscount MORLEY, O.M.
- ³¹ Professor J. H. MUIRHEAD.
- ³ Dr. A. S. MURRAY.
- * Sir JAMES A. H. MURRAY.
- ⁴ Professor A. S. NAPIER.
- ¹⁵ Mr. W. L. NEWMAN.
- ³ Professor J. S. NICHOLSON.
- ²⁸ The Rev. Dr. J. W. OMAN.
- ²⁴ Professor A. C. PEARSON.
- ⁴ Dr. JOHN PEILE.
- * Professor H. F. PELHAM.
- ⁴ Sir W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.
- ²⁴ The Rev. Dr. C. PLUMMER.
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- ⁷ Professor J. P. POSTGATE.
- ⁴ Professor A. SETH PRINGLE-PATTISON.
- ³ Sir GEORGE W. PROTHERO, K.B.E.
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- ⁴ Sir WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.
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- * The Rev. Professor WILLIAMS SANDAY.
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- ¹⁵ Professor W. R. SCOTT.
- ²⁷ Professor E. de SELINCOURT.
- ²⁹ Mr. A. F. SHAND.
- ⁴⁰ Dr. W. A. SHAW.
- * The Rev. Professor W. W. SKEAT.
- ²⁹ Professor D. A. SLATER.
- ²⁴ Mr. A. HAMILTON SMITH, C.B.
- ¹⁰ The Very Rev. Sir GEORGE ADAM SMITH.
- ³³ Professor G. C. MOORE SMITH.
- ⁵ Professor W. R. SORLEY.
- ²⁵ The Rt. Hon. Lord STAMP, G.C.B., G.B.E.
- ²¹ Sir AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E.
- * Sir LESLIE STEPHEN.
- * Dr. WHITLEY STOKES, C.S.I., C.I.E.
- ³ Professor G. F. STOUT.
- ²⁵ The Rev. Canon B. H. STREETER.
- * The Rev. Professor H. B. SWETE.
- ²⁷ Professor H. W. V. TEMPERLEY, O.B.E.
- ²⁵ Sir RICHARD TEMPLE, Bart., C.B., C.I.E.
- * Sir E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, G.C.B.
- ³⁴ Dr. R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON.
- ¹¹ Professor T. F. TOUT.
- ¹⁹ Dr. PAGET TOYNBEE.
- * The Rev. H. F. TOZER.

DECEASED FELLOWS, 1944 (*continued*)

- ⁴ The Rt. Hon. Sir GEORGE O. TREVELYAN, Bart., O.M.
- * Professor R. Y. TYRRELL.
- ⁵ Sir PAUL VINOGRADOFF.
- ⁴ Sir SPENCER WALPOLE, K.C.B.
- * Sir A. W. WARD.
- * Professor JAMES WARD.

- ⁶ Sir G. F. WARNER.
- ³¹ Mrs. BEATRICE WEBB.
- ³² The Very Rev. H. J. WHITE.
- ⁷ Professor J. COOK WILSON.
- ⁵ The Rt. Rev. JOHN WORDSWORTH.
- ⁴ Professor JOSEPH WRIGHT.

RETIRED

- ¹⁶ Professor A. A. BEVAN.
- ¹⁷ Sir GEORGE A. GRIERSON, O.M., K.C.I.E.
- ²⁷ Dr. J. RENDEL HARRIS.
- ⁸⁵ Professor A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.
- * Sir W. M. RAMSAY.
- ³³ Dr. J. HOLLAND ROSE.
- ²⁶ Dr. F. C. S. SCHILLER.
- ²¹ Professor JAMES TAIT.
- ⁸³ Sir HERBERT THOMPSON, Bart.
- ⁹ Professor CUTHBERT H. TURNER.

HONORARY

- ²³ Dr. FRANCIS HERBERT BRADLEY, O.M.
- ²¹ The Rt. Rev. Bishop G. FORREST BROWNE.
- ¹⁶ The Rt. Hon. the Earl of CROMER, G.C.B., O.M.
- ²⁰ Dr. CHARLES MONTAGU DOUGHTY.
- ¹⁸ The Rt. Hon. Sir SAMUEL WALKER GRIFFITH, G.C.M.G.
- ²⁵ The Rt. Hon. Lord PHILLIMORE.
- ²⁰ The Rev. Professor A. H. SAYCE.
- ³⁸ The Rt. Hon. Viscount WAKEFIELD, G.C.V.O., C.B.E.

CORRESPONDING

- ⁴ Count UGO BALZANI (Italy).
- ¹⁴ M. CHARLES BÉMONT (France).
- ¹¹ M. HENRI BERGSON (France).
- ¹⁷ M. CHARLES BORGEAUD (Switzerland).
- ⁷ M. ÉMILE BOUTROUX (France).
- ³⁴ Dr. JAMES H. BREASTED (U.S.A.).
- ¹³ Professor F. K. BRUGMANN (Germany).
- ¹⁷ Professor ÉMILE CARTAILLAC (France).
- ¹⁸ Senatore DOMENICO COMPARETTI (Italy).
- ³⁰ M. HENRI CORDIER (France).
- ¹⁶ Professor A. CROISSET (France).
- ³⁵ Professor ROBERT DAVIDSOHN (Germany).
- ²⁰ Père HIPPOLYTE DELEHAYE (Belgium).
- ⁷ M. LÉOPOLD DELISLE (France).
- ³⁷ Professor CHARLES DIEHL (France).
- ⁴ Professor H. DIELS (Germany).
- ¹⁰ Monseigneur DUCHESNE (France).
- ¹⁴ Mr. CHARLES W. ELIOT (U.S.A.).
- ³³ Professor ADOLF ERMANN (Germany).
- ³¹ Professor TENNEY FRANK (U.S.A.).
- ⁴ M. le Comte de FRANQUEVILLE (France).

- ¹³ Professor OTTO von GIERKE (Germany).
- ⁷ Professor BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE (U.S.A.).
- ⁴ Professor M. J. de GOEJE (Holland).
- ⁴ Professor I. GOLDZIEHER (Hungary).
- ⁴ Professor T. GOMPERZ (Austria).
- ¹⁷ Senatore IGNAZIO GUIDI (Italy).
- ¹⁷ President ARTHUR T. HADLEY (U.S.A.).
- ⁷ Professor ADOLF HARNACK (Germany).
- ²⁶ Professor CHARLES HOMER HASKINS (U.S.A.).
- ¹⁷ Professor LOUIS HAVET (France).
- ⁴ Professor J. L. HEIBERG (Denmark).
- ⁷ Professor HARALD HÖFFDING (Denmark).
- ⁷ Mr. Justice HOLMES (U.S.A.).
- ¹³ Professor CHRISTIAN SNOUCK HURGRONJE (Holland).
- ³⁶ Professor EDMUND HUSSERL (Germany).
- ⁷ Professor WILLIAM JAMES (U.S.A.).
- ¹⁸ Dr. J. FRANKLIN JAMESON (U.S.A.).
- ²³ Professor OTTO JESPERSEN (Denmark).

DECEASED FELLOWS, 1944 (continued)

CORRESPONDING (continued)

- ⁴¹ Sir GANGANATH JHA, C.I.E. (India).
- ²⁰ Professor FINNUR JÓNSSON (Iceland).
- ¹¹ His Excellency M. J. JUSSERAND (France).
- ¹⁰ Professor G. L. KITTREDGE (U.S.A.).
- ³⁷ Professor WILHELM KROLL (Germany).
- ⁴ Professor K. KRUMBACHER (Germany).
- ³⁰ Professor C. R. LANMAN (U.S.A.).
- ¹⁶ M. ERNEST LAVISSE (France).
- ⁹ Mr. H. C. LEA (U.S.A.).
- ²⁴ Professor ÉMILE LEGOUIS (France).
- ³³ Professor O. LENEL (Germany).
- ⁴ Professor F. LEO (Holland).
- ⁹ Dr. F. LIEBERMANN (Germany).
- ¹³ President A. LAWRENCE LOWELL (U.S.A.).
- ²⁰ Dr. CHARLES LYON-CAEN (France).
- ⁷ Professor FREDERICK DE MARTEN (Russia).
- ²⁰ Dr. T. G. MASARYK (Czecho-Slovakia).
- ⁹ Don MARCELINO MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO (Spain).
- ¹⁰ Professor EDUARD MEYER (Germany).
- ⁴ M. PAUL MEYER (France).
- ¹³ Professor ERNEST NYS (Belgium).
- ¹⁸ Professor B. M. OLSEN (Iceland).
- ¹⁴ M. H. OMONT (France).
- ⁴ M. GEORGES PERROT (France).
- ⁴ M. GEORGES PICOT (France).
- ²¹ Professor HENRI PIRENNE (Belgium).
- ²⁰ Professor PIO RAJNA (Italy).
- ¹¹ M. SALOMON REINACH (France).
- ⁹ His Excellency M. LOUIS RENAULT (France).
- ¹¹ Mr. J. F. RHODES (U.S.A.).
- ¹⁰ His Excellency M. RIBOT (France).
- ¹⁶ The Hon. ELIHU ROOT (U.S.A.).
- ¹⁶ Professor JOSIAH ROYCE (U.S.A.).
- ²² Professor REMIGIO SABBADINI (Italy).
- ⁷ Professor KARL EDUARD SACHAU (Germany).
- ⁴ Professor G. H. SALEMANN (Russia).
- ³³ Père VINCENT SCHEIL (France).
- ¹⁰ M. SENART (France).
- ⁹ Professor E. SIEVERS (Germany).
- ²⁵ Professor FRANCIS WILLIAM TAUSIG (U.S.A.).
- ⁹ The Prince of TEANO (Italy).
- ³⁸ M. F. THUREAU-DANGIN (France).
- ¹⁴ Signor PASQUALE VILLARI (Italy).
- ⁷ Professor ULRICH von WILAMOWITZ-MÖLLENDORFF (Germany).
- ²⁶ Professor ULRICH WILCKEN (Germany).
- ¹⁰ Professor D. ERNST WINDISCH (Germany).
- ²³ Professor THADDEUS ZIELINSKI (Poland).

THE BRITISH ACADEMY

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL

JULY 1944

PRESIDENT :

SIR J. H. CLAPHAM, C.B.E.

COUNCIL :

- ⁴² DR. H. I. BELL, C.B., O.B.E.
- ⁴³ PROFESSOR C. D. BROAD.
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- ⁴⁴ PROFESSOR A. SOUTER.
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- ⁴³ PROFESSOR P. H. WINFIELD.

TREASURER :

SIR F. G. KENYON, G.B.E., K.C.B.
BURLINGTON GARDENS, LONDON, W. 1.

SECRETARY :

SIR F. G. KENYON, G.B.E., K.C.B.
BURLINGTON GARDENS, LONDON, W. 1.

⁴² Elected 1942.

⁴³ Elected 1943.

⁴⁴ Elected 1944.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE
BRITISH ACADEMY

1944

ANNUAL REPORT

SESSION 1943-4

DURING 1943-4 the Academy lost seven Fellows by death, viz. Dr. E. R. Bevan, Dr. W. E. Crum, Professor W. G. de Burgh, Sir William Holdsworth, Mr. H. W. B. Joseph, Dr. A. W. Pollard, and Sir Aurel Stein, besides one Retired Fellow, Sir Herbert Thompson. In addition, Professor J. Tait retired at the end of 1943 in order to make way for a younger man. No deaths of Corresponding Fellows have been reported, but of many no news has been received since the outbreak of war. In July 1943 Mr. Christopher Dawson, Mr. J. Goronwy Edwards, Mr. A. S. F. Gow, Professor Battiscombe Gunn, Professor H. H. Price, and Professor F. P. Wilson were elected Ordinary Fellows, and Professor V. F. Minorsky and Professor A. D. Nock Corresponding Fellows. The total number of Fellows before the elections of 1944 was 134 Ordinary and 52 Corresponding.

The following lectures were delivered during the year on the various foundations administered by the Academy:

PHILOSOPHICAL LECTURE, by Professor A. A. Luce, on *Immaterialism* (20 Oct.).

SIR JOHN RHŶS MEMORIAL LECTURE, by Professor D. A. Binchy, on *The Linguistic and Historical Value of the Irish Law Tracts* (24 Nov.).

SCHWEICH LECTURES, by Professor W. B. Stevenson, on *The Tragedy of Job: a Literary Study* (3, 6, and 8 Dec.).

WARTON LECTURE, by Professor J. Sutherland, on *Wordsworth and Pope* (9 Feb.).

MASTER-MIND LECTURE, by Mr. S. C. Roberts, on *Samuel Johnson* (15 March).

SHAKESPEARE LECTURE, by Mr. H. S. Bennett, on *Shakespeare's Audience* (26 April).

ASPECTS OF ART LECTURE, by Mr. F. Wormald, on *The Survival of the Anglo-Saxon Style in Later Illuminated Manuscripts* (14 June).

RALEIGH LECTURE, by Professor L. B. Namier, on *1848* (12 July).

The volume of Proceedings for 1941 and the Schweich Lectures for 1939, on *The Hebrew Bible in Art*, by Mr. J. Leveen, have been published; but publications generally have been much delayed by the exigent demands of war work. The following volumes assisted by the Academy

have appeared: Canterbury and York Society, Part cxii; Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, Journal, vol. v, and *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*.

The following awards of prizes and medals were made:

Serena Gold Medal for Italian Studies: no award.

Burkitt Medal for Biblical Studies: Dr. H. Wheeler Robinson.

Rose Mary Crawshay Prize: Miss Katherine C. Balderston, for her book entitled *Thraliana*.

Cromer Greek Essay Prize: Miss Margaret Hutchinson, for her essay on *Greek Religion and Philosophy as a Basis for Christianity*.

The following appointments of representatives of the Academy on various bodies were made: Mr. T. D. Kendrick on the Archaeological Joint Committee; Dr. H. Thomas on the Aslib Committee for a union catalogue of British and foreign periodicals; Sir John Clapham and Sir Frederic Kenyon on the Prime Minister's Committee on the restitution of plundered works of art; and Sir Charles Peers on the Council for British Archaeology.

The Academy's address of sympathy conveyed to the Academia Sinica by Professor E. R. Dodds was acknowledged in a letter dated 10 June 1943, and on 7 January 1944 the leader of the Chinese Mission of Friendship to Great Britain, Dr. Wang, accompanied by the Secretary, Mr. Li, visited the Academy to deliver a further letter. They were received by the President, the Secretary, Sir David Ross, and Dr. H. I. Bell. The President acknowledged with cordial appreciation the letter of the Academia Sinica, which was as follows:

Academia Sinica avails itself of the opportunity afforded by the visit to England of the Chinese Mission to Great Britain to express its deep appreciation of the kind message of the British Academy which was transmitted by Prof. E. R. Dodds, who was requested, on his return to England, to convey its reply to the British Academy. On the eve of the departure of the Mission, Academia Sinica extends its warm greetings to the British Academy through Dr. S. C. Wang, leader of the Mission and also a member of the Council of Academia Sinica. Dr. Wang has been closely connected with Academia Sinica and took an active part in calling it into existence. His views on cultural co-operation between England and China are similar to those held by all its members, and it is their earnest hope that his visit will serve as a milestone on the path of Sino-British intellectual co-operation.

Since December 1941 the Chinese nation have been deeply impressed with the indomitable courage of the English people as well as the genius and resourcefulness of their leaders. At the same time the efforts made by the academic bodies in Great Britain, in peace as well as in war-time, to extend the boundary of knowledge and to encourage the discovery of truth have been a great source of inspira-

tion to intellectual classes in China. It is to be sincerely hoped that Dr. Wang's visit will result in drawing our two countries closer together than ever before in the field of cultural co-operation.

CHU CHIA HUA, *President.*

WONG WEN HAN, *Secretary of the*

National Research Council.

LI SHU HUA, *Secretary General.*

Friendly relations are also in course of being established with the Iranian Academy. Following a suggestion received through Professor R. A. Nicholson from the British Council, the President on 6 June sent the following letter of greeting, which it is hoped will lead to a reciprocal exchange of publications.

The Council of the British Academy desire to greet the Iranian Academy as the representative of humane learning in a country rich in literary and learned tradition, and now so closely associated with our own. From the days of Sir William Jones in the eighteenth century down to those of Professor E. G. Browne in our time, there have always been English scholars interested in the learning of Iran, and writers such as Malcolm, Lane, Morier, FitzGerald, Curzon, and many others have given our people some knowledge of Iranian literature, history, and life. We wish to see this knowledge extended.

The British Academy thinks that an exchange of publications might be helpful to this end. Therefore it would be glad to send to the Iranian Academy its latest volumes of Proceedings and some other recent publications which may be of interest to your scholars, and would welcome any return of similar character which the Iranian Academy may be willing to make.

At the General Meeting of the Academy on 14 July 1943 the answer of the Secretary of State for War to the Academy's representations with regard to the protection of ancient monuments, antiquities, and works of art in the theatres of war was read. Since then further reports have been received from the War Office and from Sir Leonard Woolley, who has been appointed principal adviser to the military authorities on this subject. An organization has been set up, under the Supreme Allied Commander-in-Chief, comprising both British and American officers, who are charged with the duty of securing the fullest protection possible of ancient monuments that is compatible with the operations of war. This organization is at work in North Africa, Sicily, and Italy, and will come into operation in other theatres of war as required. Meanwhile a Committee has been nominated by the Prime Minister, primarily to deal with the eventual restitution of plundered works of art, but with powers of recommendation in respect of their preservation. This comprises representatives of the British Museum, the British Academy, the Victoria and Albert Museum, the National Gallery, the Royal Fine Arts Commission, and the Society of Antiquaries; and it is

in close communication with the corresponding Commission appointed by the President of the United States and with the War Office. On this Committee the Academy is represented, as stated above, by its President and Secretary.

By the will of the late Sir Aurel Stein, the Academy is constituted his residuary legatee on the expiry of certain life interests, with a view to the formation of an Exploration Fund for the encouragement of research in India, China, Iran, and Central Asia, to be carried out as far as possible by British or Hungarian subjects. By the testator's desire, the Fund is to be known as the Stein-Arnold Fund, in order to associate with it the name of his friend, Sir Thomas Arnold. Regulations for its eventual administration have been drawn up, and have been approved by the Council of the Academy and the Trustees appointed by Sir Aurel's will.

The late Dr. Robert Steele, whose edition of the works of Roger Bacon received support from the Academy, bequeathed to the Academy his interest in his published works. It does not appear, however, that he held any financial interest in any of them.

FINANCE.—The Government grant was continued at the same reduced rate of £1,000. The following grants were made in the course of the year.

(a) From General Fund:

Royal Asiatic Society	£200
Warburg Institute	100
British Institute of Philosophy	75
British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem	50
Pipe Roll Society	100
Canterbury and York Society	100
English Place-Name Society	150
Corpus Platonicum	150
Professor P. Jacobsthal, for Celtic studies	50

(b) From Schweich Fund:

Critical Edition of Greek New Testament	100
Lexicon of Patristic Greek	25

UNION ACADÉMIQUE INTERNATIONALE.—The following reports have been received with regard to those projects of the Union with which it is still possible to make progress.

I. CORPUS PLATONICUM. Dr. R. Klibansky has furnished the following report:

During the last year, the time which collaborators could devote to scholarly work was even more severely restricted than in previous years, owing to war conditions. For this reason, we decided to husband our financial resources, until scholars should again be able to give their full time to the work and until manuscripts should again be accessible.

However, some progress has been made, both in the Latin and in the Arabic part.

A. *Plato Latinus.*

(1) Plato, *Phaedo*. The collation of two of the main manuscripts—an Oxford codex and one from Leyden which, fortunately, was secured in time—has been completed. The collations were sent to Professor Hilary Armstrong, who is revising the text and determining its place with regard to the Greek manuscript tradition.

(2) Plato, *Parmenides*.—Proclus, *Commentaria in Parmenidem*. The essay on 'Plato's *Parmenides* in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance', which serves as an introduction to this volume, has now appeared in *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*.

(3) *Mediaeval Timaeus Commentaries*. The large number of hitherto unknown glosses and commentaries have been put into tentative chronological order, and an Index of Initia has been prepared.

B. *Plato Arabus.*

(1) Galenus, *Compendium Timaei aliorumque dialogorum quae extant fragmenta*. The publication of this volume had been promised by the Imprimerie Catholique in Beirut for September last, but circumstances outside our control have caused another delay. We know, however, that the Arabic text, the Latin translation, the Introduction, and the Commentary have been printed, and that all the remaining parts—the Testimonia, the Fragments, and the Greek-Arabic and Arabic-Greek Indices—are in the proof stage. It is therefore to be hoped that this first edition of Galen's *Compendium* will be in print in the course of this year.

(2) Averroes, *Paraphrase of Plato's Republic*. The Hebrew text, based on several manuscripts, has been constituted and is being revised by Dr. Rabin in Oxford. As, for several reasons, Latin has not proved a practical medium for Oriental scholars, it has been decided to publish this volume—as well as further volumes of this series—with an English translation which is being prepared.

(3) Al-Farabi, *Paraphrase of Plato's Laws*. The text has been transcribed and the preparation of a critical edition is in progress.

(4) *Liber de causis*. The preparation of this edition has been taken over by Professor van den Bergh, formerly in Paris.

(5) Al-Farabi, *On Aristotle's Philosophy*. Dr. F. Rosenthal, in Cincinnati, has completed a first draft which is being revised.

2. MONUMENTA MUSICAE BYZANTINAE.

The printing of the contributions by Dr. Wellesz and Professor Tillyard, mentioned in previous reports, by the Byzantine Institute of Boston, is understood to be in hand.

Dr. Høeg, who has hitherto been continuing work in Copenhagen, is reported to have been arrested by the Gestapo, but to have been released after a few days.

The following reports have been received from the Societies and Committees which receive support from the Academy.

MEDIEVAL LATIN DICTIONARY COMMITTEE.—The Committee reports with great regret the deaths of two of its members, the Rev. Dom A. Wilmart, O.S.B., and Sir Stephen Gaselee, K.C.M.G. Dom Wilmart was a member of the former A committee, which, co-operating with the International Academic Union, was concerned with the collection of pre-Conquest materials. Though prevented by frequent absences from this country from taking a more active part in the work, he maintained a constant interest in its progress. Sir Stephen Gaselee joined the old B committee in 1928 and was regular in attendance at its meetings. He took a lively interest in the work and his great knowledge of medieval Latin verse authors, many of whose texts he himself read for the Dictionary, was particularly valuable to the Committee.

During the war no committee meetings have been held and it is again proposed to ask the British Academy for a token grant only.

The reading of texts continues. A number of slips have been received; others are known to be ready for dispatch to the secretary. A collection of about 15,000 slips made by a contributor serving as a civilian in Burma before the Japanese invasion had to be left in custody of the librarian of Rangoon University. It is feared that these may have been lost.

Assistance from the materials already gathered has been given to contributors and other persons engaged in research in elucidating the history and meaning of particular words.

Slips for the following texts have been received since the last Report was made:

Catholicon Anglicum (E.E.T.S., 1881).

Chronicon Angliae Petriburgense (Caxton Society, 1845).

Carmen de Simoniaca Heresi (M.G.H., *Libelli de Lite*).

Letters of Colet and Warham in Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi, ed. Allen, vol. i.

John of Hoveden: Poems (Surtees Society 154).

Rolls of Warwickshire Sessions of the Peace, 1377-97 (Dugdale Soc.).

Rolls of Northamptonshire Sessions of the Peace, 1314-20 (Northants. Record Soc.).

Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, vol. ii.

Winchester City Court Rolls, c. 1299-1380 (MS.).

Carshalton Manorial Court Rolls (Surrey Record Soc.).

Exon Domesday (in Jones: *Domesday for Wilts.*).

English Historical Review, vol. lvi.

Curia Regis Rolls, temp. Henry III (MS.).
 Canterbury Cathedral Priory, ed. Smith (1943).

CANTERBURY AND YORK SOCIETY.—The Council submits the following report and statement of accounts for the year ending 30 June 1943 for the consideration of the Society.

The Annual General Meeting was held at the Society of Antiquaries on 5 October 1942. Mr. C. R. Cheney was elected Hon. Treasurer in the place of Mr. Herbert Chitty. Mr. Chitty was a member of the Interim Committee appointed at the Foundation Meeting of the Society in 1904 and was elected Hon. Treasurer in April 1909, after the death of Mr. F. G. Hilton-Price. After holding that office for many years he resigned on account of failing sight, and in view of his valued service he was elected a Vice-President.

The publications for the year 1940-1 were Part CXI, the conclusion of the Register of Bishop Woodlock, and Part CXII, Volume I of the Register of Archbishop Chichele. Part CXI was issued in 1942, Part CXII in 1943. The thanks of the Society are due to Professor E. F. Jacob and to the Warden and Fellows of All Souls College for this volume.

The publications for the year 1941-2 are Part CXIII, Volume III of the Register of Archbishop Chichele, and Part CXIV, the conclusion of the text of the Register of Archbishop Winchelsey. Both are far advanced and the delay is mainly due to the war.

The publication for the year 1942-3 is the conclusion of the Register of Bishop Hamo de Hethe and the printing has been begun. For the year 1943-4 it is proposed to issue the Acta of Archbishop Stephen Langton, edited by Miss Kathleen Major.

The generous grants of the British Academy in 1941 and 1942 have been allocated to the completion of the Registers of Archbishop Winchelsey and Bishop Hamo de Hethe.

THE PIPE ROLL SOCIETY.—The membership of the Society has on the whole been well maintained and there is no doubt that its work is continuing to interest historians. We have been unable to issue the volume for 1943 to members, owing to the inevitable delays caused by war conditions, but the whole of the text is in page proof, and the Introduction is in galley. It contains a collection of unpublished documents illustrating the working of the English financial system in the period with which the Society is concerned. The volume for 1944, which will consist of the Pipe Roll for the Ninth Year of King John, is already in the printer's hands.

Our chief anxiety arises from the increased cost of producing our volumes, and it is clear to us that without the support of the Academy the activities of the Society would shortly come to an end.

ENGLISH PLACE-NAME SOCIETY.—In June 1943 the Society

published *The Place-names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely*, the nineteenth volume in its series. This was the last of the volumes for which Sir Allen Mawer took responsibility as Joint Editor. The Council has not yet appointed a permanent successor to him in that capacity. The Society is, however, very fortunate in having secured the consent of Professor Bruce Dickins to act as Joint Editor of the next volume in our series—that on *The Place-names of Cumberland*. The place-names of this county, on which work has been in progress for many years, present us with problems of interpretation different from, and in some respects more serious than those raised by any survey which we have so far undertaken. This is due to the intrinsic obscurity of many names and to the lateness of the evidence available for their history. The rarity of early documents is particularly unfortunate in the case of a county in which British, Anglian, Norse, and Gaelic elements had already combined to form a most elaborate racial complex by the date of the Norman Conquest. On the other hand, work upon the original materials for this county in public custody had already gone far before the outbreak of the present war, and through the kindness of many private and official owners it has been possible, even under present conditions, to make extensive search through documents preserved within the county. The postponement of the volume would no doubt enable more forms to be brought under review. But it is unlikely that such fresh materials would make many significant additions to the evidence now available for the interpretation of the names. In particular, our experience does not suggest that many documents as ancient as the twelfth century remain to be discovered in the county. In view of these considerations it would seem that the possible advantage of a more voluminous collection of late medieval and early modern forms would be outweighed by the certain disadvantage to our work which would follow from an interruption in the series of our volumes.

In any case, it has been impossible to produce our work upon the county by the usual date of the appearance of our volumes. The transference of the head-quarters of the Society from London to Reading, which followed the death of Sir Allen Mawer, has inevitably entailed a certain amount of delay. The complexity of the problems presented by the names has involved consultation with many scholars with special knowledge of northern and western languages. It has not yet been decided whether the material for this county can be issued in one large volume, or whether, as in the case of Sussex and Devon, it will have to be published in two parts. In either case it will comprise the volume or volumes issued in respect of the two years 1942-3 and 1943-4.

It is intended that a volume dealing with Oxfordshire shall follow Cumberland, and a considerable amount of work on this county has been done in the past year. For the Oxfordshire volume we have received from a member who wishes to remain anonymous a most generous donation of £50. Not only will this be of great material

assistance to us in the preparation and publication of that volume, but the unexpected gift, made at a time of such financial strain, gives us much encouragement in carrying forward the work of the Survey.

It is with great regret that we record the death in July 1943 of Lord Wedgwood, the Hon. Treasurer of the Society from 1930 to 1936. He was one of our original members and always followed our work closely. The Society is greatly indebted to him for the enthusiasm with which he advanced its interests and secured the adherence of new members. . . .

The serious problem for the future is the increase in the cost of production of the volumes and the decrease in the number of members. The grant from the British Academy is indispensable to us, and its continuance during the years of war has made possible the continuance of our work.

CRITICAL EDITION OF THE GREEK TESTAMENT.—The following report has been submitted by the Editor, the Rev. S. C. E. Legg:

Under the present difficult conditions caused by the war it seems hardly wise or necessary to call a Committee at the present time.

I have exploited as far as possible the various sources of help suggested but the result has been far from encouraging. There was a small amount of response from those approached and a certain number of promises which, however, are very slow in taking effect.

The work of checking by those who have undertaken to assist can be summarized as follows:

Professor H. A. Sanders continues checking the most important Minuscules and his work reaches me in instalments from America about every two months.

Professor T. W. Manson is checking the chief Uncial MSS.

Dr. Matthew Black has worked over the variants in manuscripts of the Syriac Peshitta, and his work is very useful for checking purposes.

Dr. R. P. Blake has sent me a full critical apparatus of his edition of the Old Georgian MSS. for Luke i-x and has promised to send the rest of the Gospel in due course.

The work of assembling the material is proceeding slowly and with constant revision. The first twelve chapters have now been assembled and the first seven copied out in a possible final form though additions and corrections have to be made from time to time. The inaccessibility of certain books and original manuscripts for reference is causing a good deal of difficulty.

LEXICON OF PATRISTIC GREEK.—Dr. N. P. Williams, who had been Chairman of the Lexicon Committee since the resignation of Dr. Lock in 1929, died on 11 May [1943]. The Committee of the Lexicon shares with the Faculty of Theology at Oxford and theological learning in Great Britain in general the loss of a great systematic theologian

and exegete and an eminent Patristic scholar. The Editor owes a large debt to Dr. Williams's encouragement and guidance, and the Committee cannot but miss his regular counsel. In Dr. Edwyn Bevan and Sir Stephen Gaselee, who have also died during the past year, the Committee has lost the services of two other members. The valued association with the work of the Lexicon of these scholars, both distinguished in many and varied fields of learning, is a symbol of the ramifications of Patristics into other realms. At a meeting of the Committee on 16 July Dr. R. H. Lightfoot was elected Chairman in succession to Dr. Williams.

Progress with the preparation of the Lexicon during 1943 has been steady. The Rev. E. C. E. Owen has completed his work on the preliminary drafting of words beginning with the letter τ . Miss H. C. Graef finished the Word-list early in the year, but other claims on her time have since compelled her to suspend work. In the last twelve months the Rev. B. J. Wigan has been engaged mainly on the List of Authors and Abbreviations. Its completion has proved a longer task than was anticipated in the previous Report, but the List has grown in extent through the delay and is now a more comprehensive summary guide to Greek Patristic literature than any other known to us to exist. The Delegates of the Press intend to print it as soon as circumstances permit, and the Committee hopes it may be possible to issue a limited number of copies of it to scholars when it is ready, though its ultimate destination is to precede the text of the Lexicon. In the vacations, useful help with the checking of references has been received from Miss E. M. Grinling, now of St. Christopher's College, Blackheath, and from Mr. M. Mansoor, of Trinity College, Dublin. The chief obstacle to rapid progress with the drafting has been the difficulty in present conditions of finding assistants who can undertake regular work in Oxford.

The Academy's grants to the Royal Asiatic Society, the Warburg Institute, and the British Institute of Philosophy continue to support the publications of those bodies, which without such help would be in danger of discontinuance.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By J. H. CLAPHAM

12 JULY 1944

LET me first welcome the twelve new Fellows whom the Council has recommended to you and whom you have just elected. Following up a little statistical hobby, I note that their average age is 53·6. This is a shade higher than last year, when the figure was 53·1; but since the current figure is 'spoiled', mainly by the election of two old friends of my own, I will not press a statistician's point. And as the average during the four years during which I have been your President is below the age at which I was myself elected, I find the situation, in its bearing on the Academy's vitality, encouraging.

I also note, with the very greatest satisfaction, that the solitary woman Fellow whom we lost more than a year ago has been replaced through the energy of Section X: the History of Local Government, Fabian Socialism, and the Communism of Soviet Russia, in a woman Fellow's care, are succeeded by the Archaeology of Zimbabwe, the Fayum, and Hadhramaut. I am in hopes that before long this newly-elected Fellow may find a woman colleague.

When the Report in your hands was drafted we had lost by death in the year seven Fellows and one retired Fellow. To this list must be added the deaths within the last few days of Lord Atkin, and of James Tait, retired Fellow, that fine medieval scholar and local historian. I was in correspondence with him recently and am glad to report that in his last year there was no trace of decline in natural powers, in scholarly precision, in kindness, or in humour. Of our other dead, with a single exception, I will not speak. To my loss, the majority of them were known to me only by repute; and those whom I did know were, to my loss again, valued acquaintance rather than friends. I leave the record of their memory to men who knew them and their work well: these are already chosen and, no doubt, busy. When the printers will find leisure to put the results into your hands we cannot say.

The exception of whom I spoke is Sir Aurel Stein. Whether he was the most learned among those who have left us, I do not know. In any case, to attempt such comparisons is not profitable. But to the world, and possibly to ourselves, he was the

most distinguished, and to me the most enviable; for, of all scholars, the wanderer, the discoverer, is in my thinking the noblest. Stein has two other claims on our respect: he was an embodiment of international learning, of the type for whom the learned quest comes first and the nations only second; and the Academy is his debtor, his residuary legatee. In time one hopes that the Stein-Arnold Fund will help, in spite of quarrels and jealousies among the nations, to uncover something of the buried history of Bactria.

There is a personal acknowledgement that should be made. I have served here now for four years. War-time difficulties decided the Council to break with its usual practice of a four-year tenure for Presidents and leave me in the Chair for another year. I appreciate the honour, though I am distressed at its occasion. But it gives me the chance, now I am glad to think a good one, of presiding once in a July of peace.

For the campaigns have moved more steadily from without towards the place where Satan's seat is than I had ever dared to hope. The only reverse movement in the year—I will not call it a campaign—has been that which made me wonder whether the Secretary might not feel it his duty to cancel this meeting. In Europe there has been less general destruction to date than I, for one, had feared. The Greek temples of Sicily, with Monreale and Cefalu, are safe. Monte Cassino is a blasted eminence and the towns of the Alban hills are wrecked. But a superbly handled campaign has saved nearly everything in Rome, including—it is said—treasures from Monte Cassino housed in Sant Angelo. About Vesuvius, Act of God has in places done as much damage as the acts of men. From farther north, there is some sad, though as yet uncertain, news; but I believe that Aquila has not suffered. Perugia, Assisi, and Siena certainly have not. There has been talk of Florence as an open town, talk which may be verified, or not, before this address is delivered. We learn that the French were careful not to train a gun on Siena, care which, with their own towns in mind, we can well understand. It was their good fortune that, owing to the excellent speed of General Alexander's armies, this restraint was—from the military point of view—justifiable.

And now Normandy, with Chartres and how much else behind! We have heard to-day that the Conqueror's abbeys still stand at Caen—one, the report says, intact, the other only slightly damaged. Sympathetic soldiers were horrified to learn in advance how full Normandy is of ancient beautiful things. They

are not taught about that in the staff colleges. They have been provided with lists. Their speed saved Bayeux; but there are ugly accounts, unconfirmed as yet in detail, of the effect of what is called I believe blanket-bombing on other Norman cathedral towns. The Air Vice-Marshal, who is credited with the invention of that form of attack, had an historian's training and understands our anxieties; but he must be left sole judge of military needs. So must the general in command there. We can only hope that those needs will not call for the bombing of the Norman site from which he takes his name. It has already been his duty to have many Norman châteaux razed, with what good reason is shown by the heavy casualties among German generals who used them as head-quarters. The enemy has not told us where those generals met their death; but often we can confidently guess.

As the end of the war comes within range I have found myself brooding over a subject which lies within the legitimate scope of the President of an Academy—German learning, its present and its future. In the summer of 1938 I met in a Swiss hotel a great scholar, born a German subject but now one of us. He spoke to me of the German achievement with encyclopaedias—of Pauly-Wissowa and the to me more familiar *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*. 'I know', he said in effect, 'that this is not the highest sort of scholar's work; but it is essential. The English have relied on Germans to do it. They seem to think that the work will be resumed within a few years. But German learning is ruined not for a few years but for thirty. Cannot the English do something to fill the gap?'

And that was before war; before we—as it is said—had blotted out the publishing quarter of Leipzig.

I hope he took too gloomy a view. But when I read in a once reputable legal publication lying upon our table here the grovelling and academically blasphemous sentence 'what the Leader wills, that is the law of Germany', I realized how thoroughly one branch of German learning had rotted; just as when, in the spring of 1938, I saw painted across locomotives' boilers in Hamburg, on some Nazi festival day, the words—'What has the Leader done for you? What will you do for the Leader?'—words that recalled the methods of a crude religious revivalism—I realized how the German masses were being hypnotized, and how long it might take to lift them from a degrading Leader-worship. Perhaps a Leader's lost war may do it sooner and better than many years.

Those who have access to the German war-time book-lists tell me that until recently a remarkable amount of serious and learned publication had continued; perhaps it continues still, in spite of the bombing of Leipzig. There may be left impartial scholars enough to shorten those thirty years—men who have not been called to bow in the house of Rimmon, or have bowed only with that mental reservation which we connect with the place. But often, when I talk with one or other of ourselves, hope sinks: Anthropology and Archaeology, he may say—ruined by racial nonsense and deliberate distortion; Economics—decadent long since: the men whom we have quoted these twenty years were sometimes Austrians, never Reichsdeutscher; History—technical competence survives: there are great names from the older generation, of men pensioned off and silenced, exiled or dying; but who can learn to write honest history in the Third Reich? So the list might be run through.

One need not endorse all such gloomy responses. But many of us must have noticed a growing provincialism in the German learned outlook long before 1933. Poverty and inability to buy books since 1918 may have accounted for it in part. There were curious gaps in some German bibliographies, or unexpected notes of *war mir nicht zugänglich*. And this strengthened that old arrogant German habit, known to us all, of assuming that only German theories need be discussed. Not many years ago a scholar in my field proved elaborately that a certain German theory, by no means new, was invalid. No one here had ever supposed it valid, for it did not cover our English facts—or some others. We were not interested in his proof.

I have touched on German historiography, however, not to rail at it, but to illustrate from a particular book that, hard as it may have been to learn how to write honest history in the Third Reich, it was still possible to write and publish it, if you had already learnt—an encouraging fact. Between 1929 and 1937 appeared the first four volumes of Franz Schnabel's *German History in the Nineteenth Century*, the only large-scale history of modern Germany since Treitschke. What has happened to the author after 1937 I do not know. He had not got beyond 1848, and his fifth volume was probably due not before 1940. I expect he has fallen silent; for his book bore no trace of the dominant superstitions either of Treitschke or of the Third Reich. He lacks also, one must allow, Treitschke's constructive power and the vivid German that made one relish Treitschke at his prejudiced worst.

Schnabel's book has the old German encyclopaedic touch. It is a history of the German spirit, very broadly conceived, of all the forces making in Germany—and everywhere else—for the secularization and mechanization of life; and of the opposing forces which in Germany were not victorious. Yet it is not pessimistic. There are no laments over 1914-18, no hysterical crying over an *Untergang des Abendlandes*. The fourth, the largest, volume, that of 1937, is all about religion, especially about movements within the Catholic Church of which most of us in England are rather ignorant. Among Protestants, Schnabel's sympathies seem to lie with the south German orthodox pietists: the nearest approach to harshness is in his picture of a certain overrated north German popular preacher, Schleiermacher. He is himself a south German, a Catholic or of Catholic stock. To his historian's credit it is not easy to say which.

I first read him because I was told that his economic section was good. The mechanization of life, he naturally holds, must be studied in its relation to technology. I found that a man who could touch, in interesting fashion, on the restoration of Catholic Church music and the Basel Mission of southern Protestants had also composed by far the best account of how the economic transformation of Germany began that I had ever read.

On matters of general political interest, he writes that in Prussia 'the state did not make the army, but the army made the state'; he shows no sympathy with what he calls 'historical annexationism'; he allows with no trace of bitterness that the Revolution and good Napoleonic administration made Alsations feel French; and throughout he is perfectly fair to England. Not quite perfectly informed about her, however. Perhaps he too could not get at all the books. He thinks that Canning was a Lord and that the Duke's Waterloo army was of veterans. But he also says, in so many words, that the Duke was 'the greatest of all defensive generals'. One cannot ask for more, from German or Frenchman or Russian. An historian's Waterloo is always a test question. Schnabel passes. He is not uncritical and he is perfectly just.

I trust that he is still alive. He is a German whom I would gladly meet. It is my hope, as I end this excursus and this address, that there may exist and survive men enough like him to make possible both such meetings and a revival of honest German scholarship.

ANNUAL PHILOSOPHICAL LECTURE
HENRIETTE HERTZ TRUST

IMMATERIALISM

By A. A. LUCE

Read 20 October 1943

TO the follower of Kant, Hegel, or Bradley matter was a concept, and perhaps not much more. If you asked him, Does matter exist? he was more disposed to parry the question than to answer it, taking the line that (to adapt Byron's jest) after all matter does not matter very much. Half a century of realism has changed all that. To-day the question strikes home with point and urgency. Trained in direct awareness, looking out habitually through the open window on a world of fact, the realist is cornered by the question and must, it would seem, answer, Yes, or No. I want to answer, No; but I hesitate to do so; for one is bound to be misunderstood, if one does. To some theists matter is what God created and made. To some men of science matter is the elements; to the average man matter is the ground under foot. It cannot be wise, then, to deny the existence of matter without qualification. I do not do so. If in a mixed assembly I were asked, Does matter exist? I should say, Yes, or remain silent. But where I can make my meaning plain, as I hope to do this afternoon, where I can refute matterism without exposing myself to the charge of mentalism, where I can deny matter without offending religion or common sense, I defend Berkeley's thesis and much of his argument.

I shall not discuss 'existence in the mind'; that phrase has been warped in the heat of controversy and needs a ton of explanation. In the open forum to-day the issue is better put, as Berkeley sometimes puts it, in plain arithmetical terms. Are there two non-spiritual worlds? Is there a material world in addition to the sensible world? Do the object of sense and the material thing make one or two? Is there material substance over and above the sum total of sense data? If there is this (in Berkeley's words) 'twofold existence of the object of sense', of course every single thing around us is doubled, and there are two object worlds—the sensible world which we apprehend but cannot trust, and the material world which we trust but can never apprehend. It is most bewildering.

John Citizen is content with the *one* object world and the *one* type of thing in it. He is immaterialist at heart. He thinks that we see what we eat and eat what we see. Playing cricket he hits the ball he sees, or he does not stay long at the wicket. Out with the gun he fires at the snipe he sees, not at an archetypal bird. For him the small round object covered by his pencil at arm's length *is* the great square tower a mile away, *is* what is there and not some other thing. Dr. Ewing (*Idealism*, pp. 267, 362) says, 'most people go through life without ever having *inferred*' physical objects, adding that *sensa* 'have at any rate deceived everybody for millennia into taking for granted that they were parts of the physical objects themselves, till people were undeceived by philosophers'. In a word, it is natural to believe in sense data and not natural to believe in matter.

Representative philosophers to-day, whatever their personal views, certainly do not dismiss immaterialism out of hand. Dr. Ewing pays Berkeley a high tribute and says that his philosophy has never been refuted (*ibid.*, p. 384). Dr. Broad two years ago addressed the Academy on Berkeley, and handled him tenderly. Professor Price in his *Perception* remains loyal to matter, but he takes sense data very seriously, and to take sense data seriously is to set foot on a road to immaterialism. Call them ideas or *sensibilia* with Berkeley; call them sense data or *sensa* with the moderns; take them singly; collect them in 'families' with Price, collect them in 'groups' with Broad and Ewing, or in 'things' with Berkeley and the plain man. Look them full in the face; study their features; appreciate their possibilities. What more does the mind want? What more can matter give?

The question must ultimately be decided by one's theory of perception. No quantitative analysis of the big world can find matter, unless perceptual analysis of yonder table can do so. Unless there is matter in that table I see and touch, there is none anywhere; and when, in thought or in act, I analyse that table into its constituent parts, I find sense data there, and sense data only. From the fact of the sense datum I conclude there is no matter; for there is not room for both.

The sense datum is undeniably the immediate object; it is what I actually see and touch. Take it as real, as a realist is disposed to do, and then those ghostly entities, the physical object, the material object, material substance, *et hoc genus omne* are seen to be gratuitous assumptions which cloud the issue and explain nothing. I grant that in a three-term theory of knowing it may be possible to find room for matter in the attic; at least

it may be possible to conceal the antagonism between matter and the sense datum; but where the perceptual situation is conceived to consist solely of two factors, the sentient and his direct object, there is plainly no room for matter; matter's occupation's gone.

Let us study the problem from the life. In a system of direct awareness, such as many philosophers profess to-day, the mind expects to contact its object without medium or *tertium quid*, and is not content unless it does so. In such a system I refuse copy, picture, representation, or substitute, and am resolved to know what I know and not some other thing. When, then, by opening my eyes, or turning my ear, or stretching out my hand, I meet this familiar miracle of knowing, and ask myself, *What* is it that you know by sense? I am bound, it seems to me, to reply, 'That colour or shape or sound or hardness is the object, the only object, and *pro tanto* the adequate object of that act of sense.' That reply rules out the hypothesis of matter: that reply is, in effect, Berkeley's *esse est percipi* (when that much misrepresented Principle is taken as it should be taken); for when in seeing or touching or hearing the mind contacts its object, that object must be in the mind and not away outside; there it is; I see *it*, I hear *it*. I cannot be mistaken about it. I can speak about it with the confidence of the observer in broad daylight. Is it a colour? I see it all. Is it a sound? I hear it all. Is it a hardness? I touch all there is to touch. It is all plain and above board, all before me in my mind, and the imagined dark corners are gone like night before the day, and there is in it no room for 'something we know not what'. I am seeing the colour; *eo ipso* I am not seeing its matter; if I were seeing its matter, I should *eo ipso* be not seeing the colour. Some think that we see the matter through the colour, as we see the moon through the racing clouds; but that is impossible; matter cannot be seen. I may be seeing red, and squinting, as it were, at matter; I may be seeing red, and imagining matter; but I am certainly not seeing through a visible object to an invisible. I am seeing red; very well, then, I am not seeing matter, and matter is not there to see. The same analysis holds of touch and all the other senses. If I may trust my senses, if the common-sense analysis of the perceptual situation be correct, if in every sense perception the sentient directly apprehends the given of sense, then matter is a foolish duplication of the object, a bromide to our critical faculties, a 'solution' by smoke-screen and fog of words.

In the history of philosophy matter has taken on various shapes; there is Aristotle's matter and Descartes's and Locke's and Dr. Johnson's matter, not to speak of a sub-variety, that too modest quarterly *Mind*, which calls itself 'second-class matter'. I grant that Johnsonian matter and its sub-varieties stand rather apart from the rest: when in Boswell's presence Dr. Johnson kicked the mighty stone and 'refuted' Berkeley, he was simply appealing to what he could touch and see, *i.e.* to sense data and *sensibilia*, and if that be all that is meant by 'matter', any reasonable immaterialist would accept it. Berkeley expressly does so. But the other types of matter are in a different category. Consider them briefly. Aristotle's matter is τὸ ὑποκείμενον, the substratum, the underlying, that which eludes observation. This conception became crystallized (but not clarified) in the Latin formulae, *nec quid, nec quale, nec quantum* (neither a thing nor a quality nor a quantity), and *pura potentia extra nihil* (pure possibility, just short of nothing). Descartes's matter is colourless extension which no eye can see. Locke's matter is solid extension which no hand can touch. These are all queer conceptions; they have an attractive wistfulness, I grant; but they have one common characteristic, an essential characteristic, with which immaterialism can never come to terms. For all matterists of every age and country matter is something over the hill, something round the corner, 'something we know not what'.

Let Dr. Johnson have his way. I will not quarrel about a word, nor take arms against established usage. Actual sense data may be called matter; obtainable sense data may be called matter, and no great harm is done; but posit the sense datum as a true metaphysical entity, and then posit a second metaphysical entity of a *different kind* and call it matter, and then the mischief is done; then matter becomes an enemy of clear thinking, a danger to truth. To accept both the sense datum *and* matter is to turn the one world into two, to credit every single thing we see and touch with a mysterious 'double', and thus to saddle speculation with an intolerable load. Atlas carried one world; but the matterist tries to carry two. He is, like Issachar, 'couching down between two burdens', the world of sense and the world of matter; he cannot relate them; he cannot explain the one in terms of the other; he must just accept them both (in Alexander's phrase) 'with natural piety'; he must bow his shoulder to bear what he knows he can never understand.

The coexistence of two non-spiritual worlds, out of relation

to each other, is plainly a crying scandal, and philosophers usually have recourse to one or other of two concepts which are thought able to ease the situation and remove philosophy's reproach. These are likeness and cause. The two worlds are alike, we are told, and, alternatively, the one is the cause of the other. If the sensible be like the material, as the picture is like the original, then an intelligible relation is established; matter and the sense datum would both be justified. Or again, if causality hold here, we have the makings of an explanation; for then matter could act on our minds or sense organs and produce appearances which form the sensible world of sensible things.

First, let us briefly consider these two concepts together. Likeness and cause are not good 'mixers'; we do not often think of the cause as like its effect, and we are more inclined to think of them as unlike. Can they 'mix' in our problem? Ought the same thinker to make use of likeness *and* cause in defence of matter? I am disposed to say, No. *Prima facie*, at any rate, active cause ought to be unlike passive effect, and then, if the sense datum be like the material thing, the one is not the cause of the other, and if matter causes the sense datum, they can hardly be very much alike.

Now consider them separately. Take likeness first. The sense datum resembles matter, it is alleged, as the copy resembles the original, and the sensible world resembles the material world, as ectype resembles archetype; and therefore, though we do not know matter, we know something like it. Could that account possibly be true? One thing is certain: if it is true, we cannot know it to be true. Two objects cannot be known to be alike unless they can be compared; sensible and material *ex hypothesi* cannot be compared; therefore even if they are alike, they cannot be known to be so; and for aught I know the mutton chop I eat may be very different from the mutton chop I see. On the theory of matter they ought to be unlike; matter is made, or imagined made, in the unlikeness of the sensible, and it is Pickwickian that the matterist should turn round and say that matter and the sensible are alike. The matterist is like the collector who buys a portrait cheap on the ground that it is like nothing on earth, and then brags to his friends that it is a perfect likeness. Matter was invented for the express purpose of supplying the defects of the sensible; matter is, in the theory, just what the sensible is not. The sensible can be seen and touched, matter not; the sensible is alleged to be private, matter is pre-

sumed to be public; the sensible is passive, matter is presumed generally to be active; the sensible is alleged to be momentary, matter is presumed to be permanent; the sensible varies, matter is presumed invariant; the sensible is coloured, rough, smooth, sweet, bitter, sounding, and so on, matter not; the sensible is relative to mind, matter is presumed absolute; the sensible has meaning, matter not. Unlike in so many characteristics, have the two any point of positive likeness? They are no more alike than chalk and cheese, or, to borrow from Spinoza, than dog and dog-star.

Cause deserves fuller treatment; for as a rule the matterist is more concerned about causality than likeness; matter, to him, is the *locus* of the material cause, 'the hidden hand' which produces our sense data and makes changes in nature begin to be. Sense data are passive; the name implies it, observation confirms it; the sense datum has not the power of the cause; therefore, it is alleged, we must postulate matter as the cause of change.

On this issue neither side can compromise; half measures are tempting here, but futile. The immaterialist must be prepared to deny the material cause altogether, and the matterist must be equally resolute in affirming it. People complain that they find Berkeley unanswerable, but unconvincing; that is usually because they take him seriously on matter, but not on cause. Modern writers on perception in their opening chapters take the sense datum objectively and seem heading straight for immaterialism, and then the shadow of the cause falls across their path, and they draw back. Matter which cannot prove its existence at the bar of sense proves it, they say, in the high court of reason by its causal properties. Berkeley's doctrine of cause is distinctly challenging, almost staggering at first; but it grows on one, and I shall try to show that it is a common-sense doctrine in keeping with the general trend of twentieth-century thought.

Are there material causes? Are there unthinking things, great or small, which make changes begin to be? There are in nature any number of unthinking things called causes, which indeed *are* causes in weaker senses of the term: they are signs or symptoms, or antecedents, or logical grounds or reasons; but take cause in its strong sense, its proper sense, for the *causa causans*, for the efficient cause which gets things done as you and I do when we push or pull or plan or purpose, and you will find it hard to produce a single instance of a material cause worthy of the name.

Things in motion, especially when like billiard balls they easily communicate their motion, look like causes, but are not. They are *set* in motion. The motion may pass on from the white ball to the red, but that fact does not constitute the white a cause; if billiard balls were true causes which push and pull and plan, billiards would be a queer game. The players might make some shift with Gilbert's 'elliptical billiard balls', but what could they do with self-propelling, causal balls? Processes of nature are called causes, particularly the more arresting and subtle processes, such as fire and wind and magnetism; but are they entitled to the name? What do they cause? Where does the cause end, and the effect begin? Ask these questions in a given case, and they alter the aspect of things. In a continuous series of point-events, why should we single out one or two and call them causes? Natural processes are reversible; they are not marked by time's arrow: there is no spontaneity in them; they are not agents; and therefore, as I understand *cause*, they are not causes.

Unthinking things may be at rest or they may be in motion, but their rest or motion is not in their own power; they stay put or go where they are carried. The elemental forces, so-called, of nature, rivers in flood, volcanoes in eruption, avalanche, earthquake, hurricane, cataract, and tide, what are they but passive sense data being moved? Without a yea or nay they obey the law, as given not givers, as effects, not causes. We call them causes because they are signs of what is coming and of what to do; we call them causes because at sight of them incipient movements stir in us, and by sympathy and empathy we mentally transfer our movements to them, as the poets do; but they are no more true causes than are the traffic lights in London streets, or a donkey's bray before the rain.

The occasionalists taught this truth but obscured it by their artificial doctrine of the occasion. Berkeley saw that the occasion is matter in disguise, and he gave it up, but retained the doctrine of the sole spiritual cause. Thus his teaching on cause is occasionalism without the occasion. This teaching, duly formulated, is close to common-sense and the plain man's views. In ordinary life we treat everything inanimate as purely passive; even matter has been held to be passive by some matterists; and it seems certain that we ascribe to mind or spirit in a prerogative way that effort, that directed activity, that spring of novelty which we call cause. It is not easy to draw the line with absolute precision between sense and spirit in the case of the human will

and perhaps also vital action; but what we know to be purely sensible, we know to be strictly passive. That principle is an axiom (is it not?) of every laboratory and indeed of every kitchen. No experiment, scientific or culinary, could be performed with exactness, if inanimate things were truly active. We need not burke at saying that acid acts on litmus-paper, or that the fire boils the egg; but all that we observe, and all that we are entitled to call empirical fact in such cases, is the co-ordinated passion of two things, not the true action of one on the other. The acid is changed and the paper turns red; the water is heated and the egg is cooked. If sensible things could get up and move about *motu proprio*, as do the balls and hoops and mallets at the croquet party of the Red Queen, it would be good-bye to natural law and order, and the return of chaos and old night. Material causes are relics of animism; if there were many little causes, the result would be multiformity, and the uniformity we find in nature implies the *una vera Causa*, the one true Cause.

Modern thought on cause is moving slowly but surely in this direction. Sober discussions of regularity have replaced the grandiose causal jargon of thirty years ago. Then we believed in, or thought we did, a 'universal causal nexus'; I should like to hear our analysts on that phrase to-day. Then after weary hours on Mill's 'methods' we learned to picture dimly a far-flung network of reciprocating causes; to-day the prospect of imprisonment for life in the meshes of such a net sends a shiver down the spine. Mill's methods have fallen on evil days; Mill's causes are no more. The very journalist is in the movement, and he writes 'following' where his predecessor wrote 'because'. The leaven of Hume is working; a 'loosening' of the concept of cause is taking place in philosophy, in science, and in the outlook of the average man; poetic justice is being done; and at long last Hume is repaying his debt to Berkeley.

That movement might easily go too far, and I do not think that teachers of moral philosophy are likely to abandon the notion of efficient cause; but we recognize that we must be less lavish with the term than formerly if it is to retain any semblance of meaning. We must ration our causes; we must scale down the causal field; we must secure the true causes by throwing false causes overboard. But where are we to draw the line? Where experience draws it; viz. where action meets passivity, where spirit meets sense. Fire does not cause smoke as we do when we light our pipes; the stone does not cause the broken window,

as does the boy who threw it; and when we speak of the causes of war, or of inflation, or of historical events, unless we are thinking of *persons* we are thinking of nothing at all.

In science the same trend of thought can be clearly seen. Look back one hundred years to the great work of the great naturalist of the Amazons. Bates repeatedly describes natural phenomena in causal terms, saying, for instance, 'The sandy soil and scanty clothing of trees are probably the causes of the great dryness of the atmosphere'. To-day the observation would be expressed, no doubt, in terms of uniformity or sequence; for how could sand, yellow sand, or non-existent trees literally dry the air? Bates is simply voicing the well-grounded expectation of finding a dry climate where you find sandy soil and few trees. Sand is no cause; but Bates's brave spirit was a true cause, which carried the man beyond the limits of endurance and made some knowledge begin to be.

The historic phrase *rerum cognoscere causas* no longer expresses the main mission of science. Efficient cause and kindred concepts are of less account than formerly in scientific thought. The cast-iron causes of rigid determinism have gone, and causeless events are freely accepted. Force to-day is a thing of straw. Professor Schrödinger was lecturing the other day at the Royal Irish Academy on wave mechanics, and when he was dealing with the observational support for his brilliant equations, he occasionally used such terms as magnetic force. In the discussion that followed I asked him whether the concept of force was necessary for his argument, and he replied, No, adding that he made use of it merely for the purpose of clearer exposition.

If the unthinking or material cause is a lost cause, if neither philosophy, nor science, nor common life has need of it, then matter must soon follow phlogiston into the museum of antiquities, and the matterist can no longer use the concept of cause to justify his supposition of two object-worlds. If, for instance, the centre of the earth possesses no force which pulls things towards it, and if the force of gravity be an anthropomorphic convention, a useful method of describing the relative movements of sensible bodies; if, that is, the supposed tug on Newton's apple be a sympathetic projection into purely passive things of the effort needed to reach up and pull the apple down, then, surely, modern thought has moved far in the direction of immaterialism, and externality, apart from spirit, is adequately conceived as a vast system of passive sense data, entirely devoid

of an intrinsic power of the cause. Take cause from matter, and all that is left is the shadow of a great name.

The microscope, as in Berkeley's day, is the last refuge of the matterist. He will admit that he cannot explain matter, and that he cannot reconcile it with the world of sights and sounds and smells and tastes and touches, but he will stand to it that all the same there must be a kind of a sort of a something too subtle for our coarse senses to reach, but accessible to the microscope and the finer instruments of science. That plea always commands a hearing; we do not touch and see matter—granted; perceptual theory can do without it—granted; there are several theoretical objections to it, and the science of the macroscopic has outgrown it—we may grant all that and still maintain that there is matter in the atomic and sub-atomic worlds.

Let me illustrate the point from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Its four and twenty volumes epitomize modern knowledge for a large section of the cultured public; it is a representative work to which one would naturally turn for a rough-and-ready answer to the question, What is matter? If matter were, as some think, a manifest reality which no sane person can deny, one would expect to find an article on it in this work. Now the *Encyclopaedia* (14th edition) has no *ad hoc* article on matter: but (and this is my main point) volume 15 has the reference, MATTER: see KINETIC THEORY OF MATTER; ATOM; NUCLEUS. That reference is interesting because it is an expression of the widespread feeling that matter belongs to the microscopic world and is exclusively an affair of atomic theory. In point of fact the three articles referred to have little or nothing to say on the philosophy of matter; they do not attempt any formal justification of the concept; they mention the term occasionally in a casual way; but wherever the word 'matter' is mentioned in these articles, 'the sensible' could be substituted, I think, without any alteration of meaning; and if what is commonly called matter is in fact the sensible, then material substance, in the technical sense, has been disproved.

Take, for instance, from the article on the Kinetic Theory the following statement, 'The hypothesis of the molecular structure of matter forms the basis of the science of chemistry'. Are we to understand from it that the fortunes of chemistry are bound up with material substance? Not at all. Nothing turns on the word matter there; it is completely non-technical, and you could substitute 'the sensible' without the slightest alteration

of meaning. The writer of the article says as much; for he continues, 'A mass of a given chemical substance, say common salt (chloride of sodium) or water (oxide of hydrogen) consists of a number of exactly similar molecules', thus showing that he regards the molecular structure of sensible things like salt and water as the basis of the science of chemistry. Naturally the chemist uses his more precise terms, sodium, &c., in his chemical analysis, just as the philosopher uses his special technique, sense datum, &c., in his perceptual analysis; but neither chemist nor philosopher intends thereby any distinction in kind between the thing of sense and its constituent part or particle.

Are not the other sciences, too, securely anchored to the sensible? They are a powerful factor in modern life, and how could that be were scientific law not concerned with the things we touch and see, but with something different called *matter*? In classical physics, in the quantum theory or in its more recent developments matter, non-sensible matter, would seem to be a sheer redundancy. A radio-active substance which you can touch and see gives off an alpha particle. Does physics need to recognize a distinction in kind between that alpha particle and the parent body? Is the alpha particle *matter* in any sense in which the parent body is not *matter*? It would not seem so. Surely both must be called matter, or neither? The radon, the cloud chamber, the condensation track, all the factors are sensible; and if our senses are not to be trusted the experiment falls. Would not the same analysis apply to electron and neutron and whatever constituent or process may be under discussion? The particle is tiny, the process subtle; but both are part and parcel of the one world of sense in which our life of sense is lived. If the larger parts of that world and their palpable movements are immaterial, to locate matter in its smaller parts and their more recondite movements would seem a *superstitio*.

May I conclude with a sketch, necessarily brief, of the positive aspect of immaterialism? For the argument I have set forth must in the end be tested by its power to build.

A philosophy without matter must be a two-point system, a philosophy of sense and spirit. It is not true that all is mind, and Berkeley never taught it. Nor is it true that all is sensible. Sentience has its place in the scheme of knowledge and in the moral life, and the objects of sense have their place in the natural order; but it is not possible to explain the explainer, nor causality, nor the origin of sense data, nor their meaning apart from mind, divine and human.

The immaterialist has naturally a peculiarly keen apprehension of spirit or mind, but he has nothing of peculiar importance to say about its nature. His chief intellectual concern is with the world of sense. He has no special difficulty about space and time; his world, like that of other folk, is a space-time world; for sense data come together like chair and table or in succession like dusk and dawn, forming a world of *heres* and *theres*, of *nows* and *thens*. The immaterialist rejects, however, the conventional 'box theory'; his world is not a huge box, called the universe, housing a lot of little boxes called things, each with its one colour, each of absolute size and shape, at absolute distances from one another. Things are, as they are seen, in perspective, with their varying features, size, shape, colour, &c., in relation (actual or possible) to mind and to near-by sense data. Now it is commonly said that you cannot have a world on these terms, and if you ask, Why not? you are told that a world of sense data is lacking in three essentials: substance, reality, and externality. People have a pathetic faith in matter as the guarantee of these three important qualities. *How* matter helps we are not told; we cannot see, or touch or 'cash in' on matter in any way, and this 'material guarantee' reminds one of the gold guinea which the daughters of the Vicar of Wakefield carried around in their purses; they were forbidden to change it, but the honour of the family required that they should have it. Matter is of no use to us, but people like to think it is there, and it is therefore incumbent on the immaterialist to show that the sense datum gives in fact what matter gives in fancy, i.e. that a world composed of sense data has substance, is no dream, and can be external to the mind of man.

Substance is given in two forms. In our detached and speculative moments we want spiritual substance, and *that* we have, and in a measure know from within. Give up the craving for material substance, and the inference to spirit is swift and sure and direct. The immaterialist sees the world of sense, in whole and part and particle, as from spirit, in spirit, and for the spirit, like a word spoken or written. But we are not all-Ariel, and the Falstaff in us demands another sort of substance; and that, too, we have. When in ordinary life we ask for the substance of chair, table, or plum-pudding, we are simply asking for the other obtainable sense data; we are asking for the context of that which we actually touch and see. For purposes of study we often have to isolate a sense datum, and draw a ring round it, and then of course it may seem flimsy and unsubstantial; but

restore it to its context and it is as solid as can be. The other day I struck a salmon, and missed him, and the hook came back to me, and on it a single scale. I took the scale to the expert, who told me at a glance the weight, age, and life-story up to date of that salmon. A single sense datum or a single group of sense data is like that scale—an abstraction from reality; but the philosopher can read a great deal in it; he can determine from it features of the sensible world, important for the purposes of moral philosophy; but for purposes of action, of course, he wants the other sense data or groups of sense data continuous with it and homogeneous with it, just as I wanted the rest of my salmon. *This* demand for substance is simply the demand for the thing's other sense data, i.e. its *sensibilia*.

Glance now at the notion of reality. We all want a real world, and we fear that a world of sense data would be indistinguishable from fancy and dream. That is a groundless fear, as experience can prove. The immaterialist, like the matterist, will meet difficult cases, and he may make mistakes; but matter will not help him to decide what is real and what is not. If a man does not know the difference between being in London in war-time, and dreaming he is there, he will want more than matter to teach him the truth; matter cannot bring him to his senses. Illusions are supposed to be very like sense data; but are they? Is a tangible £5 note in my pocket in any way like an imaginary £5 note in yours? People say they see pink rats and two moons, and some philosophers believe them, and found theories and objections to theories on their statements. But the man who says he sees pink rats is not a credible witness, and he ought not to be believed. No doubt he is seeing something; but he is not seeing what he says he sees; he cannot see what is not there. Illusions *are* illusions; it is perverse to rank them with sense data. Illusory perception is not perception of the illusory. What is, is; what is not, is not; and what is is not *like* what is not. I grant that it is sometimes hard to know at first whether we are seeing or half-seeing, or not seeing the object; but the man who has his wits about him can always, as we say, 'fish and find out'. These are difficulties about the *subject* of perception, not about the object; they are no reflection on the reality of the given of sense. The sense datum is its own criterion, admits no other, needs no other.

The notion that sense data are internal, made by the mind of the observer or by his sense organs, and therefore incapable of forming an external world seems to me to be a survival of the

idealist habit of mind. When one is accustomed to look into the mirror of mind and see there one's own forms and categories, of course one will see there one's own sense data. But it is not hard to form the other habit. I open my eyes in daylight, and I take the given as given, just as I open my mouth and draw my breath. My sense data are mine just as much and just as little, as my breath is mine. I have watched the dawn of day in Connemara; I could not believe that I make that grand procession of colours and shapes and scents and harmonies. Philosophers who say that we first make our data and then observe them are clearly taking the same term twice over, once in the subject and once in the object. Mental interpretation, colour blindness, and all the other relevant facts stressed by psychologists, physiologists, and physicists, fall into their place when we take mind and sense organ together as the perceiving subject and take thing and so-called 'medium' (light, air, gas, &c.) together as the perceived object. Abnormalities in mind or sense organ and variations of light or temperature will, of course, yield corresponding variations in the apprehension; but there is nothing in the 'relativity' arguments to prove the internality of sense data, and very often they seem rather to prove the opposite.

Along such lines the constructive philosophy of immaterialism would, I think, proceed. All turns on the reality of the sense datum. In my view the sense datum is sufficient to explain all the sensible features of the common external world. I submit, therefore, that the concept of matter is a survival from an outworn philosophy, that nothing corresponds to it in fact, that the term is obsolescent, and that its complete disappearance from the technical vocabulary of the learned is desirable in the interests of simplicity and truth.

WARTON LECTURE ON ENGLISH POETRY

WORDSWORTH AND POPE

By J. R. SUTHERLAND

Read 9 February 1944

NO one who is familiar with the work of Sir Max Beerbohm is likely to forget the drawing in which Mr. John Morley is seen introducing John Stuart Mill to Dante Gabriel Rossetti. On his left stands the philosopher, gaunt and patient, gripping a little Gladstone bag which contains the manuscript of *The Subjection of Women*; on his right stands the plump and even fleshly painter. 'From my slight acquaintance with you', Mr. Morley is explaining to Rossetti, 'and from all that I have seen and heard of your work, I gather that women greatly interest you, and I have no doubt you are incensed at their subjection. . . .' In short, Mr. Morley is saying, 'You two ought to meet; you are both interested in women'. In much the same fashion I could imagine some unthinking enthusiast in the Elysian Fields introducing Wordsworth to Pope, and assuring them that they must have a lot in common since they are both interested in poetry. No doubt the two embarrassed poets would find on better acquaintance that they had some unexpected points of contact; but it is not with those that I am concerned here. I want rather to lay stress upon the fact that Pope and Wordsworth held widely divergent views about the nature of poetry; how it is written, what it is written about, for whom it is written, and what it should do for the reader. Some of those views are, I think, quite irreconcilable, but that does not mean that one poet is right and the other wrong; it means rather that those two poets should be kept apart, for they have a fatal tendency to destroy each other. The moment we judge the poetry of either poet by the standards of the other we are bound to do an injustice; and though there are signs that Pope is better appreciated by the present generation of readers than he was twenty or thirty years ago, he is still the one most likely to suffer, for he is still in danger of being judged by standards laid down by Wordsworth and not by his own.

That this should still be so is due partly to the fact that we are nearer in time to Wordsworth than we are to Pope, and there-

fore come more directly under his influence. But it is due even more to the remarkable force of Wordsworth's personality. What he had to say about poetry he said with complete confidence and finality; he spoke from deep conviction, for what he thought he had also felt—'felt in the blood, and felt along the heart'. In his own immediate circle of friends and relations no one, unless it was his son-in-law, Edward Quillinan, seems to have shown any willingness to challenge his opinions. Quillinan, indeed, took a perverse delight in teasing the old lion with straws.

I *always* persisted in my admiration [he told Crabb Robinson], lauded Pope to the skies as the most perfect of poetical artists, praised Campbell for his occasional elegance and lyrical spirit especially in the sea-battle songs and *Hohen linden*, quoted fine though often ill-expressed 'Thoughts' from Byron, importuned his ear with Tennyson. . . . For all my heresies of admiration, Mr. Wordsworth w^d sometimes sarcastically tell me that I had 'a Catholic taste'. . . .¹

Apart from Quillinan, however, Wordsworth appears to have met, inside the family circle, with an uncritical admiration that one can only regard as deplorable. Dorothy copies out the good and the bad indifferently, and sends it to the Beaumonts; it is William's new poem, and that is enough. There was Coleridge, of course; but as the years passed Coleridge became less and less useful to Wordsworth, or indeed to anyone. There was Lamb; but Lamb was apt to take the easy way, not only delighting in the good, but preferring to talk and write about it rather than about the bad. Outside the circle of relatives and intimate friends there were plenty of people like Francis Jeffrey ready enough to condemn and even ridicule Wordsworth's poetry; but though such attacks might ruffle the surface of the poet's temper they did not trouble the serene depths from which his poetry flowed. This utter confidence in himself came partly, no doubt, from his consciousness of possessing great powers and of work well done; but it came also, as indeed it did with Milton, from the very character of the man. It was simply in Wordsworth's nature to believe absolutely in himself and in his work. Like the Presbyterian divines besought by Cromwell in the bowels of Christ to think whether they might not be mistaken, Wordsworth was almost incapable of admitting that in his views about poetry he could be other than right, or that those who held different views could be other than wrong. The reason is not far

¹ *The Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson with the Wordsworth Circle*, ed. E. J. Morley (1927), vol. ii, p. 779.

to seek: when he is writing about poetry he is almost nowhere stating mere opinions, he is expressing convictions. He is doing that because to him poetry is of supreme importance, not merely to himself, the poet, but to mankind. It is not so much something to be discussed as to be lived. 'To be incapable of a feeling of Poetry in my sense of the word', he told Lady Beaumont, 'is to be without love of human nature and reverence for God.'¹ With Wordsworth poetry was already far on the way to being what Matthew Arnold seems to have expected it to become, the religion of the future. All this is undeniably impressive; and when we set in the opposite scale the Pope who kept protesting to his friends that he would rather be known as an honest man than as a good poet, the natural grandeur of Wordsworth's character is even further increased.

Yet this intense and single-minded devotion to a high calling had its dangers. Wordsworth has introduced into English literary criticism an evangelical, even a messianic, note. 'If you wish to be saved', he says in effect, 'you must follow me. You must put away your Pope, and most of your Dryden; you must give up this sonnet of Gray's except for a few phrases which I shall indicate to you; but you may read Lady Winchelsea, Thomson, Collins, and Dyer.' When Wordsworth speaks to me like that I am like the young man in the Bible who went away sorrowful because he had great possessions. But, indeed, why should one be sorrowful? Wordsworth, in fact, has done a good deal of harm to literary criticism by calling upon us to make a choice where no choice was necessary. There is no need to take sides as between Wordsworth and Pope; indeed, there is every reason for preserving a strict neutrality. But because Wordsworth chose to see Pope as a sort of anti-Christ of poetry, he succeeded in turning what is really an issue for literary criticism into something approaching a choice between good and evil; and the results are to be met with to this day in our schools and universities. Pope, it is true, was continually attacked in his own lifetime; but those contemporary critics of his—many of them merely scurrilous—did little to hurt his reputation. It is rather what happened to him in the nineteenth century that matters now, and it seems clear that Wordsworth did far more to damage Pope's reputation as a great poet than ever his contemporaries succeeded in doing. The dunces tried to show that he had failed in what he set out to do, that he was not a wit, that he wrote

¹ *Letters: The Middle Years*, ed. E. De Selincourt, vol. i, p. 126. All subsequent references are to this edition.

nonsense, and so on. Wordsworth's attack was far more devastating: he sought to show that what Pope admittedly had done was not worth doing, or not worth much.

I think we must assume that Wordsworth did know the poetry of Pope reasonably well. He had probably read Pope when he was a boy, but it is doubtful if he often turned to him in later years. Wordsworth's library was never very extensive, and it would be a mistake to deduce much from the books which he actually possessed; but it is interesting to note what volumes of eighteenth-century poetry he had in his house at the time of his death. He had some, or all, of Akenside, Beattie, Mason, Armstrong, Collins, Cowper, Robert Fergusson, Gray, Savage, Thomson, and an 'odd volume' of Pope. How that odd volume came into his possession we shall never know, but I must not use it to prove too much. Wordsworth had also in his possession a collected edition of the English poets, and there he could read Pope if he ever wished to do so. Still, the evidence, such as it is, seems to point to the fact that he managed to live comfortably enough without one of the numerous eighteenth-century editions of Pope in the house.

Nor are his references to Pope in letters, prefaces, or elsewhere at all numerous. In his letters he mentions the 'Ode on Solitude', the *Essay on Criticism*, and *The Rape of the Lock*, quotes a line from 'Eloisa to Abelard', and makes several comments on Pope's *Homer*. In his 'Essay on Epitaphs', however, he offers a more detailed criticism of Pope's various exercises in this form, and he had clearly studied them with some care. For the rest, the references are all of a general kind; they might have been made by anyone who had a nodding acquaintance with Pope's poetry.

But if he did not mention him often, Wordsworth has left us in no doubt about what he thought of Pope, and in particular of the translation of *Homer*. Pope, he was convinced, had done a great deal of harm to English poetry. 'It will require yet half a century', he wrote to Scott in 1808, 'completely to carry off the poison of Pope's *Homer*.'¹ The poison, as he makes clear elsewhere, lay partly in Pope's diction and partly in his balanced and antithetical verse, which in their turn were the expression of a mental attitude unfavourable to poetry. Twice he uses the word 'bewitched' to describe the effect of Pope on his contemporaries. 'He bewitched the nation by his melody, and dazzled it by his polished style, and was himself blinded by his own

¹ *Letters: The Middle Years*, vol. i, p. 458^d.

success'.¹ Lord Lyttleton would have written a better epitaph if he had not been 'seduced by the example of Pope, whose sparkling and tuneful manner had bewitched the men of letters his contemporaries, and corrupted the judgment of the nation through all ranks of society'.² Pope, then, poisons, bewitches, seduces, corrupts: such expressions may be somewhat lacking in that urbanity which Matthew Arnold desires in the critic, they may be 'at too great a distance from the centre of good taste', but they tell us unmistakably what Wordsworth felt about Pope. If we are to agree with Arnold that it is the mark of the provincial spirit that it 'exaggerates the value of its ideas', that it 'gives one idea too much prominence at the expense of others', and that 'it likes and dislikes too passionately, too exclusively', then Wordsworth, living in self-imposed isolation in Westmorland, had all the characteristics of a provincial. That he happened to be a provincial of genius made him a great poet, but made him, too, not so much a great, as a passionate, critic. Elsewhere (to complete the record) Wordsworth complains that Pope's poetry is artificial and unnatural; he 'wandered from humanity in his Eclogues with boyish inexperience', and never really returned to it. He came to believe that 'Nature was not to be trusted';³ his Epitaphs are 'little better than a tissue of false thoughts' untouched by genuine human feeling; yet so powerful was his influence that 'a great portion of original genius was necessary to embolden a man to write faithfully to Nature upon any affecting subject if it belonged to a class of composition in which Pope had furnished examples'.⁴ There are other minor charges, but I believe that I have now given the substance of Wordsworth's accusation. In a more charitable mood he was prepared to admit that if he had not taken the wrong turning at the very outset Pope might have been a great poet; he was 'a man most highly gifted—but unluckily he took the Plain, when the Heights were within his reach'.⁵ That is as far as Wordsworth allowed himself to go in praise of Pope; but in almost every one of his references to the eighteenth-century poet there is evidence that he felt his power, even though he considered that it was no better than the power of Lucifer, Prince of Darkness.

To understand what lay behind Wordsworth's attitude one

¹ *Wordsworth's Literary Criticism*, ed. Nowell C. Smith ('Essay Supplementary to Preface'), p. 183.

² *Ibid.* ('Upon Epitaphs'), p. 115.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

⁵ *Letters: The Later Years*, vol. i, p. 346.

must remember that for him Pope was only the most distinguished writer of a misguided school,

by merit raised
To that bad eminence.

His criticism of Pope must necessarily be related to his views on the nature of poetry in general. I propose, therefore, very briefly, to examine some of Wordsworth's views on poetry, and I will begin with one that goes to the very root of his quarrel with Pope.

Wordsworth disliked Pope's poetry because so much of it was Satire. His reasoning here was perfectly simple and entirely consistent: he believed with Coleridge that

All thoughts, all passions, all delights,
Whatever stirs this mortal frame,
All are but ministers of Love,
And feed his sacred flame.

For Wordsworth everything worth having had its origin in love, and, conversely, nothing of value could be born of hate. It was through love that the mind of the poet entered into and possessed the object of his contemplation; it was by love and admiration that his imagination was aroused, and that he was enabled to perceive and to reveal. If Wordsworth thinks of love as the active, creative principle in life and in poetry, he is equally convinced that hatred and contempt lie like a frost upon the sensibility, numbing the perceptions and deadening the powers of the imagination. As early as 1795, in 'Lines left upon a Seat in a Yew-tree', he had given noble expression to those beliefs:

If Thou be one whose heart the holy forms
Of young imagination have kept pure,
Stranger! henceforth be warned; and know that pride,
Howe'er disguised in its own majesty,
Is littleness; that he who feels contempt
For any living thing hath faculties
Which he has never used; that thought with him
Is in its infancy. . . .

O be wiser, Thou!
Instructed that true knowledge leads to love. . . .

Later he was to develop those ideas in the *Prelude* and the *Excursion*, and to claim that

We live by Admiration, Hope, and Love.

From first to last Wordsworth laboured in his poetry, as he said himself, to turn men's minds from that pride which induces

people 'to dwell upon those points wherein men differ from each other, to the exclusion of those in which all men are alike, or the same'.¹ In Pope, he felt, there was far too little of either love or admiration, and far too much of denigration and hate. 'Pope's mind', he claimed, 'had been employed chiefly in observation upon the vices and follies of men'; whereas 'in the mind of the truly great and good everything that is of importance is at peace with itself; all is stillness, sweetness and stable grandeur'.² The satirist, in fact, by adopting a critical attitude to the object of his contemplation, was standing apart from it, and in a position of conscious superiority. So far from achieving that sympathy—and even at times that complete identification of himself with the object—which Wordsworth desired, the satirist was delighting in his separation from it. His attitude of mind, so Wordsworth believed, was reflected in the antithetical style of Dryden and Pope, which was the inevitable outcome of 'qualities and actions at war with each other and with themselves'.³ There had been a brief period when Wordsworth himself toyed with satire. In 1796 he was collaborating with his friend, Francis Wrangham, in a loose translation or imitation of Juvenal's eighth satire, of which some specimens have been preserved in his letters. 'I attempt to write satires,' he told an old college friend, 'and in all satires, whatever the authors may say, there will be found a spice of malignity'.⁴ For some time, therefore, Wordsworth encouraged himself to hate, and to express his real or artificially induced malignity in satirical couplets in the manner of Pope. But the project was soon dropped, and when Wrangham reminded him of it twelve years later he told him that he had long since resolved to steer clear of personal satire. There can be no question that this was the right decision for Wordsworth. Anyone who doubts this should read the letters which he wrote in 1832, when the Reform Bill, to which he was bitterly opposed, was passing through the two Houses of Parliament. In those days of political crisis he found it impossible to maintain that 'wise passiveness' which he himself had praised; the corruption of a poet had proved the generation of a politician. On 25 June 1832 he is apologizing to a correspondent for having taken so long to reply to his letter. 'I have for some time,' he explains, 'from private and public causes of sorrow and apprehension, been in a great measure deprived of those genial feelings

¹ *Wordsworth's Literary Criticism*, ed. cit. ('Essay Supplementary to Preface'), p. 196.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 124.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁴ *The Early Letters*, p. 155.

which, thro' life, have not been so much accompaniments of my character, as vital principles of my existence.'¹ In such a state Wordsworth's creative faculties were frozen at the source.

But can we say the same of Pope? Would it, in fact, have been to the advantage of Pope's poetry if he too had steered clear of satire, and written, perhaps, better *Pastorals* or a maturer *Windsor Forest*? Setting aside the moral issue as to the relative value of love and hate (which, of course, Wordsworth would never have agreed to do), we shall find, I think, that what paralysed or nullified the thought of Wordsworth actually stimulated that of Pope. Surely we must accept here a difference of artistic temperament. Anger works differently in different people; it makes one man speechless, and it endows another with unexpected eloquence. Pope's anger (which has been much exaggerated) rarely seems to have hurt him as an artist; indeed, it may be said to have helped him to bring his thought and feeling to a focus. And without sophistry I think it may be argued that the anger of Pope—and, for that matter, of Swift—was often only the reverse side of their love: a man must surely care greatly for something if he is able to grow indignant at the contemplation of its opposite. Pope cared greatly for good literature and fine minds and fine character, for keeping up the standards of culture and good taste, for maintaining the integrity of the Augustan order; it was partly the accident of his temperament and of his age that he should so frequently express his 'admiration, hope, and love' through the medium of satire. Had Wordsworth been a satirist he would, no doubt, have expressed his strong sympathy with the poor and humble by deriding the futility and affectation of the rich. Instead, he sublimates the poor, transfigures them.

This leads us to another assumption of Wordsworth's which accounts for much of what he says about Pope. Writing to Lady Beaumont in 1807, he remarks upon

the pure absolute honest ignorance, in which all worldlings of every rank and situation must be enveloped, with respect to the thoughts, feelings, and images, on which the life of my Poems depends. The things which I have taken, whether from within or without,—what have they to do with routs, dinners, morning calls, hurry from door to door, from street to street, on foot or in Carriage; with Mr. Pitt or Mr. Fox, Mr. Paul or Sir Francis Burdett, the Westminster Election or the Borough of Honiton? . . . What have they to do (to say all at once)

¹ *Letters: The Later Years*, vol. ii, p. 625.

with a life without love? in such a life there can be no thought; for we have no thought (save thoughts of pain) but as far as we have love and admiration.

And he goes on to assert that

there neither is, nor can be, any genuine enjoyment of Poetry among nineteen out of twenty of those persons who live, or wish to live, in the broad light of the world—among those who either are, or are striving to make themselves, people of consideration in society.¹

I hope it will not seem irreverent if I say at once what this reminds me of, for the parallel seems to me irresistible. I am reminded of the words of Christ to his disciples: 'Except ye become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.' To Wordsworth there could be no entry into the kingdom of poetry except for the unworldly, the unsophisticated, and—one might almost say—the uneducated. It was his sad belief that the greater part of the literature which his fellow countrymen produced from one year to another was addressed exclusively to the privileged few, that it flattered their self-esteem and truckled to their prejudices. Quite early in life he had found, as he tells us in the *Prelude*,

How books mislead us, seeking their reward
From judgements of the wealthy Few, who see
By artificial lights; how they debase
The Many for the pleasures of those Few. . . . (xiii. 208–11)

One knows how he set himself to write about the poor and humble, the simple and unsophisticated, and how he annoyed the Edinburgh reviewer by doing so; it is not perhaps so fully realized how eager he was that his readers too should be drawn from this same class, and how delighted he was if he found that his works were giving pleasure to the humble and to those who did not live 'in the broad light of the world'. In 1808, for instance, he had an experience which would be dear to any author. Returning from London by coach he happened, in the course of his journey, to mention Grasmere, and one of his fellow passengers asked immediately if one Wordsworth did not live there. The poet answered with a non-committal 'yes'. The man, however, who turned out to be a grocer, went on to explain his interest in Wordsworth. 'He has written some very beautiful poems; the critics do indeed cry out against them, and condemn them as over-simple, but for my part I read them with great

¹ *Letters: The Middle Years*, vol. i, pp. 125–6.

pleasure; they are natural and true.’¹ Such words coming from a Lamb or a Coleridge would be welcome enough, but coming from a grocer they were doubly welcome, for they told Wordsworth that his poems were really penetrating to that class of society which he regarded as still unspoilt. As he grew older Wordsworth looked with more and more misgiving at the great social changes which were taking place around him. On the one side, there was the drift to the towns, the increasing demand for unskilled and badly paid labour in the factories, the spread of popular education, and, with all these, the weakening of family ties and of natural piety. He dreaded the growth of what we should now call the proletariat. On the other side he saw the ‘wealthy few’, and the steadily widening gap between the economic and social status of the well-to-do and the poor. His grocer, he felt, was still near to the ‘natural man’; his literary judgements were sound and spontaneous. He was the people, the common reader; and, in the words of Dr. Johnson, ‘by the common sense of readers uncorrupted with literary prejudices, after all the refinements of subtilty and the dogmatism of learning, must be finally decided all claims to poetical honours’. The ‘common reader’, however, can hardly have meant the same thing to Wordsworth as to Johnson. How far Wordsworth had been driven by his social and political opinions, as well as by the neglect of the fashionable public and the patronizing ridicule of reviewers, to look for his readers among those lower ranks of society which were still permeated by a traditional English culture may be seen from another letter written in 1808. After remarking on the ‘half-penny ballads, and penny and two-penny histories’ which were circulated by pedlars among the dalesmen of Westmorland, he goes on to reflect that those popular pieces are not always as improving as they ought to be; some of them perpetuate superstition, and others are sadly indelicate.

I have so much felt the influence of these straggling papers, that I have many a time wished that I had talents to produce songs, poems, and little histories, that might circulate among other good things in this way, supplanting partly the bad; flowers and useful herbs to take [the] place of weeds. Indeed some of the Poems which I have published were composed, not without a hope that at some time or other they might answer this purpose.²

Here, indeed, Wordsworth has turned his back upon the ‘wealthy few’ and is writing for the impecunious many; and in so far as

¹ *Letters: The Middle Years*, vol. i, p. 187.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 223-4.

he carried into practice the views expressed in this letter, he was addressing himself to a class of reader who did not exist at all for Pope, or who existed only to be, like Stephen Duck, the object of polite ridicule.

For Pope did not write for grocers, nor for his gardener, nor for the waterman who carried him over the Thames; and it would be dishonest in any friend of Pope, anxious for his reputation in a more democratic age, to suggest that he did. He wrote rather for the gentlemen and others who had subscribed for his *Homer*; for Mr. Addison and Dr. Swift and the Misses Blount; for Bolingbroke and Bathurst and Chesterfield and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu—for those, in fact, who lived 'in the broad light of the world'. That his works achieved a popularity in the early eighteenth century far exceeding that of Wordsworth's in the early nineteenth century should at least suggest that they satisfied a wider public than that to which they were consciously addressed. Still, they *were* submitted to 'the judgement of the wealthy Few', and Pope never doubted the superiority of their judgement where literature or any other of the fine arts was concerned. That the polite and refined could judge better of poetry than the uneducated seemed to Pope to be self-evident, and not only to Pope but to most of his generation. When Addison put forward a rather tentative recommendation of the old ballad of *Chevy Chase* on the grounds that 'human nature is the same in all reasonable creatures, and whatever falls in with it will meet with admirers among readers of all qualities and conditions',¹ John Dennis fastened like a terrier on this mild heretic and tore his argument to shreds. Could the author of the *Spectator* be so absurd as to believe that the rabble are better judges than those who have had a generous education? They may be good judges of what is low or depraved in human nature, like the old woman to whom Molière used to read his plays, but of nothing else. To compare passages from *Chevy Chase* with Virgil is (Dennis thinks) simply ridiculous:

The Hounds ran swiftly thro' the Wood
The nimble Deer to take,
And with their Cries the Hills and Dales
An Eccho shrill did make.

Addison had pointed to a resemblance between the two last lines and Virgil's 'Et vox assensu nemorum ingeminata remugit'. But to Dennis Virgil is poetry, the other is doggerel. What is

¹ *Spectator*, No. 70.

there in that stanza, he asks, 'but what is vile and trivial? What Ploughman, what Tinker, what Trull is not capable of saying the like?' For Dennis that disposed of the matter; but when one remembers how the lively and idiomatic speech of ploughmen, tinkers, and trulls delighted Wordsworth, one realizes that the views of Wordsworth and Dennis on what is capable of affording poetic pleasure were almost irreconcilable. The advantage here lies with Wordsworth, who was capable of enjoying both *Chevy Chase* and Virgil; yet he obstinately shut his eyes to much or what might have pleased him in eighteenth-century poetry, and enjoyed in the diction of Virgil and Milton what he refused to accept from Pope. The poet, he claimed, 'is a man speaking to men'; in the eighteenth century they would have agreed, with the one important qualification that he is 'a man speaking to educated men'. Wordsworth's frequently expressed distinction between the 'public' and the 'people',² between the fashionable and the common reader, was, I think, an unfortunate one, and partly reflected his disappointment at the slow sale of his poetical works. For Pope, the real distinction was between the educated and the uneducated. To the uneducated, as we have seen, Pope did not think of addressing himself at all; the poetry which he wrote presupposed a community of readers who had reached approximately the same level of culture as himself, and who had even the same sort of culture. If this limits the range of his effects in one direction, it widens it in another; it cuts him off from the possibility of writing 'The Idiot Boy', or 'Peter Bell', or 'Goody Blake and Harry Gill', but it gives us the subtleties, and the literary vibrations, and 'that trembling delicate and snail-horn perception of beauty' of *The Rape of the Lock*. And it would be safe to say that *The Rape of the Lock* would never have been written unless there had been a sophisticated public ready to receive it, a public with a taste for this sort of artificial poetry just as it had a taste for Queen Anne teapots and chairs and tables. To Wordsworth the very use of the word 'taste' in this connexion was deplorable. He has nothing but scorn for those who 'will converse with us gravely about a *taste* for Poetry, as they express it, as if it were a thing as indifferent as a taste for rope-dancing, or Frontiniac or Sherry'.³ In fact, he made claims for poetry that he would not have been prepared to make

¹ *The Critical Works of John Dennis*, ed. E. N. Hooker, vol. ii, p. 37.

² E.g. *Letters: The Middle Years*, vol. i, p. 169. 'The *People* would love the Poem of Peter Bell, but the *Public* (a very different Being) will never love it.'

³ *Wordsworth's Literary Criticism*, ed. cit., p. 25.

for painting or music or dancing: I think he would have agreed that one might speak, with no outrage to language, of having a taste for any of these. They were arts, but Poetry was—what? It was an art, too, of course, as Wordsworth himself was fond of reminding young people who took to writing verse; but it was far more than that. It was ‘the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge’, and its dwelling was

the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man.

Perhaps no poet has ever written more magnificently about poetry than Wordsworth. But to Pope and his generation poetry was primarily one of the arts, and he would have seen nothing improper in having a taste for it, or in developing that taste in the same way as one develops one’s taste for sherry. The savouring of eighteenth-century poetry by the connoisseur, the distinguishing of the various vintages in Pope himself, or of the Prior type from the Gay type, is just what is needed, and what is to-day so rarely to be obtained. When we find Dr. Johnson, who is popularly thought to have had no ear for the subtleties of versification, remarking that the poet Young’s couplets have not ‘any resemblance to those of former writers’, it ought surely to suggest to us that there were niceties for the responsive reader in the eighteenth century that too few readers of its poetry are aware of to-day. It would be well if those critics who talk about the tyranny of the heroic couplet showed some of Johnson’s awareness of its variety and delicacy. One will never do justice to Pope unless one has learnt to appreciate to the full his delicacy of perception and his unwearying search for finality of phrase. He would perfectly have understood Henry James’s remark about ‘the wear and tear of discrimination’.

Since Pope wrote for the educated, and even the sophisticated reader, we must expect to find him more at his ease with the artificial than the natural, and with the sophisticated than the naïve. And here again, as we might expect, Wordsworth criticizes him severely. He submits Pope’s epitaph on Mrs. Corbet, which Johnson had pronounced the best of them all, to a merciless examination. He complains that in this epitaph ‘the true impulse is wanting’, by which I think he means that Pope didn’t care greatly whether Mrs. Corbet lived or died. We have, of course, no yardstick by which we can measure the depth of Pope’s sorrow at the death of Mrs. Corbet, but if we had, our

knowledge would be almost an impertinence. What really matters here, I believe, is the feeling which was generated in the poet when he was writing the epitaph, the feeling, that is to say, of the artist and not of the man. As often as not, what we meet with in Pope is an emotion which is generated by the very act of composition. In Coleridge's fine phrase, 'the wheels take fire from the mere rapidity of their motion'. When Pope wrote under the pressure of his normal feelings as a man the result was sometimes unfortunate. In the summer of 1718, for example, he was staying in the country with Lord Harcourt, when a violent thunderstorm swept across the district, and two young lovers, John Hewet and Sarah Drew, were struck dead by lightning as they lay sheltering in each other's arms. Pope was deeply shocked by this tragic event, how deeply one can see from the letters which he wrote at the time. At the request of Lord Harcourt he set about writing an epitaph for the two lovers. I will not 'read' it; I will only say that it seems to me the most unfortunate piece of composition that ever came from his pen. The incident, one might say, was ideally suited to Wordsworth; the thunderbolt which killed those two young haymakers should have fallen a hundred years later in the Lake district. Pope, in the grip of spontaneous and natural feelings, was thrown off his artistic balance; and in any case John Hewet and Sarah Drew were outside his poetical idiom. He was faced, in fact, with a real dilemma: he had to choose on this occasion between being true to his feelings as a man and his feelings as an artist, and here the two were mutually destructive. It is not often so with Pope; for he had all the sensitiveness of a great artist, and an almost infallible awareness of what lay within his poetic range, and to what his poetic technique could be successfully applied. So we have the very different 'Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady' and 'Eloisa to Abelard', and so we get the perfect balance and restraint of the lines on Parnell, addressed to Robert Harley:

Such were the notes thy once-lov'd poet sung,
'Till Death untimely stopp'd his tuneful tongue. . . .

The feeling, I have said, of the artist, not of the man: it was just this sort of feeling that Wordsworth, I believe, found very hard to understand because he had so little experience of it. The feeling that lies behind one poem of Wordsworth's after another is just his natural feeling as a man. His notion of an epitaph was that the thoughts expressed in it should be 'instinctively ejacu-

lated or should rise irresistibly from circumstances'.¹ The occasion of writing an epitaph, he points out, 'is matter-of-fact in its intensity', and forbids any other forms of expression than 'those which the very strength of passion has created.'² An epitaph, in other words, is in the most literal sense 'the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings'; Wordsworth seems to assume that it is never properly written except by the mourner himself, and comes nearest to perfection when it comes nearest to being a cry of the heart. To all this one can only reply that the eighteenth century thought very differently about those things: their tombstones were elaborate and dignified pieces of sculpture, and their epitaphs were chiselled out in the writer's mind with the same sort of labour and formality. Spontaneity was no more to be expected from the author of the inscription than from the sculptor or mason. To attack the eighteenth-century epitaph, as Wordsworth does, is to deny the very principles upon which eighteenth-century poetry rested.

When, however, I read on, and find what Wordsworth is prepared to commend after his wholesale condemnation of Pope's epitaphs, I begin to feel that there must be more in having a taste for poetry than he will allow. As an example of an epitaph that will be read with pleasure if our primary associations have not been stifled by a bad education, Wordsworth puts forward the following lines on an infant who died at the age of ten months:

The Babe was sucking at the breast
When God did call him to his rest.

If I say what I really think of those two lines—the composition, I am convinced, of some local stonemason—I shall lay myself open to the charge of hearing 'with a disdainful smile the short and simple annals of the poor'. Yet I can only say of them what George III said to Fanny Burney about Shakespeare: 'Was there ever such stuff . . . ? Only one must not say so! But what think you?—what? Is it not sad stuff?' It appealed to Wordsworth, I imagine, because it was unsophisticated, and because he had found the pathetic little tomb in a country churchyard, and because he had a romantic sympathy with the primitive, and a natural tendency to side with the mute inglorious Miltons of village communities. Here again Wordsworth saw the issue quite simply: for him it was a straight choice between the good and the bad, the good being what was simple and natural, the bad being what was elaborate and artificial. It is remarkable

¹ *Wordsworth's Literary Criticism*, ed. cit., p. 121.

² *Ibid.*, p. 118.

how deeply this habit of equating the artificial with the bad has taken root in the English mind. But surely what we have to deal with here is a matter of taste. When Wordsworth singles out Lady Winchelsea for praise because her style is

entirely free from sparkle, antithesis, and that over-culture which reminds one by its broad glare, its stiffness, and heaviness of the double daisies of the garden, compared with their modest and sensitive kindred of the fields,¹

I recognize the taste that prompts him to utter such sentiments, but I do not feel entitled to condemn those who do not share this taste, and still less to make a moral issue of what is primarily a question of aesthetics.

I have said less than enough about Wordsworth's preference for humble and rustic life. He chose to write about it, you will remember,

because, in that condition, the essential passions of the heart find a better soil in which they can attain their maturity, are less under restraint, and speak a plainer and more emphatic language; because in that condition of life our elementary feelings coexist in a state of greater simplicity, and, consequently, may be more accurately contemplated, and more forcibly communicated.²

This famous statement has frequently been quoted with approval, but I doubt if it has often been very closely examined. So far as the second half of the sentence is concerned, it has always seemed to me that Wordsworth is making the same sort of statement as a lecturer in zoology who says to his class: 'I have chosen frogs for dissection because I find it easiest with frogs to demonstrate the various organs.' Frogs, in fact, are not very complicated creatures, and therefore to the zoologist they 'speak a plainer and more emphatic language', and their various organs—heart, lungs, spleen, and so forth—can be 'more accurately contemplated'. Well, so they do, and so they can; but if one were to confine oneself to the study of frogs, one would remain ignorant of a great deal of delicate and subtle animal mechanism. Pope, one might almost say, begins where Wordsworth leaves off, just as Henry James begins where Thomas Hardy leaves off; the field of observation is altogether different.

I have said nothing of that artificial poetic diction which Wordsworth abominated, but I am the less concerned for this omission because the subject has been admirably dealt with by

¹ *Letters: The Later Years*, vol. i, p. 478.

² *Wordsworth's Literary Criticism*, ed. cit., p. 14.

Mr. Geoffrey Tillotson in a recent volume of critical essays. I will only say that at its best—in Pope or Gay, for instance—eighteenth-century poetic diction seems to me wholly delightful, and perfectly adapted to its purpose. To account for Wordsworth's almost puritanical horror of it, one would have to give full weight (as Mr. Eliot has seen) to his social and political views, and one would have to consider again his whole conception of poetry. 'Expression', Pope had said, 'is the dress of thought.' 'Words are too awful an instrument for good or evil, to be trifled with', Wordsworth wrote in his 'Essay upon Epitaphs'; and then, almost as if he were deliberately answering Pope: 'If words be not . . . an incarnation of the thought, but only a clothing for it, then surely will they prove an ill gift.'¹ Discussion of Wordsworth's views about the language of poetry might well start from that statement; it would bring us nearer to what he really thought, and why he thought it, than beating over the old ground of 'the language really spoken by men' or the language of 'humble and rustic life'.

Finally, I have said nothing about Wordsworth's complaint that Pope and his contemporaries were insensitive to the beauties of Nature. I doubt if they were; but they certainly did not give Nature a large place in their poetry, nor did they—for reasons which seemed good to them—describe Nature in detail. We are apt to forget that in this it was the eighteenth century that was normal, and Wordsworth abnormal. So great has Wordsworth's influence been on later generations, that when I was a boy I simply assumed that all real poets wrote all the time about Nature; it hardly occurred to me that there could be any other subject for them. I did not realize then how much the prestige of skylarks and cuckoos and waterfalls was due to Wordsworth, nor to what an extent he had here, as elsewhere, succeeded in imposing his own peculiar way of thinking and feeling upon us. In his own words he has 'widened the sphere of human sensibility', and himself 'created the taste by which he is to be enjoyed'. But I am not sure that he has not induced some of his disciples to lose their sense of proportion about Nature, and he is largely responsible, along with his fellow romantics, for that dreariest of all cults, the cult of scenery. Here I may perhaps be allowed to recall an incident in Wordsworth's life which is not, I believe, generally known. In February 1805 I find him writing to his friend, Richard Sharp, in a strain which is at once comic and passionate:

¹ *Wordsworth's Literary Criticism*, ed. cit., p. 129.

Woe to poor Grasmere for ever and ever! A wretched Creature, wretched in name and Nature, of the name of *Crump*, goaded on by his still more wretched Wife (for by the bye, the man, though a Liverpool Attorney, is, I am told, a very good sort of Fellow, but the wife as ambitious as Semiramis),—this same Wretch has at last begun to put his long impending threats in execution; and when you next enter the sweet paradise of Grasmere you will see staring you in the face, upon that beautiful ridge that elbows out into the Vale, (behind the church and towering far above its steeple), a temple of abomination, in which are to be enshrined Mr. and Mrs. Crump. Seriously, this is a great vexation to us, as this House will stare you in the face from every part of the Vale, and entirely destroy its character of simplicity and seclusion.¹

The rather surprising sequel to this letter came three years later, when Wordsworth and his family had become so far reconciled to this temple of abomination, Allan Bank, that they rented it from Mr. Crump and lived in it for the next three years. When I add that the chimneys smoked so terribly that the Wordsworths were almost afraid to light fires in the winter, it may seem that Mr. Crump was taking an unconscious revenge.

I return, then, to the point from which I started. To-day we can see, more clearly than was possible for the men of Matthew Arnold's generation, that many of Wordsworth's statements about poetry are no more than the expression of his personal preferences, though Wordsworth himself mistook them for pronouncements of universal validity. What he has to say about Pope has usually little value as a criticism of Pope's poetry, though it is invaluable as a manifesto for his own. But his criticism of Pope and his views upon the nature of poetry have made an unbiased approach to Pope unusually difficult for several generations of readers; and the uncompromising tone of Wordsworth's criticism has made it appear that the price of enjoying his own poetry is to reject Pope's. If this was really so in 1800, it is certainly not so to-day. The twentieth-century reader is not a partisan in that old quarrel; he is free to enjoy both Wordsworth and Pope, and he is an imperfect reader if he cannot. If there are some who still doubt this, I would remind them of the warning which Wordsworth himself felt it necessary to give to readers of the *Lyrical Ballads* in 1798:

It is desirable that such readers, for their own sakes, should not suffer the solitary word Poetry, a word of very disputed meaning, to stand in the way of their gratification.

¹ *The Early Letters*, p. 441.

ANNUAL LECTURE ON A MASTER MIND

HENRIETTE HERTZ TRUST

SAMUEL JOHNSON

By S. C. ROBERTS, M.A.

Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge

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I

HOLY Week 1778. On Monday Johnson dined at Bennet Langton's, in company with Boswell, Dr. Porteus (Bishop of Chester), and Dr. Stinton (Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury). Before dinner Johnson was silent. Later he talked of Horatian syntax and of literary style. Topham Beauclerk came in afterwards and Johnson and Boswell stayed to supper. Reference was made to a wish once expressed by Dr. Dodd to be a member of the Club. 'I should be sorry', said Johnson, 'if any of our club were hanged. I will not say but some of them deserve it.'

On Tuesday Johnson dined at General Oglethorpe's, with General Paoli, Bennet Langton, and Boswell. Having, as usual, spoken in defence of luxury, Johnson was led to a discussion of forms of government: 'The more contracted that power is,' he declared, 'the more easily it is destroyed. A country governed by a despot is an inverted cone.' From political theory he passed to an examination of the etymology of macaronic verses.

On Wednesday there was rather a larger dinner-party at Mr. Dilly's. The company included Mrs. Knowles, the Quakeress, Miss Seward (the Swan of Lichfield), Dr. Mayo (the dissenting minister whose courage in remaining unmoved by Johnson's blows earned him the name of the Literary Anvil), Mr. Beresford (tutor to the Duke of Bedford), Boswell, and Johnson. Before dinner Johnson was deep in Charles Sheridan's recently published *Account of the late Revolution in Sweden*, so deep that he took the book to the table with him and wrapped it in the table-cloth with a view to reading it between the courses. Not that the dinner was neglected—indeed, an early topic of conversation was cookery and cookery books. 'I could write a better book of cookery', Johnson boasted, 'than has ever yet been

written; it should be a book upon philosophical principles.' From cookery Johnson went on to describe how he had acted as literary agent for an English Benedictine's translation of the Duke of Berwick's memoirs and then to argue with Mrs. Knowles about the limits of feminine freedom. Questioned by Dr. Mayo, Johnson gave his opinion of Soame Jenyns's *View of the Internal Evidence of the Christian Religion*: 'I think it a pretty book; not very theological indeed.' From this followed a discussion of friendship as a Christian virtue: 'Christianity', said Johnson, 'recommends universal benevolence, to consider all men as our brethren. . . . Surely, Madam, your sect must approve of this; for you call all men *friends*.' 'We are commanded to do good to all men', replied Mrs. Knowles, 'but especially to them who are of the household of Faith', and, when Johnson commented that the household was wide enough, 'But Doctor', said Mrs. Knowles, 'our Saviour had twelve Apostles, yet there was *one* whom he *loved*. John was called "the disciple whom Jesus loved"''. At which Johnson's eyes sparkled with benignant admiration: 'Very well, indeed, Madam. You have said very well.'

But upon this pleasant atmosphere of felicitation a sudden storm broke: 'I am willing to love all mankind', roared Johnson in a voice which Boswell felt might be heard across the Atlantic, 'except an American.' 'Pray, Sir', said Dr. Mayo after Boswell had successfully effected a diversion, 'have you read Edwards, of New England, on Grace?' 'No, Sir', replied Johnson. One feels that Dr. Mayo might more suitably have chosen a theologian nearer home. Soon, however, Johnson was drawn into a discussion of Free Will. All theory was against it, he said, all experience for it. Again he defended luxury, criticizing Mandeville for reckoning among the vices everything that gives pleasure. Pleasure was not necessarily a vice, though many individual pleasures were vicious. The happiness of heaven would be that pleasure and virtue would be perfectly consistent. Meanwhile the happiness of society must depend upon virtue. A disparaging reference having been made to William Mason, Johnson was ready with an explanation: 'Mason's a Whig.' 'What! a Prig, Sir?' said Mrs Knowles, not hearing distinctly. 'Worse, Madam; a Whig! But he is both.'

More serious talk was to follow. When Boswell expressed horror at the thought of death, Mrs. Knowles replied that it was the gate of life. Johnson was not to be so easily comforted. Standing upon the hearth and gloomily rolling about, he declared: 'No rational man can die without uneasy appre-

hension.' A long argument followed, with Johnson concluding: 'The lady confounds annihilation, which is nothing, with the apprehension of it, which is dreadful.' The talk turned to John Wesley and his ghost story, and Johnson set great importance upon ghost stories. Finally, he was roused to quite disproportionate indignation concerning a young lady's conversion to Quakerism. The ladies of the company were shocked by his vehemence.

'We remained together', writes Boswell, 'till it was pretty late. Notwithstanding occasional explosions of violence, we were all delighted upon the whole with Johnson.'

Here is the familiar Johnson as portrayed in some of the most brilliant pages of Boswell's social chronicle, pages which present a microcosm of Johnson's opinions and prejudices and show him discussing cookery books and the eternal verities with equal gusto. It is Johnson as we most frequently and most naturally think of him. If we accept Sir Max Beerbohm's division of mankind into the two classes of hosts and guests, there can be no doubt of the category into which Johnson will fall. He was one of the great guests of history—not that he could be relied upon to be charming, or even civil. But to have Johnson as a guest was to bring distinction upon the party. There might, of course, be an element of speculation. Would he talk and would he talk well? Anger and contradictory violence were not feared; the fear was that he might not talk at all. It was a fear that was not often realized.

But dictatorship of the dinner-table did not constitute the whole Johnson. On the Good Friday following the series of dinner-parties Johnson, accompanied by Boswell, followed his usual practice of attending divine service at St. Clement Danes. They had, as usual, talked too long after breakfast and arrived at church late—at the second lesson in fact. But on the return from this service there occurred an encounter that was unusual. It was with Oliver Edwards, who had been an undergraduate with Johnson at Pembroke College, Oxford. It was when they had reached Johnson's house that Mr. Edwards delivered himself of his immortal apologia: 'You are a philosopher, Dr. Johnson. I have tried too in my time to be a philosopher; but, I don't know how, cheerfulness was always breaking in.' Mr. Edwards's personal confession has established itself so firmly in the affections of generations of readers that his opening words are apt to be forgotten. 'You are a philosopher, Dr. Johnson'—not 'You are a famous man of letters', not 'You are the Great

Lexicographer'; but 'You are a philosopher'. It was forty-nine years since the two men had met. Edwards had practised successfully as a Chancery lawyer and had retired to a farm in the country. From time to time he had read about Johnson in the newspapers; from time to time, no doubt, he had dipped into the pages of *Rasselas* or *The Rambler*. He was, literally, the man in the street and instinctively he addressed Johnson as a philosopher. It is a reputation which Johnson has not maintained. Historians of English thought pay but scant attention to him, and the late Professor Alexander concluded that he was very little of a philosopher in the stricter sense of the term. Certainly no one would argue that Johnson was a metaphysician. Philosophy, according to Berkeley, was nothing else but the study of wisdom and truth, and of philosophy in this sense Johnson might well claim to be an assiduous student; but when he was confronted with Berkeley's theory of the non-existence of Matter, he disposed of it in the manner of the Grand Philistine. It is indeed to be feared that Johnson never applied his mind to an examination of what Berkeley's theory implied; for Berkeley did not deny the existence of a stone which could be kicked; what he denied was the existence of Matter which could neither be kicked nor apprehended by any other human sense. But Johnson was not primarily interested in definitions of reality. The miseries of human life had for him a reality which made him impatient of a discussion whether a chair which he had just seen in a room had an existence of its own after he had left the room and shut the door. Philosophy interested Johnson only in its application to human conduct and human happiness; and when Soame Jenyns endeavoured to justify the dictum 'whatever is, is right' by maintaining that the sufferings of individuals were necessary to universal happiness, Johnson had little difficulty in demolishing an argument which ended, as he said, 'in belief that for the Evils of life there is some good reason and in confession that the reason cannot be found'.

II

What Mr. Edwards meant, in short, was that Johnson was a moralist. Fifty years before their chance encounter, Johnson had arrived at Oxford as a freshman of exceptionally wide reading and scholastic promise. His scheme of study was grandiose; also, after a reading of Law's *Serious Call*, he began to think in earnest about religion. At the end of four terms he had

come down—the scholar *manqué*. Poverty, ill health, and the idleness of melancholia militated against the achievement of scholastic ambition. Two courses were open to him—school-mastering and journalism—and he tried them both. When he arrived in London with 2½*d.* in his pocket in 1737, he entered into the life of Grub Street without a whine. Three years earlier he had issued Proposals for an edition of the Latin works of Politian, together with a history of modern Latin poetry from Petrarch to Politian; he had also written to Edward Cave, founder and editor of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, offering him ‘short literary dissertations in Latin or English, critical remarks on authors ancient or modern . . .’ and suggesting that such pieces might be preferable to ‘low jests, awkward buffoonery, or the dull scurrilities of either party’. From the beginning, Johnson’s approach to literature is that of the moralist as well as of the scholar. Cave, of whom it is recorded that ‘he had no great relish for mirth, but could bear it’, was Johnson’s employer, in the gallery of the House of Commons and elsewhere, for many years. It was he who printed, for publication by Robert Dodsley, Johnson’s first poem, *London*, a poem which is a passionate attack upon corruption at home and appeasement abroad. Juvenal was the master-moralist whom he delighted to follow in painting his picture of the metropolis:

Here Malice, Rapine, Accident conspire,
And now a Rabble rages, now a Fire;
Their Ambush here relentless Ruffians lay,
And here the fell Attorney prowls for Prey;
Here falling Houses thunder on your Head,
And here a female Atheist talks you dead. . .
On Thames’s Banks, in silent Thought we stood,
Where Greenwich smiles upon the silver Flood:
Struck with the Seat that gave Eliza Birth,
We Kneel, and kiss the consecrated Earth;
In pleasing Dreams the blissful Age renew,
And call Britannia’s Glories back to view;
Behold her Cross triumphant on the Main,
The Guard of Commerce, and the Dread of Spain
Ere Masquerades debauch’d, Excise oppress’d,
Or English Honour grew a standing Jest.

It was the same moralist that wrote *The Vanity of Human Wishes* more than ten years later, but it was a moralist with a greater breadth of vision and a greater maturity of style. *London* is dated; it is unmistakably a poem of the year 1738. *The Vanity of*

Human Wishes, on the other hand, still makes its appeal, untrammelled by the time or place of its composition:

On what foundation stands the warrior's pride,
 How just his hopes let Swedish Charles decide;
 A frame of adamant, a soul of fire,
 No dangers fright him, and no labours tire;
 O'er love, o'er fear, extends his wide domain,
 Unconquer'd lord of pleasure and of pain;
 No joys to him pacific scepters yield,
 War sounds the trump, he rushes to the field;
 Behold surrounding kings their pow'r combine,
 And one capitulate, and one resign;
 Peace courts his hand, but spreads her charms in vain;
 'Think nothing gain'd, he cries, till nought remain,
 'On Moscow's walls till Gothic standards fly,
 'And all be mine beneath the polar sky.'
 The march begins in military state,
 And nations on his eye suspended wait;
 Stern Famine guards the solitary coast,
 And Winter barricades the realms of Frost;
 He comes, not want and cold his course delay;—
 Hide, blushing Glory, hide Pultowa's day;
 The vanquish'd hero leaves his broken bands,
 And shews his miseries in distant lands;
 Condemn'd a needy supplicant to wait,
 While ladies interpose, and slaves debate.
 But did not Chance at length her error mend?
 Did no subverted empire mark his end?
 Did rival monarchs give the fatal wound?
 Or hostile millions press him to the ground?
 His fall was destin'd to a barren strand,
 A petty fortress, and a dubious hand;
 He left the name, at which the world grew pale,
 To point a moral, or adorn a tale.

The history of Charles XII was modern history in Johnson's day, but Johnson has lifted it into the category of the universal.

That the moralist is fully displayed in the author of *The Rambler* needs no emphasis.

More than any work, except possibly *Rasselas*, *The Rambler* embodied in Boswell's mind the spirit of the essential Johnson. When he set out on his grand tour, he told Johnson that the Rambler should accompany him round Europe; when the lively pretty little woman sat on Johnson's knee at Corrichatachin, it was 'highly comick' in Boswell's eyes that 'the grave philosopher—the Rambler' should toy with a Highland beauty; when

Johnson displayed a somewhat excessive enjoyment of his own joke over the making of Bennet Langton's will, Boswell found the pleasantry 'certainly not such as might be expected from the author of *The Rambler*'.

Johnson composed a special prayer when he embarked upon *The Rambler*, and for Boswell, as for Mr. Edwards and many other contemporaries, Johnson was primarily the majestic exponent of ethical wisdom. The first academic recognition which he received was the degree of Master of Arts from the University of Oxford. The occasion was the imminent publication of the Dictionary; but the Chancellor, in proposing the degree to Convocation, dwelt first upon Johnson as 'having very eminently distinguished himself by the publication of a series of essays, excellently calculated to form the manners of the people, and in which the cause of religion and morality is everywhere maintained by the strongest powers of argument and language'.

But while the moralist flourished, the scholar was not idle. The first announcement of the edition of Shakespeare was issued in 1745 and the *Plan* of the Dictionary two years later. Always, in this early part of his career, Johnson was conscious first of his lack of academical qualifications, secondly of his capacity for scholarly criticism and research, and thirdly of the necessity of being a professional author—in no other way could he earn his living. He did not complain. From time to time, it is true, he would write with a certain grimness of the hopes and fears, the ambitions and disappointments of the author's life:

Thus in the 145th number of *The Rambler* he writes:

It is the proper ambition of the heroes in literature to enlarge the boundaries of knowledge by discovering and conquering new regions of the intellectual world. To the success of such undertakings perhaps some degree of fortuitous happiness is necessary which no man can promise or procure to himself; and therefore doubt and irresolution may be forgiven in him that ventures into the unexplored abysses of truth and attempts to find his way through the fluctuations of uncertainty and the conflicts of contradiction.

Again Johnson, who was bred among books, who tore the heart out of a book with unflagging voracity, who was born, as someone said, to grapple with great libraries, could contemplate the collective monuments of book-production with the dispassionate realism of the detached observer:

No place [he wrote in the 106th *Rambler*] affords a more striking conviction of the vanity of human hopes, than a publick library; for who can see the wall crowded on every side by mighty volumes, the works of

laborious meditation, and accurate enquiry, now scarcely known but by the catalogue and preserved only to increase the pomp of learning, without considering how many hours have been wasted in vain endeavours, how often imagination has anticipated the praises of futurity. . . Of the innumerable authors whose performances are thus treasured up in magnificent obscurity most are forgotten because they never deserved to be remembered.

Johnson himself was engaged upon a work of truly heroic proportions. It is nearly 200 years since the proposal for a Dictionary was brought before Johnson by a syndicate of booksellers, and the science of lexicography has undergone such changes in that period that what remains of the Dictionary in most memories is purely anecdotal. Everyone remembers the definitions of Oats, of Excise, of Lexicographer, of Network, while the Dictionary itself tends to be 'treasured up in magnificent obscurity'. But if anyone is in doubt about the quality or the magnitude of Johnson's achievement, let him first of all examine what was the standard English dictionary immediately before Johnson signed his contract with the booksellers—the *Universal Etymological English Dictionary* of Nathaniel Bailey, first published in 1721; let him then turn to Johnson's *Plan*, of which the chief purpose was 'to preserve the purity and ascertain the meaning of our English idiom'. The selection of words, their spelling and pronunciation, their etymology and derivation, their variety of usage; 'the labour of interpreting these words and phrases with brevity, fulness and perspicuity'; and finally the illustration of these usages by quotations from the best writers of English prose and verse—these were the tasks which Johnson set before himself. Though his aim was to standardize the English language, he was fully conscious that he was dealing not with dead bones, but with living matter:

Words [he wrote] when they are not gaining strength . . . are generally losing it. Though art may sometimes prolong their duration, it will rarely give them perpetuity; and their changes will be almost always informing us, that language is the work of man, of a being from whom permanence and stability cannot be derived.

With this ideal of flexibility clearly in his mind, Johnson endeavoured, as he said in his *Preface*, 'to proceed with a scholar's reverence for antiquity and a grammarian's regard to the genius of our tongue'; he did not forget that *words are the daughters of earth and that things are the sons of heaven*. Nor did he forget that if he aimed at too high a standard of exactitude and completeness, his work would never be done at all:

I saw that one inquiry only gave occasion to another, that book referred to book, that to search was not always to find, and to find was not always to be informed. . . . I then contracted my design, determining to confide in myself, and no longer to solicit auxiliaries, which produced more encumbrance than assistance; by this I obtained at least one advantage, that I set limits to my work, which would in time be ended, though not completed.

‘Determining to confide in myself.’ There is nothing of arrogance, nothing of complacency, in this phrase of Johnson’s. It is based, first, upon a healthy reliance upon his own scholarship and, secondly, upon his first-hand knowledge of the requirements of editors and publishers. ‘A child is whipp’d and gets his task and there ’s an end on’t’, he had said in another context; and he knew that the same was true of authors of riper years. Had Johnson been engaged—and endowed—to compile the Dictionary within the shelter of academic bowers, it would have been many more than eight years before the last sheet went to press.

Despite small blemishes [wrote Sir James Murray], the dictionary was a marvellous piece of work to accomplish in eight and a half years; and it is quite certain that if all the quotations had had to be verified and furnished with exact references, a much longer time, or the employment of much more collaboration, would have been required. With much antecedent, with much skilled co-operation, and with strenuous effort, it took more than nine years to produce the first three letters of the alphabet of the Oxford New English Dictionary.

Finally, let the inquirer turn to the Dictionary itself, or to one letter of it for a sample, say the letter G: Bailey devotes 24 small octavo pages to the letter, Johnson 77 pages in folio. On the first page the little word *GAD* may catch the eye. Bailey devotes two lines to its definition—‘to ramble, rove, range or straggle about’. Johnson’s definition is similar, but is supplemented by quotations from *Romeo and Juliet*, *Ecclesiasticus*, Bacon’s *Essays*, George Herbert, Milton, Dryden, L’Estrange, and Locke. This little group of writers is fairly typical. Page after page will be found to contain 9 or 10 passages from Shakespeare; Dryden is frequently a good second; and Locke appears on nearly every page. The contrast with Bailey is even better illustrated by the word *GO*. Bailey, as usual, is brief, defining the word ‘to walk, move, &c.’ Johnson distinguishes 67 senses of the word, including a certain number of combinations, such as ‘Go about’, ‘Go down’, ‘Go off’ and such like. There are about 30 quotations from Shakespeare, about the same number from the

Authorized Version, 14 from Locke, 11 from Dryden, 10 from Swift, 9 from Addison, 8 from Bacon; and in his 68th paragraph Johnson concludes: 'The senses of this word are very indistinct; its general notion is motion or progression.' One further example may be quoted from the letter G—the definition of the not very elegant verb 'to gargle': 'To wash the throat with some liquor not suffered immediately to descend', a little triumph, surely, of delicacy and precision.

Johnson was under no illusion about the making of dictionaries. He knew and recorded that while it was hastening to publication some words were budding and some were falling away. He had grappled with his task like a master-builder and time has not tarnished the sonorous dignity with which he offered his work to the world:

In this work, when it shall be found that much is omitted, let it not be forgotten that much likewise is performed; and that though no book was ever spared out of tenderness to the author and the world is little solicitous to know whence proceeded the faults of that which it condemns; yet it may gratify curiosity to inform it that the English Dictionary was written with little assistance of the learned, and without any patronage of the great; not in the soft obscurities of retirement, or under the shelter of academick bowers, but amidst inconvenience and distraction, in sickness and in sorrow. . . I have protracted my work till most of those whom I wished to please, have sunk into the grave, and success and miscarriage are empty sounds; I, therefore, dismiss it with frigid tranquillity, having little to fear or hope from censure or from praise.

When the last sheet of the Dictionary had been taken to the printer, Andrew Millar, Johnson asked the messenger what Millar had said: 'Sir (answered the messenger) he said, thank God I have done with him.' 'I am glad (replied Johnson, with a smile) that he thanks God for anything.'

For Johnson's second notable work of scholarship, both printers and readers had to put up with even longer delay. The formal *Proposals* for the edition of Shakespeare were published in 1756. With an optimism not uncommon amongst Shakespearean editors, Johnson promised that the work should be published by the end of 1757. In fact, it appeared in 1765. There was no list of subscribers. 'Sir', said Johnson, 'I have two very cogent reasons for not printing any list of subscribers;—one, that I have lost all the names,—the other, that I have spent all the money.' Here, indeed, was a mind cleared of cant. In 1908 Walter Raleigh wrote: 'Johnson's work on Shakespeare has not been superseded. He has been neglected and depre-

ciated ever since the nineteenth century brought in the new aesthetic and philosophical criticism. The twentieth century, it seems likely, will treat him more respectfully.' This prophecy has been very precisely fulfilled: the latest of Shakespearian editors has not been ashamed to entitle the opening chapter of his book 'Back to Johnson'.

Apart from the details of Johnson's work as a textual and expository critic, the Preface to his Shakespeare is an illuminating expression of his approach to literature and the drama. One of his fundamental criticisms of Shakespeare was the criticism of the moral philosopher:

His precepts and axioms drop casually from him; he makes no just distribution of good and evil . . . he carries his persons indifferently through right and wrong and at the close dismisses them without further care, and leaves their examples to operate by chance. This fault the barbarity of his age cannot extenuate; for it is always a writer's duty to make the world better, and justice is a virtue independent on time and place.

'It is always a writer's duty to make the world better.' Taken out of its context the sentence might well be attributed to some Victorian copy-book. As such, it would be quickly and angrily controverted by those who maintain that it is a writer's primary duty as a literary artist to express himself; to determine what he wants to do and then to do it. To which Johnson, the moralist, would reply that what a writer wishes to do should be something which, directly or indirectly, should make for the amelioration of mankind. For to Johnson the world was very evil; for Johnson, above all men, as any reader of the *Prayers and Meditations* may discover, the times were always waxing late. This was a fundamental premise of his critical argument, but fortunately, cheerfulness broke in on occasion. He delighted in the character of the Nurse in *Romeo and Juliet*, although she was 'at once loquacious and secret, obsequious and insolent, trusty and dishonest'; Falstaff was a thief and a glutton, a coward and a boaster, but he was redeemed by the most pleasing of all qualities, perpetual gaiety; his licentiousness was not so offensive but that it might be borne for his mirth. There were, in short, worse ways of making the world better than by making it laugh.

Johnson's approach to the plays of Shakespeare, and to drama in general, is incorrigibly bookish. From his youth up he had been so deeply moved by the reading of Shakespeare, that he failed to appreciate the true function of the actor. An actor was

a fellow who exhibited himself for a shilling, who clapped a hump on his back and a lump on his leg and cried 'I am Richard the Third'; many of Shakespeare's plays, he thought, were the worse for being acted.

Much of this depreciatory talk preserved by Boswell may be attributed to Johnson's desire to keep his old pupil, David Garrick, in his place. But behind it lay a view of the stage which cannot be accepted. 'The truth is', he wrote in the *Preface* to his edition of Shakespeare, 'that the spectators are always in their senses and know, from the first act to the last, that the stage is only a stage, and that the players are only players. They came to hear a certain number of lines recited with just gesture and elegant undulation.' Of the trials and uncertainties of the actor's life no one had a keener appreciation than Johnson, as the lines of his famous *Prologue* had shown:

Ah! let not censure term our fate our choice;
The stage, but echoes back the public voice;
The drama's laws, the drama's patrons give,
For we that live to please, must please to live.

But did Johnson really believe that the playgoer was satisfied by 'just gesture and elegant undulation'? Did he really believe that the actor was just a hireling who entertained by recitation? Was he really ignorant that the good actor ceases, for the time being, to be himself and gets into the very skin of the character that he is playing, that it is precisely by his power of making the audience forget everything except the play that the actor's quality must be judged?

We, too, 'must confess the faults of our favourite to gain credit to our praise of his excellencies'.

Johnson's pension had been awarded to him by George III in 1762 and thereafter he regarded himself as emeritus. 'But I wonder, Sir', said Boswell, 'you have not more pleasure in writing than in not writing.' 'Sir', was the reply, 'you *may* wonder.' In fact what was destined to be the most popular, or more accurately, the least neglected of Johnson's writings, *The Lives of the Poets*, was published many years later. An introduction to a literary work was one of the things that Johnson was confident he could do very well, and he probably derived more pleasure from the actual writing of the *Lives* than of any other of his books. He even wrote at greater length than he need have done, being led on 'by the honest desire of giving useful pleasure'. The book-sellers increased his fee and Johnson was well content; 'The fact

is', he said, 'not that they have paid me too little, but that I have written too much'—a view not commonly expressed by authors in their business negotiations.

The *Lives of the Poets* were the children of a comparatively happy old age; but the fame which Johnson had won through his earlier years of poverty and struggle rested upon his achievements as scholar and moralist rather than as literary critic. What served to spread his fame was his insatiable desire for company and conversation. Such moral principles and precepts as he had enunciated in his writings were not meant only for the study or the library or even the pulpit—they were meant for the dinner-table or the tavern chair. He was possessed of a mind, as Reynolds said, that was always ready for use and the company could listen to the application of the Rambler's philosophy to life as well as to literature, to politics as well as to morals, to business as well as to religion.

III

It is customary to describe Johnson as the great Tory of his century. Macaulay, of course, has a fine target: Johnson, he says, was a Tory 'not from rational conviction . . . but from mere passion. . . . The prejudices which he brought up to London were scarcely less absurd than those of his own Tom Tempest. Charles II and James II were two of the best kings that ever reigned.'

Of course Johnson's prejudices were on the side of monarchy; but he judged an individual monarch on his merits. When George III came to the throne, it seemed to him that it might be better if more power were entrusted to the crown and less to a group of corrupt or wrong-headed oligarchs. When Macaulay quotes his remarks about Charles II and James II he is referring to Johnson's retort when he had been deliberately provoked by Tom Davies. But in his *Introduction to the Political State of Great Britain*, written in 1756, Johnson wrote:

Thus the naval power of France continued to increase during the reign of Charles the Second, who, between his fondness of ease and pleasure, the struggles of faction, which he could not suppress, and his inclination to the friendship of absolute monarchy, had not much power or desire to repress it. And of James the Second it could not be expected that he should act against his neighbours with great vigour, having the whole body of his subjects to oppose. He was not ignorant of the real interest of his country; he desired its power and its happiness and

thought rightly, that there is no happiness without religion; but he thought very erroneously and absurdly, that there is no religion without Popery.

Here is no monarchical passion, no idolatrous regard for the last two Stuart kings—merely a regret that the one had been pleasure-loving and the other fanatical. Johnson's passion was not for the monarchical principle, but for order, and it was the Whigs who seemed to him to be perpetually disturbing the ordered stability of government. The Devil was the first Whig, because he had upset the order of Paradise.

Leslie Stephen, in his great work on *English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, devotes four pages to the Tories and, for all his admiration of the 'depth and massiveness' of Johnson's character, dismisses his political philosophy with frigid brevity. He quotes one paragraph from *Taxation no Tyranny*, in which Johnson asserts that there must in every society be some power from which there is no appeal, and concludes: 'That is Johnson's whole political theory.' But is the case so simple? Are the facts so clear? Leslie Stephen supports his conclusion by reference to Johnson's well-known utterances on Whigs and Whiggism—which he admits to be 'more or less humorous'—and declares that they embody his genuine creed. This is significant. Johnson's *obiter dicta* on the Whig party have indeed acquired a notoriety which tends to distort any genuine examination of his political opinions.

It is natural, but unfortunate, that an estimate of Johnson's political philosophy should commonly be based on his pamphlets, *Taxation no Tyranny* and *The False Alarm*. The first of these was an answer to the Resolutions of the American Congress of 1775. Johnson's case rested first upon the principle that 'the supreme power of every community has the right of requiring, from all its subjects, such contributions as are necessary to the publick safety or publick prosperity,' and secondly upon his definition of a colony:

An English colony is a number of persons to whom the king grants a charter, permitting them to settle in some distant country and enabling them to constitute a corporation enjoying such powers as the charter grants, to be administered in such forms as the charter prescribes. As a corporation, they make laws for themselves; but as a corporation, subsisting by a grant from higher authority, to the control of authority they continue subject.

The colonists were, in Johnson's view, English subjects who had been allowed to reside abroad. They remained English

subjects and enjoyed the protection of the armed forces of the crown against their enemies. For such protection it was equitable that they should pay. To the claim that there should be no taxation without representation, Johnson's reply was that the colonists had left the mother-country of their own accord and for their own purposes: 'He who goes voluntarily to America cannot complain of losing what he leaves in Europe. He, perhaps, had a right to vote for a knight or a burgess; by crossing the Atlantic, he has not nullified his right; but he has made its exertion no longer possible.'

It was, of course, a backward-looking view. Like some others of his own and later generations, Johnson looked upon colonists as naughty children who had run away from home. He would not recognize that they had grown up and begun to think for themselves.

The False Alarm was a protest against what a modern Whig historian has called 'the martyrdom and deification of the scandalous Wilkes'. Talk about Liberty in the abstract was always a source of irritation to Johnson, and when it was associated with a scoundrel (albeit a clubable scoundrel), his scorn was intensified. 'Every lover of liberty', he writes, 'stands doubtful of the fate of posterity, because the chief county in England cannot take its representative from a gaol.' *The False Alarm*, written in 1770, should be read alongside Boswell's description of his own greatest triumph, his reconciliation of Johnson and Wilkes at Mr. Dilly's dinner-table six years later. There was nothing to equal it, said Edmund Burke, in the whole history of the Corps Diplomatique.

'The perpetual subject of political disquisition', wrote Johnson, 'is not absolute, but comparative good', and, in so far as he was prepared to accept any fundamental political postulates, his position was frequently as near that of John Locke as of any Tory philosopher. Quotations from Locke abound in the *Dictionary*, and in the preface which Johnson wrote to Dodsley's *Preceptor* Locke's works are specifically recommended. Locke had written a classical work on Toleration and Johnson's views on this subject are recorded in more than one passage of Boswell:

Every society [he said] has a right to preserve publick peace and order and therefore has a good right to prohibit the propagation of opinions which have a dangerous tendency. To say the *magistrate* has this right, is using an inadequate word: it is the *society* for which the magistrate is agent. . . . Every man has a right to liberty of conscience and with that the magistrate cannot interfere. . . . But, Sir, no member

of a society has a right to teach any doctrine contrary to what that society holds to be true.

Locke, arguing for the toleration of speculative opinions within any church, nevertheless declares that 'no opinions contrary to human society are to be tolerated by the magistrate', and his denial of toleration to the professed atheist was more categorical than any utterance of Johnson:

If we three [Johnson said once to Boswell and Seward] should discuss even the great question concerning the existence of a Supreme Being by ourselves, we should not be restrained; for that would be to put an end to all improvement. But if we should discuss it in the presence of ten boarding-school girls, and as many boys, I think the magistrate would do well to put us in the stocks, to finish the debate there.

This is characteristic of Johnson's essentially practical view of moral and political problems. Fundamentally, he had as little interest in a system of political, as in one of metaphysical, philosophy. The famous lines which he contributed to Goldsmith's poem, *The Traveller*:

How small of all that human hearts endure
That part which kings or laws can cause or cure

are a characteristic epitome of his mistrust both of political theory and of political machinery. Locke's description of the state of nature may have seemed to Johnson to be conjectural and irrelevant, but when he made it clear that by the law of nature he meant a moral law derived from God, Johnson was more ready to listen to him. Politically, Johnson was no more an absolutist than Locke himself. 'There remains still in the people', wrote Locke, 'a supreme power to remove or alter the legislature', and it was a supremacy fully recognized by Johnson. When Sir Adam Fergusson emphasized the importance of keeping up a spirit in the people, so as to preserve a balance against the crown, Johnson was roused at once:

Why all this childish jealousy of the power of the crown? The crown has not power enough. When I say that all governments are alike, I consider that in no government power can be abused long. Mankind will not bear it. If a sovereign oppresses his people to a great degree they will rise and cut off his head. There is a remedy in human nature against tyranny, that will keep us safe under every form of government.

That is the core of Johnson's politics.

T. H. Green remarked that on Locke's theory of sovereignty it was impossible to pronounce when resistance to a *de facto*

government is legitimate or otherwise and the same criticism might be made of Johnson. How is oppression 'to a great degree' to be defined? In another context Locke supplies his own answer: 'Who shall be the judge between them [the magistrate and his subjects]? I answer, God alone; for there is no judge upon earth between the supreme magistrate and the people.' Johnson might well have agreed in theory; in practice the common sense of humanity would decide when the time was ripe: 'mankind will not bear it'. Johnson, the traditional champion of established order, felt that there were many things which mankind ought not to bear. Slavery was one of them. *Taxation no Tyranny* has passed into the dreary limbo of political ephemera, but one sentence from it survives: 'How is it that we hear the loudest yelps for liberty among the drivers of negroes?' This was no mere debating point. In one of his earliest pieces of hackwork Johnson had asserted the natural right of the negroes to liberty and independence, and his care and affection for Francis Barber were something more than sentimental eccentricity.

Johnson's lack of sympathy with the claims and ambitions of colonists was, indeed, bound up with his misgivings about the treatment of native populations. Time after time he protested, like any nineteenth-century Radical, against the policy and practice of the invading conqueror. Reluctantly, he contrasted the English colonial governor unfavourably with his French counterpart: 'A French governor is seldom chosen for any other reason than his qualifications for his trust. To be a bankrupt at home, or to be so infamously vicious that he cannot be decently protected in his own country, seldom recommends any man to the government of a French colony. . . . It is ridiculous to imagine that the friendship of nations, whether civil or barbarous, can be gained and kept but by kind treatment; and surely they who intrude, uncalled, upon the country of a distant people, ought to consider the natives as worthy of common kindness and content themselves to rob without insulting them.'

Upon the Irish situation Johnson looked with dismay. 'The Irish', he declared in generous indignation, 'are in a most unnatural state; for we see there the minority prevailing over the majority', and, a little less seriously perhaps, he advised an Irishman: 'Do not make an union with us, Sir. We should unite with you, only to rob you', and of course he could not forbear to add: 'We should have robbed the Scotch if they had anything of which we could have robbed them.' In France, Johnson deplored the lack of a healthy middle class between the magnifi-

cence of the rich and the misery of the poor; decent provision for the poor, he said, was the true test of civilization.

On such great issues as those of war and peace Johnson was too large-minded to be uniformly consistent. In 1738 he had declaimed against Walpole's policy of appeasement; in 1771 he wrote one of his finest pamphlets in protest against a suggested war:

As war is the last of remedies, [cuncta prius tentanda], all lawful expedients must be used to avoid it. . . . The life of a modern soldier is ill represented by heroick fiction. War has means of destruction more formidable than the cannon and the sword. Of the thousands and ten thousands that perished in our late contests with France and Spain, a very small part ever felt the stroke of an enemy; the rest languished in tents and ships, amidst damps and putrefaction; pale, torpid, spiritless and helpless, gasping and groaning, unpitied among men, made obdurate by long continuance of hopeless misery. . . . The wars of civilised nations make very slow changes in the system of empire. The publick perceives scarcely any alteration, but an increase of debt . . . at the conclusion of a ten years' war, how are we recompensed for the death of multitudes, and the expense of millions, but by contemplating the sudden glories of paymasters and agents, contractors and commissaries, whose equipages shine like meteors and whose palaces rise like exhalations.

Johnson could not know the horrors of total war. But in parenthesis one may recall his famous premonition of aerial assault: 'If men were all virtuous, I should with great alacrity teach them all to fly. But what would be the security of the good, if the bad could at pleasure invade them from the sky? . . . A flight of northern savages might hover in the wind and light at once with irresistible violence upon the capital of a fruitful region that was rolling under them.'

IV

From all of which it would appear that it may be dangerous to accept without qualification the customary description of Johnson as the embodiment of eighteenth-century Toryism. The Rev. Dr. Maxwell, sometime assistant Preacher of the Temple wrote of him:

In politics he was deemed a Tory, but certainly was not so in the obnoxious or party sense of the term; for while he asserted the legal and salutary prerogatives of the crown, he no less respected the constitutional liberties of the people. Whiggism, at the time of the Revolution, he said, was accompanied with certain principles; but latterly, as a

mere party distinction under Walpole and the Pelhams, was no better than the politicks of stock-jobbers and the religion of infidels.

The coupling of these two classes of society—stock-jobbers and infidels—is significant. Johnson's distrust of the Whig politician is closely akin to his distrust of the atheistic philosopher: both were lacking in moral principle, on the security of which depended the ordered happiness of human society. Locke's opinions might have been distorted by his followers, but his principles were fundamentally sound; Berkeley might have lost himself in a maze of metaphysical absurdity, but was a good man and a profound scholar. But Hume, by his intellectual arrogance, threatened to sap the foundations of human happiness, and as for Rousseau—he was simply the prophet of social and ethical anarchy and deserved to be sent to the plantations.

Clearly, Johnson's was not a master-mind in the sense that it inspired a school of philosophy or that it redirected the current of human thought. It was primarily a scholar's mind, which, having triumphed over

Toil, envy, want, the patron and the gaol

raised Johnson from the status of literary hack to the status of literary dictator; but it was also the mind of a Christian moralist. The elementary Christian doctrine of the sinfulness of man and of his redemption from the consequences of sin by the passion of Jesus Christ is implicit in all his writings as it is explicit in his *Prayers and Meditations*. Pleasures, as he said, were not necessarily vices, and Johnson's greatest pleasure was good talk at a good dinner-table. But what was his comment in his private meditations on that Holy Week of 1778?

It has happened this week, as it never happened in Passion Week before, that I have never dined at home and I have therefore neither practised abstinence nor peculiar devotion.

On his seventieth birthday he prayed to God, in stark humility, that He would pardon the offences of seventy years and accept the remains of a misspent life. The philosophers might conceive of man as a political animal, but to Johnson he was primarily a creature possessed of a soul—and of a soul to be saved. Johnson was a stout champion of the freedom of the will, but what he would not, that he did. To assert the mastery of his fate or the captaincy of his soul would have seemed to him a mark not only of arrogance but of impiety. Man's highest faculty was his power of reasoning, but above and beyond

Reason was a mist, as he wrote in *The Vision of Theodore*, which could be pierced only by the Eyes of Religion:

'I am Reason', declared the Nymph in that work, 'of all subordinate Beings the noblest and the greatest; who, if thou wilt receive my Laws, will reward thee like the rest of my Votaries, by conducting thee to Religion.'

When Goldsmith once remarked that the Club needed new members, since the existing members had already travelled over one another's minds, Johnson's reply was prompt and decisive: 'Sir, you have not travelled over *my* mind, I promise you.' *De nobis fabula narratur*. Such is the brilliance of the guide-book provided by James Boswell, that the exploration of Johnson's mind as revealed by his writings is frequently neglected.

One fact above all others is abundantly clear in Boswell's record—the personal mastery which Johnson, from his boyhood onwards, established over his fellows. 'No sooner did he arrive', writes Boswell of a dinner-party at Allan Ramsay's, 'than we were all as quiet as a school upon the entrance of the headmaster.' Johnson's range of reading was, of course, immense; but his intellectual and aesthetic limitations were notorious. He had little patience with purely speculative thought; he was blind to painting and deaf to music; he scorned the art of the actor. Yet neither Burke nor Reynolds, neither Burney nor Garrick had any hesitation in saluting him as master, whether at the Club or at any other social assembly.

In company Johnson's latent powers of wit and humour and even of pure fun were developed in a form that was seldom exhibited in his written work. For when he wrote, he was alone; and when he was alone, he was wretched.

In one of his rare autobiographical essays he writes of himself as Mr. Sober: 'Mr. Sober's chief pleasure is conversation; there is no end of his talk or his attention; to speak or to hear is equally pleasing; for he still fancies that he is teaching or learning something, and is free for the time from his own reproaches. But there is one time at night when he must go home, that his friends may sleep . . .'

Men and women did not clamour to hear Johnson talk merely to enjoy the flash of repartee or the establishment of a debating point. In his talk, as in his writing, there was an oracular quality, and when Mrs. Thrale, in compiling her famous mark-sheet, gave Johnson full marks (20) for Religion, Morality, and General Knowledge, 19 for Scholarship, 16 for Humour, 15 for Wit, and nothing at all for Person and Voice, Manners, or

Good Humour, her judgement was shrewd and her awards at least as accurate as those of most examiners. Johnson's hearers did not fancy that they were learning something—they were convinced of it. And their conviction sprang not only from the wealth of Johnson's knowledge or from the vigour of his exposition, but from the passionate sincerity of his search for wisdom and truth and goodness.

It was left for Boswell to adorn the tale; it was Johnson who pointed the moral.

ANNUAL SHAKESPEARE LECTURE

SHAKESPEARE'S AUDIENCE

By H. S. BENNETT

Read 26 April 1944

SHAKESPEARE'S audience has been a subject of interest to critics for a great many years, but most of them have been content to repeat what their predecessors have said, and however carefully they have qualified their statements at first, they have rapidly proceeded to speak of the audience as though it were an entity, experiencing much the same emotions and interested in much the same intellectual excitements, no matter in what part of the house it sat. As a result of such an attitude, the groundlings have been credited with an appreciation of the subtleties of Elizabethan dialogue and rhetoric far beyond their reach, while the *élite* of the audience has been depicted as taking an interest in matters which they probably looked on as part of the price to be paid for the undoubted merits of the play as a whole. Both these are extremes to be avoided, and the prime requisite in any discussion of the audience is to see clearly what we mean when we speak of Shakespeare's audience. We may put the matter perfectly simply by asking, 'Who went to the theatre in Shakespeare's day, in what numbers, and what sort of people were they?'

Even this apparently simple question carries with it the possibilities of deception. We must be more explicit, and ask, 'Who went to a public theatre like the Globe, or to a "private house" such as the Blackfriars?'; and if we want to be more explicit still we have to make special allowance for holiday crowds. It may well be that even this is not a sufficiently delicate differentiation. Certain theatres, such as the Red Bull, were celebrated for their 'tear-throat' type of acting, while the demands of an audience in the last decade of the sixteenth century were not those of a Jacobean or Caroline audience. Here, therefore, I propose to devote my remarks to the main scenes of Shakespeare's theatrical activity—the Theatre, the Curtain, and the Globe. In these theatres, between 1595 and 1609, the bulk of his plays were enacted by the Lord Chamberlain's (afterwards the King's) Company, and it is the audience attracted by his

plays, and others produced by the same company, which will occupy our attention.

The struggles of the players for bare existence are well known. They were continuously at war with both royal and civic authority for two outstanding reasons. First, there was the determination on the part of the Crown that the stage should not be used as a means of propagating ideas subversive of loyalty to Church and State, or to the danger of the country's foreign relations. Secondly, there was the narrower but powerful view of the civic authorities that the theatres were the centres from which emanated dangers whether of plague, blasphemy, or immorality. Our immediate concern is with this civic hostility both to playhouses and playgoers. It had the obvious effect of driving the theatres without the City jurisdiction, and such theatres as the Curtain in Shoreditch, or the Globe on Bankside gave daily ocular evidence to all that they were frowned on by the civic authority and had to find a home in Southwark or elsewhere, side by side with other undesirables. From these facts we may make our first deduction—the Shakespearian theatre did not contain a section (perhaps a very considerable section) of those citizens and preachers whose austere consciences turned with revulsion from the licence of the stage and of its *habitués*. The absence of this body of sober middle-class opinion was of incalculable importance: the average Elizabethan dramatist was not over-scrupulous how he obtained his effects, and his opportunities for introducing gross and licentious matter were increased as the restraints of solid burgess disapproval were removed, and the encouragement of a dissolute raffish element was given fuller scope.

It has been frequently asserted that women were slow to appear in the theatre if they valued their reputation, and that as a result of this the playwright's licentiousness was given freer rein. Sir Edmund Chambers speaks of 'the galleries full of light women who found them a profitable haunt, but whose presence did not altogether prevent that of ladies of position, probably in the private rooms, and possibly masked'. This is too cautious. Not only 'ladies of position' and 'light women', but women from all classes of society were to be seen in the theatre. For example, Thomas Platter of Basle, who visited in England in 1599, says, 'the English pass their time learning at the play what is happening abroad; indeed men and womenfolk visit such places without scruple', while Ben Jonson's *Every Man out of His Humor* of the same year speaks of the 'modest matron' as part of his audience;

and the citizen grocer's wife Nell, of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, was obviously at home in the theatre. That 'light women' abounded is certain: their presence in every part of the theatre is vouched for by many contemporary records, so that it became 'the fashion of youthes to go first into the yarde, and to carry their eye through euery gallery, then like unto rauens where they spye the carion thither they flye, and presse as nere to ye fairest as they can'.

On the whole, therefore, despite important exceptions, we may take it that the audience was made up of every rank and class of society, and provision was made for this in their accommodation. It was no uncommon thing for the upper classes to visit the theatre, even if they took pains to sit apart in 'the Lords' room', or in other places of comparative seclusion. Sir Philip Sidney was clearly a close student of dramatic performances, while visiting notables were also to be seen there. Courtiers, members of the Inns of Court, fashionable gallants and the like gave liveliness and colour to the scene. Sir J. Davies in one of his *Epigrams* (c. 1596) thus describes the behaviour of a courtier in the theatre:

Rufus the Courtier at the theatre
 Leaving the best and most conspicuous place,
 Doth either to the stage himselfe transfer,
 Or through a grate doth show his doubtful face,
 For that the clamorous frie of Innes of Court
 Filles vp the priuate roomes of greater prise
 And such a place where all may haue resort
 He in his singulartie doth despise.

The majority of the audience, however, were not to be found in 'the priuate roomes of greater prise', but in the galleries and in the standing-room about the stage. For those who were prepared to pay the extra charges there were three galleries at their disposal—the third or top gallery or twopenny gallery, and below it the first and second galleries. There was some degree of comfort here, and each gallery housed a various crowd: 'a Gentleman or an honest Citizen . . . with his Squirrell by his side cracking nuttes'; or 'a Puny seated Cheeke by Iowle with a Punke'; scholars, lawyers' clerks, earnest young students fresh from their books of rhetoric, and eager to hear what new devices and delights the playwrights had for them.

As well as such folk the audience included a miscellaneous body of people who stood on the ground round about the stage in the pit or yard, as it was called, and jostled one another for

position, 'glewed together in crowdes', with 'breath stronger than garlic'—in short, 'the penny stinkards!' They poured into the theatre once their penny was taken at the door, and wiled away the time of waiting with conversation, beer-drinking, eating, and cracking nuts. The newfangled practice of smoking occupied some; others read the latest pamphlet; others again played cards until the sounding of the third trumpet brought the shrinking Prologue on to the stage, and the play began. Such was the composite nature of the audience. At moments, doubtless, it was stirred almost as one man by some passionate or dramatic situation. At other moments, however, its response was much more patchy and limited; a soliloquy absorbed some, mildly interested but perplexed others, and frankly bored another section of the audience, just as a bout of horse-play or of bawdy put part of the house in a roar, but may have left others grieving, since such behaviour was liable to disturb the balance of the play and to mar the effect which the dramatist had hoped to obtain. The practised dramatist knew how to ring the changes so that no section of the audience was left long unprovided for, and a lively sense of pleasures to come warded off that spectre of the dramatist—boredom. It may be that one part of a play appealed to one section of the audience and another to another section. It is also true that one and the same part of a play appealed to all sections at different levels. This state of affairs is fully admitted by Middleton in his play, *No wit, no help like a Woman's* (?1613), in which the Prologue says:

How is 't possible to suffice
 So many ears, so many eyes?
 Some in wit, some in shows
 Take delight, and some in clothes;
 Some for mirth they chiefly come,
 Some for passion—for both some;
 Some for lascivious meetings, that 's their arrant;
 Some to detract, and ignorance their warrant.
 How is 't possible to please
 Opinion toss'd in such wild seas?
 Yet I doubt not, if attention
 Seize you above, and apprehension
 You below, to take things quickly,
 We shall both make you sad and tickle ye.

To achieve such a balance it is clear that the dramatist had to play upon his audience with something of the same skill as is displayed by a composer in using his various instruments to their

fullest advantage. This he could do by his knowledge of the response which the 'hydra-headed' multitude could make, so that responses of considerable delicacy as well as the most robust ensemble were forthcoming.

The wide range of social classes from which the audience was drawn, and the very various types of education and training which they had received, gave the dramatist great opportunities; but here again, it seems necessary to differentiate, so that when we are told by a modern critic that of any typical audience at the Globe the majority were likely to have received an education of the Grammar-school type, we must proceed cautiously. By 'an education of the Grammar-school type' the writer presumably means an education in grammar and rhetoric. Clearly a large part of the audience could not have received any formal education in these subjects. Few of the groundlings, and only a part—say 50 per cent.—of the rest of the audience, would have stayed at the grammar school long enough to have got beyond the grounding in Latin which was a preliminary to the grammatical exegesis of certain texts and to a study of rhetoric. If the majority had any such education as is suggested, it must have come from outside the grammar school, and its nature and extent must be much less certain than is implied by this statement. I should prefer to say that a minority of the audience had benefited by a grammar-school education, and that the remainder could only be said to have this type of education at all in so far as they had some informal training in reading or hearing material couched in rhetorical form. The dramatists recognized the powers and wishes of each of these groups, and their plays represent their response.

For the cultured *minority* the dramatist displayed his tricks of style, his figures, his elaborate imagery, his verbal inventiveness and dexterity. Their grammar-school training had given them a familiarity with such matters: the nice use of the various figures and tropes was one of the things in which they were most practised. They read 'good authors', observing 'the fineness of speech in the Rhetoricall ornaments, as comely tropes, pleasant figures', and wrote in imitation of the ancients 'phrase for phrase, trope for trope, figure for figure, argument for argument'. Subtlety of language was a delight to them, and they listened eagerly to the dramatists' inventions, their tables in their hands, ready to take down any phrase, or image or allusion which pleased them. They were 'the judicious', whose censure Shakespeare tells us 'must . . . o'erweigh a whole theatre of others'.

But dramatists must live, and 'those that live to please, must please to live', so that Shakespeare and his fellows were constantly forced to remember that 'whole theatre of others'. These people, lacking this elaborate training in rhetoric, were as mixed in their scholarly attainments as they were in their social grades. Many were literate, but a minority were not even that. The literate ranged from those who had acquired just enough knowledge to read at their Petty or A B C schools, to those who had got into the lower forms of grammar schools. Those who could read fluently had presumably read some of the voluminous literature which poured from the London presses, and this literature, diverse as was its nature, had a strong rhetorical basis.

Even the illiterate by the constant listening to sermons, proclamations, addresses of welcome, official speeches, and the like were accustomed to certain forms and literary devices, although they were completely ignorant of the names of such things—or even that they were being used. Antony's oration over the body of Caesar gains its effects by the use of rhetorical tricks which are overwhelmingly persuasive—even if they are completely unsuspected by the mob. So too a part of the audience responded to the language of the drama which often put things in verse, it is true, but otherwise spoke in images, figures, or allegorical forms such as had been put to them countless times by preachers at Paul's or elsewhere. To this extent only may the audience be thought of as possessing a grammar-school type of education, and in consequence, as being susceptible to rhetorical forms and conventions.

But this was only one aspect—one instrument as it were—with which the dramatist must reckon. Far more important, because it was far deeper-seated, less a matter of education and more an unavoidable, inseparable part of Elizabethan life, was what may be called the sensibility or the sensitiveness of the audience. Rich and poor alike were Elizabethans, and therefore men and women brought up amidst the sights and scenes of the London of their day. The fact that the Hope theatre which saw dramatic performances on some days of the week also saw the bear-baiting on others, and that opposite the Globe stood the bear-pit, is a startling reminder to us of the different attitude of the Elizabethans to such matters. A tough fibre was necessary: to walk through the streets of London exposed men to sights and scenes from which our modern sensitiveness would shrink. The horrid ceremonial of death, the licensed fury of the crowd around gallows or pillory, the incitements to violence: 'Up Fish Street!

down St. Magnus Corner! kill and knock down! throw them into the Thames!'—these and a thousand other daily events made men less sensitive to suffering, to physical cruelty, and promoted a general coarsening of feeling which made everyday life the easier to endure. It is a state of mind well known to the soldier in the field, who rapidly finds his sensibility dulled, and comes to accept things which in a happier world he instinctively turned from, 'All pity chok'd with custom of fell deeds'.

The 'iron-nerve' of the Elizabethans was therefore to be found in every section of the audience, and for a considerable section of it they were the strongest quality which dramatists had to satisfy. 'Blood will have blood', and men who had stood on Tower Hill or elsewhere were not easily cloyed with the fat meat of violent physical action. It was to meet such demands that the eyes of Gloucester are put out on the stage, that Macduff enters with Macbeth's head, or Giovanni comes before us with his sister Annabella's heart on his dagger. The innumerable scenes of violence, both of word and deed; the passion of a Hamlet or Othello; the mad rage of a Leontes or a Lear—even the choleric explosions of Capulet—are part of the response of the dramatists to something in themselves and in their audience that cried for satisfaction.

Violent physical action, however, need not mean only such matters as resulted in death or mutilation. There was plenty of room for the wild horse-play and 'slap-stick' farce that is an inseparable part of many of the plays. The adventures of Petruchio-Katharina, of Mistresses Ford and Page with Falstaff, lead to the more controlled capers of Sir Toby and his crew, or of Falstaff with Poins, or his friends of the tavern. Turn where we will the fact is inescapable: then as now there was a considerable section of the audience who could only be satisfied by constant draughts of action. Tragic or comic as the play demanded (and if both, so much the better) this action had with it much of the noise and movement of daily life. The stage seems constantly to echo to music, the noise of trumpets, the catches, rounds, and songs which form a setting to the struggles of the crowds, the wrestlings, broad-sword fights, challenges, dances, and battles, and all those many incidents which re-created for the Elizabethans the noise, movement, and variety of life. As we sit in our studies pondering this or that line or image we should keep a check upon our intellectual subtleties by having in our ears from time to time the quick roar of appreciative applause which a successful action provoked, and in our mind's eye a picture of

the packed benches following every movement with critical attention, carried out of themselves by the vigour of the story (powerfully assisted by the diction and movement of the verse) as it moved from point to point, leaving them with no time for reflection, hesitancy, or second thoughts. 'The play's the thing', and it was only a small, cultured minority who could appreciate Chapman's tragedy or some of Jonson's plays. In these, action was subordinated to discussion and reflection, and for this most playgoers then (as now) had small use.

If my argument so far is accepted it follows that a good deal of Shakespearian criticism, both of the last century and of this, must be cautiously received, or we are likely to get into a world as far removed from that of Shakespeare's drama as were the much derided Mrs. Jamesons and Mary Cowden Clarkes of the nineteenth century. One school of modern criticism, for instance, in its reaction against the 'character obsession' of the nineteenth century, has emphasized the poetic and linguistic aspects of the plays. For example, critics such as Miss Caroline Spurgeon have paid much attention to Shakespeare's imagery and have shown how 'recurrent images play a part in raising, developing, sustaining and repeating emotion'. This, she tells us, is done 'so subtly and delicately that for the most part we are unconscious of what is happening, and know only the total result of the effect on our imaginative sensibility'. In putting it in these words Miss Spurgeon obscures the difference which is produced by reading and hearing. The total result when we read the text and can group images and stop to compare one passage with another is a different result from that obtained in the theatre. We need not disregard it on that account, but we may well ask ourselves from time to time whether our new-found interest in this image-hunting is not getting a little out of focus, especially if it takes us within measurable distance of Miss Spurgeon's conclusions in her chapter entitled 'Shakespeare the Man'. (*Shakespeare's Imagery*, chap. xi.)

Another method of approach is that advocated by Professor Wilson Knight, who asks us to see each play as 'an expanded metaphor', and to 'analyse the use and meaning of direct poetic symbolism', and that 'we should at all costs avoid selecting what is easy to understand and forgetting the superlogical'. All this clearly makes demands of a kind that require considerable powers of thought, imagination, and associative connexion, and it is not surprising that Professor Wilson Knight has to issue a warning, in which he writes: 'Nor will a sound knowledge of the stage and

the especial theatrical technique of Shakespeare's work render up its imaginative secret. True, the plays were written as plays, and meant to be acted. But that tells us nothing relevant to our purpose'; and he goes on to explain that that purpose is 'a true philosophic and imaginative interpretation which will aim at cutting below the surface to reveal that burning core of mental or spiritual reality from which each play derives its nature and meaning'. While I do not deny that Professor Wilson Knight's method has yielded some results of value, the dangers inherent therein are obvious, and have been recognized by students much more sympathetic with Professor Wilson Knight's views than myself.

One other method must be mentioned, because it seems to take us farther from the theatre than any hitherto mentioned. Its procedure has been clearly set forth by one of its foremost advocates, Dr. L. C. Knights. 'How should we read Shakespeare?' he asks, and in answer tells us that 'we start with so many lines of verse on a printed page which we read as we should read any other poem. We have to elucidate the meaning (using Dr. Richards's fourfold definition) and to unravel ambiguities: we have to estimate the kind and quality of the imagery and determine the precise degree of evocation of particular figures; we have to allow full weight to each word, exploring its "tentacular roots", and to determine how it controls and is controlled by the rhythmic movement of the passage in which it occurs. In short, we have to decide exactly why the lines "are so and not otherwise".'

It will be observed how far all this is from the theatre. The belief of Dr. Knights that a play of Shakespeare is verse 'which we read as we should read any other poem' indicates his attitude and that of those who are ready to take the play out of the theatre and to insist that it is a poem. But it is much more than a poem—it is dramatic poetry which has its real life and being when spoken and acted in the theatre. There, in the full flow of its performance, the play makes its impact upon us, and builds up its cumulative effect. What Dr. Knights invites us to do in the study is so different from what we do in the theatre that he might well be asked to explain what is the link between the two processes, and whether his method is not open to the criticism he makes of Professor Wilson Knight when he writes 'A preoccupation with imagery and symbols, unless minutely controlled by a sensitive intelligence directed upon the text, leads to abstractions almost as dangerous as does a preoccupation with "character".'

The root of the matter lies in the word 'preoccupation'. The moment we allow our zeal for any one side of Shakespearian study to master us, our control is gone, and we find ourselves losing touch with the play as a drama and with its expression in the theatre. This is to ignore what was Shakespeare's purpose. As far as we can tell, his sole interest was to work upon the minds and emotions of his audience. While others may have been interested in the printed text of their plays, and while it is true that early in the seventeenth century manuscript copies of plays were being made for patrons, there is no evidence to show that Shakespeare had any interest in the quarto versions of his work which were printed in his lifetime. Indeed, he may well have echoed the sentiments of Marston, who prefaces the quarto of *The Malcontent* with a letter 'To the Reader', in which he says 'onely one thing afflicts me: to thinke that scenes invented merely to be spoken, should be inforcively published to be read'. Every reading of a play should be guided by the rule that whatever such a scrutiny yields must be related to what a performance yields; as far as is possible, to what it yielded to its original audience.

What it yielded to them was obviously controlled by their education, sensibility, and ability 'to listen and receive'. The first two points have been considered, but the question of listening is an important one—perhaps the most important, as every member of the audience had been accustomed to acquire most of his knowledge and information by listening. Sir W. Raleigh once reminded us that Shakespeare himself

must often have listened to tales, like those told by Othello, of the wonders of the New World. He must often have seen the affected traveller, described in *King John*, dallying with his tooth-pick at a great man's table, full of elaborate compliment,

And talking of the Alps and Apenines,
The Pyrenean and the river Po.

We are apt to forget how large a part of his knowledge he must have gathered in talk.

As with Shakespeare, so with lesser men. Not only did they gather knowledge, but edification, amusement, and every kind of information through conversation, discussion, or preaching. The Elizabethans were trained listeners; where we rely on the eye and the printed book, they relied on the ear. And as a result of this an educated body of listeners was created, so that what would seem to us prodigious feats of endurance were commonly

performed at preachings and discussions. Donne's *Sermons* indicate the high standard which could be expected from the *élite* of the audiences which flocked to hear him at Paul's, Whitehall, and Lincoln's Inn. Because of a lifelong habit of listening they were able to follow the elaborate structure of his discourse, and to delight in the detailed examination of dialectical subtleties, as well as in the sweep and fire of the great rhetorical passages. The less literate, as I have shown, were not equal to these exertions, but by the nature of their education got more by listening than a modern age can well understand.

And their powers of listening were matched by their powers of endurance. It is related that Laurence Chaderton, first Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 'having once preached for two hours said that he had tired his hearers' patience and would leave off; upon which the whole congregation cried out "For God's sake, sir, go on! we beg you, go on!" He accordingly continued the thread of his discourse for another hour, to the great pleasure and delight of his hearers.' Like many men of his age, Laurence Chaderton believed that listening was more profitable than reading, 'for it was both the zeale of the speaker, the attention of the hearer, the promise of God to the ordinary preaching of His Word . . . and many other things which are not to be hoped for by reading the written sermons of His Ministers'. Something of the means employed by the speaker may be guessed at from the description of Chaderton's technique of preaching, which combined 'a style of singular purity, lucidity and manliness: a voice very clear and pleasing and of wonderful flexibility, accompanied by a great dignity of manner and propriety of action'.

The actors of the Elizabethan stage made use of all these devices and many others which a preacher could not legitimately employ. The spoken word meant much, but how much more when suitably accompanied by dramatic action and the clash of rival and personal interests. We may profitably bear in mind Dr. Bradley's observation that taken at the lowest level *Hamlet* is one of the finest melodramas ever written. It was that to every member of Shakespeare's original audience, and to the 'stinkards' it was little more, perhaps, though even they had sufficient training to listen with pleasure to such things as the Players' speeches and moments of Hamlet's passionate ravings. Bombast and rant—the high astounding terms—they always loved. Shakespeare may ridicule the success of such things when they are mouthed by a Pyramus or Pistol, but 'A horse! a horse! my kingdom

for a horse!', or 'Once more into the breach, dear friends', and similar passages are evidence enough that he never overlooked the popular appeal of such passages. While parts of the audience were satisfied with these, other spectators were fed with choicer things, and the speeches of a Ulysses, or the rhetoric of Othello, called for finer understanding and assimilation. The whole art of the dramatist was exercised in providing a richly various experience—partly verbal, partly dramatic, partly simple human nature. The spectacle of men enduring suffering or wrong, of men 'doing things', was a great part of their pleasure—a pleasure emphasized by the constant excitement of situation and by the vigour and forthrightness of verbal expression.

This all could enjoy: the 'judicious' no doubt got something of the subtlety and highly organized series of ideas and images which are so commonly placed in the forefront of the modern critic's discussions. It may well be that some of the plays were written with an eye on performance at Court, or at the Inns of Court, or in private houses such as Sir Edward Hoby's, where Cecil saw *Richard II* performed in 1595, and this may account for a certain intellectual 'toughness', such as is found in *Troilus and Cressida*; but even so, the mixed audience of the Globe was the ultimate tribunal whose verdict was of supreme importance to Shakespeare, both as dramatist and part proprietor. Hence the peculiar quality and nature of his drama, and of all Elizabethan drama. Shakespeare, with his amazing vitality, gives prodigally—whether of incident, of character, of diction, of organized imagery. 'Perhaps the vitalising power of Shakespeare is best seen in the loving care that he sometimes spends on subsidiary characters, whose connection with the plot is but slight', we are told, and the same instinct which calls forth this attention to minor characters is what calls forth the wealth of imagery, rich versification, original diction, and the rest which are so large a part of the means whereby Shakespeare conveyed his ideas to various sections of his audience. The dramatist gives prodigally, for he has learnt that in the rough and tumble of the theatre such a method is necessary. He is like a broadcasting station transmitting a programme which is received well by some instruments, imperfectly by others, and scarcely at all by a few. The rich orchestration of the Shakespearian dramatic poetry was fully available, perhaps, to no one: the 'judicious' were able to get something of it, but the speed of ordinary dramatic utterance made it impossible for more than a part of what Shakespeare had to say in his more packed utterances to become available.

We regret this, and we strive to put things right by a slow reading of the text in our studies.

Here something more is forthcoming, but we must be careful to note that a change has taken place. Time is annihilated; we are able to look before and after; we may compare phrase with phrase and image with image; we may follow traits of character, or pursue threads of plot. Whichever of these methods we adopt, we must constantly be on our guard lest our new-found enthusiasm for this or that aspect of Shakespeare's art makes us forget that its original function was to present poetic drama. We may find *more* than we gained by watching and listening, but it must not be *other*, and our safest answer to all such questions and inquiries such as that proposed by Mr. C. S. Lewis—'Hamlet, the Prince or the Poem?' is to reply, 'Neither—the play.'

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

- p. 73. *The audience*.—Among outstanding general contributions to our knowledge of the audience in the present century are the following: R. Bridges, 'On the Influence of the Audience', *The Works of William Shakespeare* (Shakespeare Head Press ed.), vol. x (1907). His point of view was criticized at some length by J. Dover Wilson, in his Academy Lecture, *The Elizabethan Shakespeare* (1929). A. C. Bradley's *Oxford Lectures on Poetry* (1909) contained a stimulating essay 'Shakespeare's Theatre and Audience'. A. H. Thorndike, *Shakespeare's Theatre* (1916), had a lively and well-balanced chapter on the audience, and C. J. Sisson's 'Le Gout public et le théâtre élisabéthain' (1922) contained a mass of information. Miss M. St. Clare Byrne in *A Series of Papers on Shakespeare and the Theatre*, collected by the Shakespeare Association in 1927, discussed the problem of the audience, and more recently Alfred Harbage in his *Shakespeare's Audience* (1941) has given us a full-length, valuable re-survey of the subject. My own essay was mainly written before I had an opportunity of consulting the work of Professor Harbage.
- p. 74. *Women in the theatre*. The whole of the evidence concerning this matter is fully dealt with by Harbage, op. cit., pp. 74-9.
- p. 77. *Education of a Grammar-school type*. The assertion that most of the spectators at the Globe 'were likely to have received an education of the Grammar-school type' is to be found in a valuable article by L. C. Knights in *The Criterion*, vol. xi (1931-2), pp. 599-625, entitled 'Education and the Drama in the Age of Shakespeare'. This should be studied with the works of A. F. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation* (1894); Foster Watson, *English Grammar Schools to 1660* (1908), and J. W. Adamson, 'The Extent of Literacy in England in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: Notes and Conjectures', *The Library*, Fourth Series, vol. x (1929), pp. 163-93.
- p. 77. *The study of rhetoric*. The interest in rhetoric was showing signs of waning by the time that Shakespeare came to London. Throughout the century, however, books on the subject were constantly forthcoming.

Amongst them may be mentioned L. Cox, *The Arte or Crafte of Rhetoryke* (1524); R. Sherry, *A Treatise of Schemes and Tropes* (1550) and *A Treatise of the Figures of Grammar and Rhetorike* (1555); T. Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorique* (1553); W. Fulwood, *An Enemie of Idlenesse* (1568); G. Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589). In W. Kempe's *Education of children in learning . . . meete to be knowne and practised as wel of Parents as Schoolemasters* (1588) we read of the fifth-form scholars, 'First the scholler shall learne the precepts concerning the diuers sorts of arguments in the first part of Logike, (for that without them Rhetorike cannot be well vnderstood,) then shall follow the tropes and figures in the first part of Rhetorike.' Kempe goes on to mention the 'good authors' to be read, such as Tullies Offices and orations, Caesar, Virgil, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, observing as they are read 'the fineness of speech in the Rhetoricall ornaments, &c.' (G3^r.) A very full treatment of the grammar-school curriculum has recently been published under the title of *William Shakspeare's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke* by T. W. Baldwin (Urbana, 1944).

- p. 80. *Shakespeare's Imagery*. Miss Spurgeon first put forward her views in a lecture to the Shakespearean Association, entitled *Leading Motives in the Imagery of Shakespeare's Tragedies* (1930). This was followed by her Academy Lecture, *Shakespeare's Iterative Imagery* (1931), and by her fullest treatment of the subject in *Shakespeare's Imagery and what it tells us* (1935). Her work, and that of many others in this field, is summarized and discussed by Miss U. Ellis-Fermor, *Some Recent Research in Shakespeare's Imagery* (Shakespeare Association), 1937.
- p. 80. *Professor Wilson Knight*. The work of this writer may be studied in a long series of volumes: *The Wheel of Fire* (1930); *The Imperial Theme* (1931); *The Shakespearean Tempest* (1932); *Principles of Shakespearean Production* (1936), and *The Christian Renaissance* (1933). Two quotations from the last-named work will indicate his method and attitude. 'Once I am on a certain train of imagery, I do not so much select suitable examples as reject unsuitable ones' (p. 27) and, 'I do not search for what was originally intended, by man or divine author in [the New Testament, the poetry of Shakespeare, Dante, and Goethe]: I show what they can, and therefore must, mean to us to-day' (p. 107).
- p. 81. *How should we read Shakespeare?* This question is asked and answered by L. C. Knights in his essay 'How many children had Lady Macbeth?' (1933), p. 31, a title intended to parody the 'pseudo-critical investigations' of Bradley and others (p. 64). Dr. Knights, in the paragraph quoted in the lecture, states clearly the point of view which governs his work and that of his associates. A further and more extended example of his critical attitude will be found in his *Drama and Society in the Age of Jonson* (1937).

POTTER AND PAINTER IN ANCIENT ATHENS

By J. D. BEAZLEY

Fellow of the Academy

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THERE are few mentions of potters in ancient literature, and most of our information about them comes, in uneven proportions, from four sources: first, representations, on vases or clay plaques, of potters and vase-painters at work; second, signatures on vases; third, a few inscriptions on stone; fourth, the nature and style of the vases themselves, which yield a vast and various mass of information. Add two other sources, to be used with caution: our knowledge of human nature; and analogies drawn from what is known about the ways of craftsmen in other ages.

Let us begin with the representations, on vases and votive plaques, of potters and painters at work. These are not numerous, and most of them are familiar: little has been added of late years; but it may be possible to make some particulars clearer, and to view some of the pictures in a new light.¹

Some of the Corinthian pictures of potters go back to the beginning of the sixth century (Payne, *N.C.* 117): but the earliest extant *Attic* picture of a potter is much later, hardly before 530. For five centuries *Attic* potters had been in the forefront; surpassed, and that only for short periods, by the potters of Corinth alone: but the first *picture* of an *Attic* pottery is on a small black-figured fragment from the Acropolis of Athens (853: Graef i, pl. 56, whence Pl. I, 1). Below the picture, a brown line and a pair of red; the vase, fairly thick-walled, is reserved inside, and may have been a 'one-piece' amphora (see p. 88). What remains of the picture is the lower part of a youth or man sitting on a cushion and spinning the wheel. The potter himself must have been on the left, fashioning the vase. A third workman moves up in the direction of the group, but all that is preserved is his right

¹ All who study the craft of potter and vase-painter in antiquity owe much to Reichhold (in Furtwängler and Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*) and to Miss Richter (*The Craft of Attic Pottery*; Richter and Hall, *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, xxxv–xlvi; *Attic Red-figured Vases, a General Survey*). See also Hussong, *Zur Technik der attischen Gefässmalerei* (reviewed by Miss Richter in *A.J.A.* 1932, 84–6), and Binns and Fraser in *A.J.A.* 1929, 1–9. Shrewd observations on conditions in ancient potteries will be found in Miss Haspels' *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi*.

shank and foot, and what he was doing cannot be made out. The style has always reminded me of the great potter and painter Exekias, and the hand may perhaps be his.

Next in point of time is the well-known scene on the shoulder of a hydria in Munich which belongs to what is called the Leagros Group (*A.B.S.* 26-8 and 43-7; *A.R.V.* 929 and 940), is contemporary with early red-figure, and may be dated between 520 and 510 B.C. (Munich 1717: Jahn in *Ber. Sächs.* 1854, pl. 1, 1; *F.R.* i, 159, whence Richter, *Craft*, 64, and Pl. 2, 1). Part of the left half of the shoulder-picture is missing, and to right of this the picture on the body encroaches on the shoulder in three places. The body-picture represents the Rescue of Anchises, and in the shoulder-picture also age is honoured: for one of the chief figures is the old master, with long white hair, dressed in a himation, and holding no ordinary walking-stick, but a goodly sceptre-like staff. The potter, standing, is fashioning a large vessel on the wheel, which is spun by a boy who sits on a low block. What is seen hanging, above the boy, may be the callipers, which a potter is constantly using to check the proportions of his work (Richter, *Craft*, 65). A second vessel,* of the same shape as the one being fashioned, is carried out of the building by a young man, to dry before firing; a third already stands on the ground outside. To the right, a big porter carries fuel for the furnace, which the stoker is raking out before relighting. The heap seen behind the stoker's right foot is fuel, and to this the porter will add his load. The furnace is ornamented, for luck, with the face of a satyr, or rather a satyr-like face. To the left, a boy is handing a vase to a youth seated on a stool (*diphros*) with his himation tied round his waist, who takes it carefully. The youth is usually thought to be an inspector, rather than a vase-painter. The vase he holds is of a familiar form: the amphora of 'one-piece' type was one of the leading shapes in sixth-century Attica (Richter and Milne, *Shapes and Names*, 33), and many fine examples have reached us from the very workshop in which the Munich vase was painted—the 'Leagros' workshop (e.g. *C.V.* Munich, pl. 39, and pl. 45, left). But neither from this workshop nor from any other known to us in Attica have we such vessels as the other three. These will never be black-figured or red-figured vases. They are pithoi, strong storage-vessels for household use: they required, proverbially, a skilful potter, but they were not painted, they were left plain. It would seem from the picture that the same establishment sometimes produced both vases with figurework and coarser household ware.

Let us glance back at the old master. A fine bronze statuette recently discovered at Olympia (Hampe in *Anz.* 1937, Bericht, 78, fig. 39 and pl. 22, whence Pl. 2, 3, and Pl. 3, 1-2) reminded me of him, and looking at it again I seem to see a real resemblance. It is an old man with long hair and a clever face, carefully dressed in a chiton reaching past his knees and a cloak laid over both shoulders, walking slowly with a stick in his right hand. (The upper part of the stick is missing, and the forepart of the base is twisted out of shape.) The bronze must be Laconian, as Hampe says, made in the middle or the third quarter of the sixth century: may it not have been dedicated by the master of a foundry, and represent himself?

For style Hampe has aptly compared the new statuette with one found at Phoiniki in Peloponnese and now in Athens (7614; Staïs, *Marbres et bronzes*, 269, 1; Langlotz, *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen*, pl. 49, 5; *Anz.* 1937, Bericht, 78, fig. 40, whence Pl. 2, 2): a naked man, bald, with a short beard, is walking, bending somewhat, holding a hydria by the side-handles. The figure corresponds, though less closely, to another figure in the Munich picture, the workman carrying the pithos: it may be a water-carrier; but it may possibly be a workman, and perhaps it was dedicated by one of the artists in bronze who made the great Laconian hydriai of the sixth century.

All that remains of a third picture is two small fragments in the Acropolis collection at Athens, part of a black-figured plaque dedicated to Athena by a potter whose name ended in . . . -des (Graef and Langlotz, i, pl. 107, 2570). Ten letters of the inscription remain, which Lolling restored as [-υυ]Δης ἄ[νέθηκε Διὸς κ]ρατερὸ[φρονι κούρηι]. On the left of the plaque, part of a seated youth or man, a workman. More to the right, how far off one cannot say, a vase-painter sits in front of a column-krater with his skyphos-like paint-pot beside him. Langlotz dates the plaque in the first decade of the fifth century.

Not much is to be got from two fragments of another black-figured plaque found on the Acropolis of Athens (Graef and Langlotz, i, pl. 109, 2579). The drawing, which is on a white slip, is very rough, and in Langlotz's view not Attic. One fragment shows the legs of a small potter sitting at the wheel, and a crowd of little vases; the other a naked youth carrying something, perhaps, as Langlotz says, a lump of clay; and in front of him part of another naked workman carrying something else.

In shape, the black-figured cup London B 432 is a degenerate version of 'cup type A', and the date is probably not far from

500 B.C. (*Ber. Sächs.* 1867, pl. 4, 4; *B.M. Guide to Greek and Roman Life*, 175, fig. 194, whence Richter, *Craft*, 67; *C.V.* iv He, pl. 22, 5). The drawing inside, a low daub, shows a young potter sitting on a stool at the wheel, a cloak hanging from his shoulder. What looks like a belt is his left arm. With his other hand he is attaching the second handle to a cup standing on a block, which stands on the wheel, which serves as a turn-table. Above, on a shelf, four cups and a jug. The fragmentary animal in the exergue need not have any connexion with the potter. The cups on the shelf are not definitely of the same shape as that on which they are painted, and the cup on the wheel is still less like it.

The earliest pottery-scene in red-figure is on a fragmentary cup in the Acropolis collection at Athens (166: part of A, *Jb.* 14, 154, whence Walters, *H.A.P.* i. 227, and Richter, *Craft*, 73, fig. 68; Langlotz, ii, pl. 6, whence Casson, *The Technique of Early Greek Sculpture*, fig. 54: part, Pl. 1, 2-3). The date is between 510 and 500 B.C. A vase-painter is sitting at a wheel and painting a cup which stands on a small block placed on the wheel. A woman steps towards him with her right arm extended as if to crown him: her right hand is missing, but it may have held a wreath; in her left hand there may have been—who knows?—a flower. Athena herself sits in front of the painter, a still presence. The woman is probably her emissary, and may be Nike, although she has no wings. Bulle, in Roscher s.v. Nike, 317, gives examples of wingless Nikai in the fifth century, even if he attributes them to the whim of vase-painters. At first glance one cannot help thinking of St. Luke painting the Virgin, but it seems clear that the artist is only painting the inside of the cup black. The cup may be rotating on the wheel. The author of the picture is the Euergides Painter (*A.R.V.* 62, no. 60), who has left a hundred and twenty red-figure cups, half a dozen of which bear the name of the potter Euergides and one the name of the potter Chelis. A strange thing is that the cup shown here is not like a red-figured cup at all: it looks like black-figured kylikes of the 'Little Master' type, a form almost obsolete by the time this vase was painted. The Euergides Painter may never have handled such kylikes, but evidently he liked the shape.

Langlotz thinks that the seated figure on the right of the second fragment (Pl. 1, 2) is the vase-painter of the first fragment (Pl. 1, 3), but this does not seem quite certain. The seated figure in any case is a workman. The low stool he sits on, and the position of his arms, recall the helmet-maker on a cup in Oxford (518: *C.V.* pl. 2, 8: *A.R.V.* 231, no. 22) and the little box with

the same subject in the Petit Palais (382: *C.V.* pl. 21, 1: *A.R.V.* 53, foot, no. 1), but that does not show what he was doing. The right leg seems to be crossed over the other.

According to Langlotz, the figure of Athena does not belong to the vase-painter scene, but to the scene on the right of the larger fragment; and it is not the goddess herself, but a statue. I take it to be the goddess: comparing the figure of Athena watching the vintagers, and holding her helmet out in her right hand, on the black-figured plaque by the Rycroft Painter in the Acropolis collection (2560: Graef and Langlotz, i, pl. 107; the newly discovered fragments with the Athena, Pease in *Hesp.* 4, 222, right: see also *A.J.A.* 1935, 478). Casson's claim (*Technique*, 160) that 'a deity would not have been interpolated in the middle of a studio without taking an active part in the scene' is refuted by the Caltagirone krater (Pl. 5, 1, and p. 97).

To right of the vase-painter scene there is another. A man squats on a low platform (near the edge of it), with the left sole resting on it, and the right heel: the right foot is drawn as if seen from above, while shank and knee make a sort of compromise between a frontal and a side view. In his right hand he holds a small hammer, and on the ground beside him is a metal-worker's block (not an anvil).¹ To right, a forge (rather than a furnace), and a boy behind it plying the bellows,² the sticks of which are preserved. With his left hand the man holds something in the fire: the very ends of the thing remain, and one might expect it to be a pair of tongs, but that is not the shape, for the ends are bent at right angles. Mr. Fiorini tells me that a metal-worker, when heating an object, prefers holding the object itself, if it is long enough, to holding it by means of tongs, for with tongs it is apt to fly up, and a man in his foundry once lost an eye in that way. So I suppose that our metal-worker is holding the ends of the thing he is working on, whatever it may be. When it is red hot he will turn and hammer it on the block. Tongs of course have to be used sometimes, and a pair hangs on the wall, as well as a couple of hammers and the metal-worker's hat. The sprig above the boy seems too far from him to be part of a wreath on his head: perhaps it decorates the forge, like the

¹ So also in the Oxford cup 518 (above, p. 90); a similar block is on the oinochoe by the Niobid painter in Leningrad (Webster, *Niob.* pl. 10, b: *A.R.V.* 423, no. 68).

² On such bellows see Hauser in *F.R.* iii. 85, and *Man*, 44, no. 75 (Wainwright); add the band-cup *Hesp.* 9, 199, no. 134, and the volute-krater by Polion in Ferrara (Aurigemma¹ 211 = ² 248; *A.R.V.* 797, no. 1).

sprigs above the head of the *προβασκάνιον* on the Munich vase (Pl. 2, 1, and p. 88).

To left of the seated figure on the smaller fragment is a group of two naked males engaged with a horse. Langlotz is probably right in thinking that the horse is a statue, to which a pair of workmen are giving the last touches. The man on the left leans back, as if holding the horse by the bridle or rather the muzzle, and has something in his right hand (a measuring-rod, for instance?). Behind his right shank is what might be part of a stick on which a man was leaning and watching or giving orders or encouragement, as in the black-figured neck-amphora Boston 01.8035 (*Mon.* 11, pl. 29) or the Foundry cup in Berlin (F.R. pl. 135: *A.R.V.* 263, no. 1).

The Euergides Painter has taken pains over this cup, and it is his most elaborate piece. No other cup of his has a maeander instead of a simple line below the outside picture, or anything to match the foreshortened figure of the metal-worker, with all the detail on leg, foot, and torso—even hair below the pit of the stomach. The face too is his only realistic face; and the thick hair is done in an unusual way: it has a wavy contour, with relief-line outside the reserve but none inside it.

The best or handsomest picture of a vase-painter is on a fragmentary cup in Boston of about 480 B.C. (01.8073: *Jb.* 14, pl. 4, whence Richter, *Craft*, 72; Cloché, *Les classes*, pl. 20, 3: *A.R.V.* 231, no. 21). It is by the so-called Antiphon Painter, one of the chief decorators of cups in the late archaic period (*A.R.V.* 230–9 and 955–6), but whether he means the youth for himself there is no saying, and one would guess not. The youth, sitting on a stool, with his himation let down to his waist, holds the cup by the foot, with the bowl resting lightly on his thigh, and draws with a fine brush. In his left hand he holds a small object, thin, pointed, and swelling towards the middle, which has received several explanations (Hartwig in *Jb.* 14, 157; Reichhold in F.R. i. 21; Richter, *Craft*, 72; Hussong, *Zur Technik*, 49). Some have taken it for the wooden chip with which the preliminary sketch was incised: if so, the moment chosen would be the beginning of the drawing itself as opposed to the incised sketch; and in a moment the wooden point will be dropped. An objection to this is that the *miltos* is thought to have been applied to the vase after the incising of the sketch and before the drawing (Richter, *Craft*, 57–8, and in *A.J.A.* 1932, 85–6); and if so, it would be strange that the painter should be shown holding both instruments. An eraser is also unlikely. Possibly no exact moment is intended,

and the painter is simply depicted in possession of his tools: but I do not feel this to be probable in art of this kind. Another puzzle is the two sets of three dots on the cup in the painter's hand, at the middle of each half: Hartwig's explanation of them as 'a modest indication of the painting' is not satisfactory. The black line on the cup is of course the handle. As for the walking-stick leaning against the wall, and the strigil with oil-bottle hanging on the wall, they are not meaningless, although they have nothing to do with the potter's craft: they symbolize the painter's independence and point forward to the time when he will be free: shortly before sunset I wash, I dress, I take my stick, and you don't see me again till the morning.

It may be worth recalling that the Antiphon Painter, like the Euergides, has left a picture of a metal-worker as well as one of a vase-painter: the helmet-maker on the fragmentary cup in Oxford (518: *C.V.* pl. 2, 8; *A.R.V.* 231, no. 22: p. 90).

A small stemless cup in Berlin represents a young potter sitting on a large block with his himation let down to his waist (2542: Gerhard, *Festgedanken an Winckelmann*, pl. 2, 3-4, whence *Ber. Sächs.* 1854, pl. 1, 2 and Richter, *Craft*, 69; Cloché, *Les classes*, pl. 19, 4). He holds a skyphos in his left hand, but it is not certain just what he is doing. Jahn thought that he was polishing it with a piece of wood or leather, Miss Richter that he may be removing the surplus clay after attaching the handle. A skyphos of the same shape is placed on a stand in front of him, and above it an oinochoe. The date of the Berlin stemless is between 470 and 460 B.C. It was painted by one of those many followers of Douris who flourished in the second quarter of the fifth century and the earlier part of the third quarter (*A.R.V.* 520-37 and 961). Some of them stand out as distinct personalities; others, so far, do not. The Berlin stemless (*A.R.V.* 535, no. 20) is closest, perhaps, to the work of the Dish Painter (*A.R.V.* 534 and 961), but it is a typical example of the whole group. As to the vases represented on it, there are several skyphoi in the group; and several oinochoai, although none of just this shape have been preserved.

The next picture is on the shoulder of a hydria painted about 460 B.C. (Giovanni Jatta in *Annali*, 1876, pl. D-E, whence *F.R.* ii. 307, Richter, *Craft*, 71, *M.L.* 28, 110, and Cloché, *Les classes*, pl. 21, 1). Found at Ruvo, in the grave of a woman, and formerly in the Caputi collection there, it is now in the possession of Marchese De Luca Resta at Rome, and I have seen it, but cannot replace the old reproduction by a better. In the middle,

Athena approaches the young vase-painter with a wreath, to crown him. He is seated on a chair, a klismos, with his himation let down to his waist, and is painting a very large kantharos, which is tipped up on his lap and supported by the left hand, the fingers of which appear—in the original though not in the copy—on the upper edge of the vase. I suppose the copyist has left out the lower line of the left arm. I did not observe whether the line that runs from the foot of the kantharos to the lap was in the original or not. A small table (see Richter, *Furniture*, 80–6), with three splayed legs (two of which are visible) but no stretchers, stands at his right side, and on it two skyphos-like paint-pots, both with a single handle. The right-hand one has a lid, with a knob, leaning against it, drawn in profile. The left-hand one might seem from the copy to have a lid lying on it, but it has not. Perhaps one of the pots contains black glaze, the other the same diluted to yellow. In front of the artist is another very large kantharos, and standing in it a large oinochoe of shape I. The body of the oinochoe is reeded, and so possibly is the stem of the kantharos. The helmet of Athena is yellow. On the left, a second painter, a boy, naked, is decorating a volute-krater which stands on a small block. He sits on a stool of the plainest kind, and has two skyphos-like paint-pots on a block beside him: the right-hand one has two handles; the other is handleless, but is furnished with a slip-in lid, the knob of which is seen in the original though not in the reproduction, which also omits the brown inner markings on the boy's body. He looks round at Nike who crowns him.¹ To right of the chief group another Nike crowns a second boy who is sitting on a low stool and decorating a calyx-krater: he tips it back with his left hand, and it stands on a cushion or bed (either a sandbag, or a mass of mixed sand and clay), which is coloured yellow. Yellow also the handles of the calyx-krater, the petals of the palmettes on it (which are somewhat garbled in the copy), the coverts of Nike's wings, and the border of her himation. The boy wears a short chlamys or coat, also coloured yellow. His paint-pot, with an offset lip, stands on the ground beside him. I did not note that it had any handles. Lastly, on the extreme left, a woman is sitting on a stool, with a

¹ An 'Arretine' vase found near Rome (later 'Romae apud Cerellium') is stamped with the name of the potter Albius Protus and the imprint of a gem on which 'figulus sinistrorsum sedens vas prae grande stilo fingit; pone Victoria volans caput figuli coronat' (*C.I.L.* xv. 4944; *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 102, 141, note 4). For gem-impressions on vases and the like see Wollmann and Curtius in *R.M.* 45, 29–36.

cover on it, and painting a volute-krater—the back of the handle. She has no Nike, but her stool stands on a dais. She wears a chiton, with cords to keep the sleeves up, and over it a himation, let down to her waist. A kantharos, and an oinochoe, hang above her: these are of no great size and are perhaps not for sale but for slaking thirst in the workshop. The presence of this figure proves the existence of women vase-painters in Athens. But the picture may be looked at from another angle. There is something dream-like about it. It is a wish-picture. I do not refer merely to the presence of the goddess Athena and her messengers, but to something else. The painter of the hydria is known: it is the Leningrad Painter (so called after an amphora in the Hermitage), and we have some eighty vases by him (*A.R.V.* 373-7 and 959). He is one of the artists who make up the Mannerist group (*A.R.V.* 369-400, 959, and 968): these share an affected sub-archaic style, and are so closely interconnected, not only by the drawing of the figures and patterns, but also by the choice, make, and detail of the vase-shapes—the potter's work, then, as well as the painter's—that they were certainly members of a single workshop, which can be followed for seventy years, from the beginning of the fifth century down to the end of the third quarter. Myson was the founder (*A.R.V.* 169-73 and 954), and the 'Mannerists' were his pupils, and the pupils of his pupils. Sixteen of them can be identified, and there were others, whose personal style is not yet distinguishable from the mass; and all their work, with the exception of a few masterpieces by the founder, Myson, is third- or fourth-rate.¹ The vast majority of their vases are commonplace column-kraters, pelikai, hydriai. Of the grander shapes, there are only three calyx-kraters from the Mannerist workshop; and one volute-krater—by the Leningrad Painter, as it happens. There is one oinochoe (by Myson); there are no kantharoi. It would be too much to say that the painter had never handled such vases as he here depicts: but this is certainly not an average day in the Mannerist workshop.

¹ I am not including the Pan Painter among the Mannerists in the stricter sense. He proceeds from the same teacher, and has much in common with them, but went his own way, is immeasurably superior, and did not sit, or not for long, in the Mannerist workshop. See *Pan-Maler*, 18-19, and *A.R.V.* 361-9 and 959. I take the opportunity of correcting an error in *A.R.V.*: the Nolan amphora, Palermo V 745 (*A.R.V.* 364, no. 36: A, *A.Z.* 1871, pl. 45, 1; C.V. pl. 28, 1-2, and pl. 26, 2), is not by the Pan Painter, but, as I had said in *Att. V.* 105, foot, in his manner only: it is probably by the Alkimachos Painter, under the influence, as often, of the Pan Painter.

On a small fragment of a red-figured skyphos from the Acropolis of Athens (470; Langlotz, pl. 38, whence Pl. 5, 4) a workman is bending and taking a section of a vase off the wheel. He has been making the vase in sections, later to be joined. The upper edge of the section is missing in the fragment. Miss Richter suggests to me that what we see is either the stand of a nuptial lebes (thrown upside down), or the body of a loutrophoros. Langlotz dates the fragment about 490 B.C., which seems too early: it can hardly be older than the middle of the century.

Both potter and painter appear in fragments of a small calyx-krater in the Acropolis collection at Athens, 739: part, *A.M.* 14, 157 (= Langlotz, 69), whence (part) Walters, *H.A.P.* i. 208, and (part) Richter, *Craft*, 66, fig. 60; part, Langlotz, pl. 62; part, Pl. 5, 2-3. The calyx-krater was one of those decorated with two rows of figures (see Jacobsthal in *Metr. St.* 5, 118-40). The scene in the pottery is in the upper row, and may have run right round the vase, for such kraters rarely have more than one subject in the upper row: but there are exceptions (London E 467, by the Niobid painter, *A.R.V.* 420, no. 21; New York 41.83, *Bull. Metr. Mus.* 36, 204-5). A word first about the lower picture on one side of the vase: our photograph gives all that remains; previous publications are incomplete. Now the scene in the pottery. The potter sits at his wheel, handling a mass of clay which has not yet taken the form of a vase; an assistant sits opposite him spinning the wheel. The potter wears a short cloak (probably fastened at the pit of the neck) which recalls the garment worn by one of the painters on the Caputi hydria (pp. 93-4), but has no folds, as if it were of thicker stuff. What he sits on is not any of the ordinary types of wooden seat: it is a heavy block, cylindrical or nearly so (the side seems slightly concave), with a projecting ledge below, and, above, either another ledge or perhaps a cushion. Rather similar seats appear on the calyx-krater in Caltagirone (p. 97 and Pl. 5, 1) and the Sibon skyphos (p. 100). The assistant's seat is lower, and the exact shape of it cannot be made out, but it is of the same general type as the other, only without the ledge below. I am not sure what the object in front of the potter is, on the far side of his feet, but it may be a stand. To left of the potter a vase-painter sits on an ordinary wooden stool (diphros), dressed in a himation (not a chiton, as Blümner, *A.M.* 14, 157) which was no doubt let down to his waist, and painting a column-krater which rests tipped between his thighs and must have been held with

his left hand. The upper edge of his brush or point is shown, but not the lower. Beside him is a block serving as a stand, and on it a small paint-pot, as it must be, cylindrical, with two horizontal lines on it in brown; to left of this a vestige of another small vessel appears just before the fragment ends: this part of the picture is misrendered in the drawing on Langlotz's plate 62. A second fragment (Langlotz, pl. 62, upper right corner; Pl. 5, 3) gives head and shoulder of a youth, wearing a himation, facing left; and to right of him (invisible in the reproduction) the shoulder, with the back of the head, of a figure seated to right, and bending: evidently a workman. The first must have been the right-hand figure of one group, the second the left-hand figure of another. The third fragment of the vase has not been reproduced: it gives the upper part of a head seen full-face; the left shoulder of the same figure; and a curl from a figure to right of this; between them, suspended, something that looks like a shoe.

The painter of this vase is the Painter of the Louvre Centauro-machy (*A.R.V.* 712, no. 56): and this *is*, so far as he is concerned, an average day in the workshop: for although he used several shapes, he painted far more column-kraters than anything else, and nearly half of the eighty vases by him that have come down to us are column-kraters.

The vase has been variously dated: about 500 B.C. by Walters, about 470 by Langlotz: both dates are far too early, and even Jacobsthal's, the fifties (*Metz. St.* 5, 119), does not seem to me late enough. About 440.

Another calyx-krater, found at S. Luigi near Caltagirone in Sicily, and now in the museum of Caltagirone, belongs to the same period, but is by another painter (*M.L.* 28, 103-6, Libertini, whence Pl. 5, 1; A. Cloché, *Les classes*, pl. 19, 6). A potter is engaged on a column-krater, while a boy spins the wheel. The potter, an elderly man, has risen from his seat, and stands with both legs bent at the knee, the right more than the left, stooping, intent on his work. His left arm is laid along his thigh, inactive (clearer in Cloché's reproduction than in Libertini's from which ours is taken), while the right hand is inside the neck or shoulder of the vase. Whatever he is doing, he cannot be throwing the vase. Foot and handles have still to be attached. Athena looks on. The potter's seat is a stool of the plainest sort, while the boy sits on a heavy block with concave sides, no doubt circular in section (compare p. 96). A line runs round the middle of it, and another marks the foot off from the rest. Hussong (*Zur Technik*,

64) suggests that the seat may be of clay. It is covered with a brown wash like the disk and pivot of the wheel. A column behind the potter indicates a building. The boy's face is drawn in three-quarter view.

Miss Richter writes to me as follows:

The man can certainly not be either throwing or turning the vase, since he is only using one hand. Besides, the vase is thrown, and its finish suggests that it is also turned. His pose seems to suggest that he is bracing himself to keep the position of his right hand constant while the boy makes the wheel revolve. Miss Maude Robinson, the potter, and I have thought of two possibilities: either he is finishing the vase on the inside of the rim by using a scraper or a sponge to obtain the final surface, or he is centering it, testing by eye and hand how true it is running by letting the vase spin against his hand.

Later, Miss Richter wrote:

We think that if the man were working on the join of neck and body as you suggested, he would be leaning further forward and looking into the vase. As Miss Robinson says, he seems to be watching the rim of the vase to see whether it is running true. In other words he has had the vase off the wheel and is recentering it for the next step.

Miss Richter thinks that the vase, when foot and handles are added, will be a stamnos; a column-krater had seemed to me more likely.

I have not seen the Caltagirone vase, and do not know who painted it. Libertini says that it is not later than the end of the fifth century, which is true as far as it goes: the date cannot be after 440.

A bell-krater in Oxford is a few years later, about 430 B.C. (526: *J.H.S.* 28, pl. 32, whence, A, Richter, *Craft*, 74; *C.V.* pl. 24, 2, and pl. 25, 7; A, Cloché, *Les classes*, pl. 22, 1). The young painter, wearing an exomis, sits on a stool, a diphros, holding a bell-krater on his knee with his left hand passed inside it, and blacking in the lower part with a large brush; his paint-pot, a regular skyphos, stands on a lower stool beside him. Another youth, wearing a short cloak fastened at the pit of the neck—much the same garment as was worn by one of the painters on the Caputi hydria (p. 94)—hastens by with a bell-krater, looking round. Then comes a column, indicating the structure—room, porch, or penthouse—in which the painter is working; then a third youth, dressed like the last, and like him hastening and looking back: in his left hand he holds a skyphos by the foot; the right hand is missing, and whether it held any-

thing one cannot say. In front of him a bell-krater is standing on the ground.

One's first impulse would be to assume that the krater held by the youth in the middle had just been painted by the seated youth and was being carried out for firing: but of course it would have to stand and dry before being taken by the handles. More: this is the one way, it seems, that an unfired pot must not be held.¹ If so, the vase is fired and finished, and the connexion with the painter is less close than might have been expected. As to the third youth, he too may be carrying a finished vase to the deposit: but it is perhaps a little more likely that he is going to fetch more paint in the skyphos. Of the many activities to be witnessed in a pottery, three have been selected: painting a vase; bestowing the finished vases; fetching paint.

The youth in the middle recalls the bronze from Phoiniki (p. 89 and Pl. 2, 2). For the five objects hanging on the walls see *C.V.* Oxford, text to pl. 24, 2.

The bell-krater held by the seated youth is not of quite the same type as the others: it has lugs, they have handles. Both types were still current at this time: see H. R. W. Smith in *C.V.* San Francisco, text to pl. 22, 1.² The vase standing on the ground has a simple foot, the others a less common foot in two degrees.

The Oxford vase was decorated by a minor artist, the Komaris Painter (*A.R.V.* 717-18 and 964). The six or seven vases by him that have survived are all bell-kraters. One of them, Louvre G 497 (*C.V.* d, pl. 35, 1 and 3), has a foot in two degrees (the foot of the Oxford vase is a restoration). This picture, then, accords, so far as it goes, with conditions in the workshop where the painter was employed.

The last Attic picture of a pottery is a recent find: a small fragment of a krater, unpublished, from the Pnyx, in Athens. A hydria stands on the wheel, which serves as a turn-table, and the potter is adjusting the back-handle. Not earlier than 425 B.C.

A small pelike in the British Museum may provide a comic epilogue (E 387: A, C. Smith, *B.M. Cat.* iii, pl. 19, 1, whence *Jh.* 12, 89): two satyrs, holding hands, spin round, gnome-like or brownie-like (after nightfall?) on what Hauser recognized to be a potter's wheel (*Jh.* 12, 88-90). Holding hands: or rather,

¹ See, however, Hussong, 61, Richter and Hall, xli-xlii, and Richter, *Survey*.

² Smith does not refer to the proto-lugged-bell-krater Agora P 5189 (*Hesp.* 5, 344), the significance of which was appreciated by Miss Talcott.

the bigger satyr holds the wrists of the smaller and less intrepid one. The date is about 425 B.C., and the drawing is in the manner of the Washing Painter (*A.R.V.* 748, no. 8). Another comic pelike, in Leningrad (740: A, *Annali* 1870, pl. R), with two dwarfs at the punch-bag, is in the same style (*A.R.V.* 748, no. 9).

There is one more picture of a pottery that should perhaps be mentioned here, although it is Boeotian and not Attic: it is on the skyphos inscribed Σίβων καλός in Athens (Blümner in *A.M.* 14, 151, whence Walters, *H.A.P.* i, 218, and Richter, *Craft*, 75; A, Cloché, *Les classes*, pl. 21, 2). The picture, rudely drawn in silhouette, runs right round the vase except for the palmette at one handle. The head of the factory sits on a block which recalls the seats on the calyx-kraters in Athens and Caltagirone (pp. 95–6); and a naked workman hastens to left, holding three skyphoi one on top of the other. Another stack of skyphoi stands on the ground near the master—or is it not rather the mistress? She wears a long garment; the hair is bound with a flying fillet, and is dressed high over the forehead. She leans back, and looks round, holding up a kylix in one hand and in the other what Blümner thinks may be ‘a leather for smoothing the vase’. Blümner also thinks that she is aiming a blow with it at the workman as he hurries past, and that he is protecting his tail with his hand: but that is not the action. I do not know what the thing is: perhaps a wicker fan to dust the pots on show? (compare *Jh.* 11, 186). To right of the mistress a shelf is fastened to the wall, with a skyphos on it, and a kantharos. On the right half of the vase there are three naked workmen. One of them sits frontal, looking at a skyphos which he holds up in his left hand: he has just finished painting it. In front of him is the potter’s wheel, and standing on it a skyphos serving as paint-pot, with the brush in it. Above, a workman is slung up to the ceiling by cords fastened to his arms, neck, and ankle, and secured to the floor by a cord round his penis. A companion is beating him about the neck and shoulders, which causes his tongue to protrude.¹

¹ Prof. P. N. Ure has kindly provided me with the following note on the style of the Sibon skyphos:

‘I have mentioned the skyphos in my *Classification of Boeotian Pottery* (18, top, and 21, middle). We have never found a place where it fits in convincingly. If forced to date it I should be inclined to say not earlier than the end of the fifth century and possibly a good deal later. The shape of the vase is close to that of Grave 57, no. 6, at Rhitsona (*Black Glaze Pottery*, pl. xi) from a late fifth-century context (see my remarks in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Mykalessos,

It is not to be assumed that in any of these pictures the artist has represented himself; and the only certain self-portrait of a vase-painter shows him not at work but off duty. The subject of the stamnos signed by the painter Smikros, about 520 B.C., in Brussels, is a symposion (A 717: *Mon. Piot*, 9, pll. 2-3, whence Hoppin, *Rf.* ii. 417; *C.V.* pll. 12-13; part of A, Pl. 1, 4; *A.R.V.* 20, no. 1). There are three couples: in the middle, Smikros himself, inscribed, is absorbed in the music of the maid Helike; his companions are Pheidiades, with the maid Choro, and a youth whose name is lost (only the first two letters, ΑΙ . . ., remain), with the maid Rhode. Smikros is young, and of finer fibre—in the picture—than his friends. Smikros was not a good draughtsman, but his group of himself and Helike has a certain intensity of expression.

On three other vases from exactly the same period and circle as the Smikros stamnos the names of potters and painters occur not as parts of signatures but in unusual contexts. For a moment the artist, one might say, seems to edge his everyday personality a little farther into the world of his creation. In the shoulder-picture of a hydria by Phintias in Munich (2421: F.R. pl. 71, 1; *A.R.V.* 22, no. 5) a woman playing kottabos toasts Euthymides: σοι τενδι Εὐθυμιδαι (σοι τηνδι, Εὐθυμιδη).¹ This Euthymides is

503, bottom). On the other hand the pictured kantharos on the tray just to the left of the suspended figure looks like a degradation of the type *Black Glaze* pl. xiv, from Grave 56, which we date first half of the fourth century. The pictured kantharos is certainly much less like the late fifth-century predecessor of the Grave 56 type, of which we found a good many examples in Graves 123 and 139, roughly contemporary with the Thespian polyandron (see vi and v, pp. 36-7, type C), and its foot is not like either but much like that of miniature kantharoi of the Chaeronea period, e.g. Grave 34, no. 37 (vi and v, pl. x) or Grave 30, no. 24 (*Black Glaze*, pl. 17). The handles, too, of the skyphos held by the potter sitting below the man in suspense look rather like those of the cup from Grave 59, no. 24 (*Black Glaze*, pl. 12), which we date towards the middle of the fourth century; but I don't recall this type of handle on a deep skyphos in real life; and the way the handles of the pictured kantharos are attached at the lower ends seems odd.'

Greifenhagen (*Eine attische sf. Vasengattung*, 102-3) compares the Sibon scene with that on the reverse of the well-known Middle Corinthian columnkrater Louvre E 632 (*Annali*, 1885, pll. D-E; Payne, *N.C.* 317, no. 1178, and 122), and thinks that there, too, the subject may be the castigation of employees in a pottery.

¹ σοι τηνδι, as Furtwängler noted (F.R. ii. 63), is the Attic equivalent of the more clangulous Doric τιν τάνδε, which was also used in Athens, as is known from the psykter by Euphronios in Leningrad (F.R. pl. 63; *A.R.V.* 17, no. 12), with its τιντανδελαττισσο λαττρε. The Attic verb would be λαττω, but the expression does not require a verb. λαττάζων was conjectured by Wilamowitz

probably the vase-painter. The same name, misspelt Εὐθυμίδης, is also applied to a youth in the main picture, who sits playing the lyre and ready to accompany the singing of the boy Tlem-polemos (see Furtwängler in *F.R.* ii. 64). Again, on a hydria of the same shape in the Louvre (G 41: Hoppin, *Euth. F.* pll. 29-30 and p. 122; *A.R.V.* 29, no. 1, where the inscriptions are reported correctly) another artist—either the Dikaïos Painter or one very like him—sets the greeting χαίρετο Εὐθυμίδης. Lastly, Euthymides himself, on one of his great amphorae in Munich (2307: *F.R.* pl. 14, whence Hoppin, *Rf.* i, 433 and Pfuhl, figs. 364-5), writes ἡσούδεπποτεεὐφρόνιος (ὡς οὐδέποτε Εὐφρόνιος). This has been interpreted as a cry of envy and hate wrung from a jealous and despairing rival: I take it rather to be the sort of good-humoured vaunt that a young man gaily tosses to his friend; and I dare say I shall have the support of those who are young, or have not yet quite forgotten the insolence of their generous youth.

Recently it has been proposed to add a further inscription to these three or four. It is written under the foot of a skyphos-like vase found in the Athenian Agora (Shear in *Hesp.* 5, 36; Talcott in *Hesp.* 5, 347, fig. 15, and 346), and mentions a Sosias, apparently also a Euphronios. These have been identified with the famous potters of those names. The vase is stout kitchen-ware, plain except for a few black bands: the class it belongs to has been well studied by Miss Talcott (*Hesp.* 4, 493-5, 511-12, 517, and 521; *Hesp.* 5, 342-4 and 346-52). She also shows that the contents of the well the vase was found in range from about 483 to 460 B.C. The inscription was not painted before firing, like those described hitherto, but incised subsequently. The greater part of the second name was deliberately erased, and only faint traces of the letters remain, but they are said to warrant the reading. If the persons mentioned are the potters, they must have been well on in years. The words have been supposed to form a dactylic hexameter (*Hesp.* 5, 36): but, first, it would be a hideous one; and secondly, the order must be not φῆσιν ὁ γράψας Ε[ὐφρόν]ιος, Σωσίας καταπύγων, but Σωσίας καταπύγων· Εὐφρόνιος φῆσιν ὁ γράψας. Another vessel of the same kind, found in the same well, is inscribed Ἀλ]καῖος καταπύ[γων] (Talcott in *Hesp.* 5, 350, fig. 20; *A.R.V.* 913, Alkaios, no. 3), which the writer evidently thought a more piquant observation than the Ἀλκαῖος καλός which appears on a third vessel (Talcott in *Hesp.* 5, 349,

in Anacreon 41 Diehl. On a cup of the Proto-Panaitian Group in Munich (2636: Hartwig 129; Licht, iii. 122; *A.R.V.* 211, no. 5) the formula is τοῖτεν[δε].

fig. 18, and 348; *A.R.V.* 913, Alkaïos, no. 1). No doubt both statements, about Alkaïos and about Sosias, were made in great good humour. They rang well too—neat Pherecrateans. Of course the writer of the Sosias inscription need not have been the man he says he was. It must be allowed, too, that the hand-writing is not very like what appears on vases.

Our second source of information about potters consists of inscriptions on marble, found for the most part on the Acropolis of Athens. The earliest of these marbles is the base (a pillar-pedestal) inscribed [M]νεσιᾶδες κεραμεὺς με καὶ Ἀνδοκίδης ἀνεθεκεν (*I.G.* 1², 627). It supported a bronze statue (Raubitschek in *Izv. Blg.* 12, 136, and in *A.J.A.* 1942, 245, note 6). [M]nesiades is otherwise unknown, but Andokides must be the famous potter in whose workshop the red-figure technique was probably first employed (*A.R.V.* 1-7 and 948).

On a second base (capital of a pillar-pedestal) the inscription states that the dedication was made by Nearchos the potter (the restoration [ὁ κεραμεὺς] is almost certain), and that the statue was by Antenor son of Eumares (*I.G.* 1², 485; Payne and Young, pl. 124, 5; Austin, *The Stoichedon Style*, 9; Kirchner, *Imagines*, pl. 5, 10). The great kore Acropolis 681 (Payne and Young, pll. 51-3; Schrader, pll. 50-2 and pp. 81-4), is usually thought to have been the statue that stood on the base: Payne doubted this (Payne and Young, 31-2); others still maintain it (Richter in *A.J.A.* 41, 162; Lullies in *Gnomon*, 14, 71; Langlotz in Schrader, 80-5; Raubitschek in *Izv. Blg.* 12, 139, note 3, 141, note 6, 151, and 174, and in *A.J.A.* 1939, 711; P. de La Coste-Messelière in *Journal des Savants*, 1942, 59-65). It is the base that chiefly concerns us at the moment: Langlotz dates it about 525, Raubitschek between 520 and 510 (*Izv. Blg.* 12, 139, note 3); Wade-Gery tells me that in his opinion the lettering is most likely later than 500, because of its resemblance to the Euthydikos inscription (*I.G.* 1², 589; Payne and Young pl. 88). It is generally held that Nearchos is not the potter, active before the middle of the sixth century, who is known to us from five signed vases, but a younger member of the same family. A date not later than 510 would be compatible with the dedicant being our Nearchos.

A third base-fragment bears the name of a still more famous potter. Εὐφρονίος [. . . .⁸ . . . α]ν[εθεκεν ὁ] | κεραμεὺς [τεῖ Αθηνῶν] αἰ · 2[ἐκότεν],¹ or as Wade-Gery suggests Εὐφρονίος [.

¹ The dot after the iota is punctuation.

α]ν[εθεκεν ho] | κεραμειος [ταθεναι]αι · δεκατεν], 'Euphronios . . . the potter made the dedication to Athena as a tithe' (*I.G.* 1², 516). The gap after his name may have contained the name of his father, which we would give something to know. The dedicatory inscription was probably followed, in a third line, by the signature of the sculptor, but only a scrap of the *epoiesen* remains (Lolling, no. 85; Raubitschek in *Izv. Blg.* 12, 144, note 5): indeed, all we could make out on our squeeze was the top stroke of what may have been the last epsilon: the stone may show more.¹ Raubitschek is probably right in supposing that the fragments are not from a plinth but from a pillar supporting a plinth and that the dedication should be read downwards (*Izv. Blg.* 12, 144, and 151, note 1). There are puzzling remains on the top of the stone as it now stands: first [. . .⁴. . .] α ν η γ γ ι ε ι α . . . and, farther over, . . . ν . . . , in the same hand as the Euphronios inscription; secondly, above the . . . ν . . . , part of a poem in a different and rather more old-fashioned hand, as Wade-Gery points out. He thinks that the stone may have been used twice. If so, the letters of the poem were probably plugged.

A marble slab, from the Acropolis of Athens, bears a fine portrait, in low relief, of an elderly potter, sitting on a diphros, with his himation let down to his waist, holding two kylikes in his left hand (Payne and Young, pll. 129-30; Schrader, pl. 176 and p. 301, whence Pl. 4 and Pl. 3, 3). The right arm is missing. There are traces of colour: the background blue, the himation red; to left, something yellow. The dedicatory inscription on the left margin of the relief is incomplete, but the potter's name seems to have ended in . . . ios, perhaps in . . . aios, and he may possibly be Pamphaios, who has left many signed vases, some decorated in black-figure, others in red-figure (Bloesch, 62-8; *A.R.V.* index, 1184). The date of the relief should be the last decade of the sixth century. Raubitschek (*A.J.A.* 1942, 245-53) has recently augmented it by fragments which give part of the architrave with the word δεκατεν, tithe, and has read what little remains of the sculptor's signature on the right-hand margin: in all probability Εν[δοιος : εποισεν].

Bloesch (144) thinks that the two cups held by the potter are of the type which he calls 'the Acropolis cup'—let us coin the

¹ Wade-Gery adds that in one of our squeezes he seems to see, before the αΔ, a mark which might be the lower diagonal of a kappa. If it is, the reading of the second line of the dedication is invalidated. On the other hand the mark comes closer to the alpha than one would expect, and is not certainly part of a letter.

word 'Acrocup' to avoid confusion: they are perhaps closer to the Acrocup than to any other type, but one important feature of it, the thick fillet between bowl and stem, seems to be omitted.

Lastly, a marble fragment found not long ago in the Athenian Agora (Broneer in *Hesp.* 4, 150) gives the name of a potter Peikon, who is not known from any signed vase: ΠΕΙΚΟΝ ΕΥΧΣΑ|ΜΕΝΟΣ ΚΕΡΑ|ΜΕΥΣ ΔΕΚΑΤΕΝ | ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕΝ | ΤΑΘΕΝΑΙΟΙ. Peikon very likely made vases, but it does not follow, I suppose, from the word ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ, which has a wider application. Broneer thought that Peikon might be the same as the son of Androkles who with a companion dedicated a statue by Cresilas on the Acropolis of Athens (*I.G.* 1², 635), but this is contested by Raubitschek (*Jh.* 31, Beibl., 42, xiv).

Several other dedicants known from inscriptions found on the Acropolis have been identified with potters or painters whose signatures occur on vases, but as none of the identifications are certain and some of them are improbable I relegate them to a foot-note.¹ Before turning away from sculpture, however, we

¹ Aischines: *I.G.* 1², 543, capital of a statue-pedestal. According to Raubitschek (*B.S.A.* 40, pl. 9, 22-3, and p. 27 no. 2) the feet of a kore, Acr. 456 (Langlotz in Schrader, pl. 113, no. 247), seem to fit the cavity on the top side. Raubitschek had formerly thought that the cavity might have taken the foot of a stone vase (*A.J.A.* 1942, 245, note 6). The dedicant has been supposed to be the potter whose name is known from signed fragments of a black-figured clay base, found on the Acropolis (Graef and Langlotz, pl. 113, 2692).

Iatroklees and Kepha[los]: *I.G.* 1², 600; *Izv. Blg.* 12, 150, fig. 9: plinth-capital of a pillar statue-pedestal. Raubitschek speaks as if Kepha[los] were known to have been a potter or painter (*A.J.A.* 1942, 245, note 6), presumably identifying him with the father of Kephalos the statesman (schol. *Ar. Eccl.* 253: ἦν δὲ κεραμέως πατὴρ ὁ Κέφαλος).

Kriton son of Skythes: *I.G.* 1², 504; *Jh.* 31, Beibl., 36, right (Raubitschek): pillar statue-pedestal. The dedication is followed, in a second line, by the signature of the sculptor Pollias. Skythes (father of Kriton) has been thought to be the vase-painter of that name (*A.R.V.* 73-6), but this is uncertain. A potter Kriton is known from a signed oinochoe (*V. Pol.* 4-5; *C.V.* Goluchow, pl. 16, 2), but it is a good deal earlier than any of Skythes' vases, and can hardly be thought of as by a son of our Skythes.

Onesimos son of Smikythos, and Theodoros son of Onesimos: *I.G.* 1², 598: capital of a pillar statue-pedestal. Onesimos son of Smikythos: *I.G.* 1², 748-50, 752, 754, and 758: fragments of marble lavers. Raubitschek thinks (*Jh.* 31, Beibl., 54-5; *Izv. Blg.* 12, 151; *A.J.A.* 1941, 70, nos. 15 and 16) that this Onesimos is the vase-painter whose name is known from a red-figured cup in the Louvre (Plaoutine in *Rev. arch.* 1937, ii. 27-38; *A.R.V.* 219-24 and 955: see p. 118), but the evidence is not strong.

Phrynos and Aristogeitos: *I.G.* 1², 660 + Acr. 3779, put together by Raubitschek (*Izv. Blg.* 12, 175, fig. 35, and 176, fig. 36, and *B.S.A.* 40, 33, and 36, fig. 394, 1): pillar statue-pedestal. Raubitschek thinks that this is too late for

may cast a glance at a marble fragment from the Acropolis which may not represent a pottery but which certainly recalls some of the pictures on our vases and plaques (3705: Schuchhardt in Schrader, 313, no. 431). It is the lower left-hand corner of what was probably a base. The technique is not relief, but simple incision, as in several other archaic monuments, the chief of which is the sepulchral stele recently acquired by the Louvre (*Mon. Piot*, 37, 46-72; Richter, *Archaic Attic Gravestones*, figs. 105-8). On the right, part of a figure seated on a diphros and bending over, doubtless at work; behind this, preserved complete, the left-hand figure in the representation, a boy, as it must be, dressed in a himation and seated on a low stool, bending forward, with the right arm extended over a shallow basin (rather than a slab) which is set on a plain rectangular or cylindrical block. The object in the right hand has disappeared: Schuchhardt thinks that the scene is laid in a painter's studio and that the apprentice is mixing the colour—stirring ochre or ruddle. Colour is needed by vase-painters too, and it is perhaps not impossible that this is another glimpse of a pottery. Schuchhardt assigns the work to the third quarter of the sixth century.¹

the Phrynos to be the black-figure potter. (A son of Phrynos—probably our black-figure potter—dedicated a clay cup to Athena on the Acropolis: part of the inscribed base on which it stood remains, Acr. 1300, Langlotz, pl. 92.)

Smikros and sons: *I.G.* 1², 643: capital of a pillar statue-pedestal. Raubitschek identified this Smikros with the red-figure vase-painter (above, p. 101), but the name is a common one. The inscription reads [. . .] θαλοντον πολιοχε ποτνι' Αθανα | Σμικρο και παιδον μνεμ' εχοι ηεζε πολις. Lolling and Wolters (no. 201) supplied [εργο]ν, but Dr. Paul Maas pointed out to me that the remains, from the squeeze, are of an iota rather than a nu, and he reads [ολβο]ι. So δλβω θαλλόντων, etc. He adds: '(1) Hexameter and pentameter are of the same length. In a stoichedon inscription this can hardly be ascribed to coincidence. The original orthography παιδομνεμ = παιδον μνεμ must therefore be regarded as intentional. It is phonetically unexceptionable: cf. ομναισαι = ομ-μναισαι = αναμνησαι Sappho, 96.11 Diehl (4², p. 59). Later a pedant spoiled the effect by altering δομνεμ into δονμνεμ. (2) The loose address to Athena probably implies "thanks to Athena's help".'

Xenokles son of Sōsineōs: *I.G.* 1², 671: column [statue-] pedestal. Raubitschek (*Izv. Blg.* 12, 144, and *A.J.A.* 1942, 245, note 6) identifies this Xenokles with the black-figure potter of that name. For the cavity on the top see under Aischines.

I.G. 1², 521 + *I.G.* 1², 722 + Acr. 3768: capital of a pillar statue-pedestal? Raubitschek, who put the fragments together, is inclined to read [κεραμε]υς in the inscription: [- υ υ - υ υ -] ηνιο[ς] | [κεραμε]υς τοδε : επο[ι]ει. But the bronze slab let into the top side does not suggest that the dedication was a clay vase.

¹ On ancient representations of artists, in a large context, see also Schweitzer in *Corolla Curtius*, 35-44.

Thus we find, in the later archaic period, celebrated sculptors like Endoios and Antenor receiving commissions from the great and prosperous potters. Then no more is heard from this quarter till the fourth century, when there is a little evidence of a different and a rather curious kind. It has been discussed by Preuner (*Jh.* 35, 70-1) and by myself (*A.J.A.* 1943, 457-8), and I repeat only the main points. An inscription found at Ephesus, datable shortly before 321, records a decree awarding Ephesian citizenship to two Athenian potters, Kittos and Bakchios [II], sons of Bakchios [I]. Again, the tombstone of a respected potter Bakchios, son of Amphis[tratos or the like], has been found near Athens, and dates from about 330: this must be Bakchios I. The signature of Bakchios [I] is preserved on fragments of an unpublished Panathenaic amphora found in the Ceramicus at Athens; and on a scrap of another, from Lindos in Rhodes, it is coupled with the name of the archon Hippo[damas], 375/4 B.C. The name Kittos also appears on a Panathenaic amphora, London B 604, from Teucheira in Cyrenaica: the date of the vase cannot be far from 367/6 B.C., and this must be an older Kittos, Kittos [I], doubtless a member of the same family as the emigrant Kittos [II] (*A.J.A.* 1943, 455 and 456).

It should perhaps be added that a marble fragment inscribed ΚΙΤΤΟΣ: ἀνεθήκε was discovered a few years ago in the Athenian Agora: and Meritt, who published it (*Hesp.* 3, 66, no. 59; *I.G.* 2², 4921 a), said that it seemed to belong to the fourth century B.C. Raubitschek (*Hesp.* 11, 309-10) thinks that it is the lower part of a laver, and proposes to identify the dedicant with the potter Kittos I.¹

We now turn to the multifarious evidence furnished by the signatures on vases, and by the vases themselves. This is a vast field, and only a few matters can be dealt with here.

Two forms of signatures are found on vases: the name is followed either by ἐποίησεν, made, or by ἔγραψεν, painted. The egrapse-signature gives the name of the painter. Two explanations have been offered of the epoiese-signature. One, that it gives the name of the potter, the man who fashioned the vase; the other, that it gives no more than the owner of the establishment from which the vase came. At one time I held it more prudent to adopt the second explanation: but I now believe that, *in general*, the first explanation is the right one: Εὐφρονίος

¹ Raubitschek assumes that Kittos I was brother to Bakchios I.

ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ means that Euphronios fashioned the vase with his own hands.

That is what the statement *means*: it does not follow that the statement is always *true*. As soon as the practice of signing comes in, false signatures are not likely to be far behind. In one or two cases, as will be seen, it is difficult to accept the egrapse-signature as a statement of fact; and an epoiese-signature also may sometimes have been added to a vase fashioned by someone else. To speak of a false signature is sometimes excessive: the word ποιεῖν, like the word 'make', must always have tended to drift outwards and away from the meaning 'produced by my hands' to 'produced at my direction, under my eye, perhaps to my design, at least in my way, by my will'. Euphronios would remain ὁ κεραμεύς even after he had ceased to fashion vases on the wheel. The statement made must always be tested by reference to the work itself: the work itself is the court of last instance.

An epoiese-signature purports to tell who fashioned the vase; but says nothing about who painted it; an egrapse-signature, who painted the vase, but not who fashioned it. Sometimes both questions are answered: for there are double signatures; either of the type 'X epoiesen, Y egrapsen', or of the type 'X epoiesen, X egrapsen.' The same man sometimes both fashioned the vase, and decorated it: and among those who were both potter and painter are some of the greatest, such as Exekias. Other artists sign sometimes with egrapsen, at other times with epoiesen: these also were both potter and painter; or were painters who had learned the craft of the potter thoroughly, and practised it on occasion. But signatures of the form 'X epoiesen, Y egrapsen' are more common: and this natural division of labour probably came to be the rule.

Did division of labour go farther? Did two potters ever work on the same vase, or two painters? First, two potters. There are two black-figured cups that bear a double signature in an unusual form: 'X epoiesen, Y epoiesen': the band-cup Munich 2243, signed Archikles and Glaukytes (F.R. pl. 153, 1, and iii. 219; *J.H.S.* 52, 187); the band-cup Berlin 1801, signed Anakles and Nikosthenes (*W.V.* 1889, pl. 7, 3, whence Hoppin, *Bf.* 181; *J.H.S.* 52, 190 and 201). It is difficult to see how the work of fashioning could have been divided; or, if it were divided, why the division should have been recorded. We have seen pictures of two persons working together on a vase: one fashioning it, the other spinning the wheel: but it cannot be supposed that the wheel-boy, valuable as his contribution was, would be named in

the inscription. Doubtless many a fine potter began by spinning the wheel, just as many a fine painter began by mixing the colours: but he could not yet expect to count as part-author of the vase. Again, the process of fashioning a vase had two stages: first, the 'throwing' of the vase on the wheel; second, the working-up and finishing of the shape, also on the wheel, 'turning': but here also it is hard to see why a partition of labour should have been commemorated. A more natural division would be between fashioning and turning on the one hand, and firing on the other: that one man should fashion the vases, and another attend to the firing of them, is the sort of specialization that might easily arise. But there are many alternatives. Anakles and Nikosthenes *state* on their cup that they both had a hand in it. We cannot tell how *in fact* the work was shared between them. It is always possible that one of them did no more than lend his name. Possible, also, that the double signature implies a partnership or a transference of goodwill: 'Henceforth, when you see the name of Nikosthenes, it is as good as if you saw the name of Anakles'.

Now for two painters. Although there is no inscriptional evidence for the collaboration of two painters on one vase—no double *egrapse*-signatures—, there is ample evidence from the vases themselves. Such collaboration was not exactly common, but it took place, and here are some examples.

An early red-figured cup in Naples bears the signature of the potter Chelis, [+]ΕΥΙΣΕΡΟΙΕΣΕΝ (2615: Hoppin, *Rf.* i. 186–7; Pl. 6–7: *A.R.V.* 37, no. 33, and 80, top, no. 2; see also Bloesch 35, no. 2).¹ In the decoration, two styles can be distinguished: one-half of the exterior (the satyr with wineskin and drinking-horn, between eyes: Pl. 7, 1) is by the same hand as the decoration of a second cup, with the same signature, in Munich (2589: *F.R.* pl. 43, and i. 231, whence Hoppin, *Rf.* i. 185; I, Licht, iii. 225; the palmettes, Jacobsthal, *O.* pl. 75 a; B, Bloesch, pl. 10, 1: *A.R.V.* 80, top, no. 3, and 950): this artist is given the conventional name of 'Chelis Painter', short for 'the Painter of the Munich Chelis cup'. The elaborate palmettes on the Naples cup (Pl. 7, 2) are also his, repeating those in Munich. But the satyr *inside* the Naples cup (Pl. 6, 1) and the second picture on the exterior (a maenad and two donkeys: part, pl. 6, 2) are by another painter, Oltos, one of the most prolific cup-painters of

¹ Fractures repainted; modern on I, part of the left breast, with the left armpit, the lower line of the left arm, the left wrist, the left knee and calf; part of the tail and of the right thigh and calf.

his age, who has left us over a hundred vases (*A.R.V.* 34-43 and 949). It would take some time to argue these attributions: but enough works of both artists have been published for the reader to make up his own mind. What matters at the moment is the two styles; and I draw attention to the differences in the rendering of toes, collar-bone, hair, tail, in the two satyrs.

In another early red-figured cup in Naples (2609: Pl. 8:¹ *A.R.V.* 47, no. 26, and 65, no. 2) the interior is in one style, the exterior in another. The warrior inside is a slight work by Epiktetos in his later phase; the outside is by an artist who stands very close to the Euergides Painter. The inscriptions correspond: inside, ΗΙΠΠΑΡΧΟΣ ΚΑΝΟΣ , a favourite inscription with Epiktetos; outside, on one half, the word ΠΡΟΣΑΛΟΡΕΥΟ , on the other the word ΠΑΙΔΙΚΟΣ , both popular with the Euergides Painter and his associates. Bloesch (66, note 110), approaching the cup from a different angle, observes that in shape also it is a hybrid: combining characteristics of the potter Pamphaios (who often collaborated with the painter Epiktetos) with others that are Euergidean. He asks whether two potters also may not have been at work; prefers, however, to think that Pamphaios made the cup, but borrowed features, for the occasion, from Euergides.

A red-figured pyxis in the British Museum belongs to a much later period, about 430 B.C. (1920. 12-21.1: *J.H.S.* 41, pl. 6, 1-2 and 4-5, and p. 144; *A.R.V.* 767, no. 15, and 769, no. 1). I confess it gave me trouble: the style was like, and yet unlike, the Marlay Painter: and all I ventured to say about it at first was that it was related to him (*Att. V.* 414). At last I recognized that the solution of the difficulty was very simple. The receptacle is by one artist, the Marlay Painter; the lid by another, whom I

¹ Fractures repainted. I have cut away most of the restorations inside. Modern on A, the upper half of the small boy's head with the eye, the left collar-bone, the right flank with part of the left breast.

This would correspond to the double signature of bronze statues not only in our time but also in the Hellenistic period, the founder signing as well as the sculptor (Kinch in *Exploration archéologique de Rhodes*, iv. 23-5). There, however, two verbs are used (X ἐποίησεν , Y ἐχάλκουργησεν). It is sometimes assumed that in double sculptor-signatures of the type $\text{Κρίτιος καὶ Νησιώτης ἐποίησάντην}$ one of the two men was the sculptor, the other the founder, but this though quite possible is more than can be inferred: we do not know how the labour was shared in such cases, and the practice may have varied from workshop to workshop. See Homann-Wedeking in *A.M.* 60-1, 212-13.

If it be asked why the signature on the cup is not $\text{Ἀνακλῆς καὶ Νικοσθένης ἐποίησάντην}$ the answer will be that for the spaces to be decorated two short inscriptions were wanted and not one long.

now call, in memory of my perplexity, the Lid Painter (*A.R.V.* 769-71). This is the only vase where they can be detected collaborating: but they were colleagues, and must long have sat side by side. The Marlay Painter is the better of the two, and there are a good many large vases from his hand:¹ but his most usual shape is the stemless cup; and the works of the Lid Painter are nearly all stemless cups of the same type and make as his colleague's—undoubtedly provided by the same potter—and decorated with the same patterns and subjects, sometimes even the same compositions.

These are isolated examples of collaboration, and more might be quoted: but the only place where such collaboration seems to have been other than exceptional is the workshop in which the Penthesilea Painter was the chief figure. We may speak of it as *his* workshop, so long as we remember that he was not necessarily the proprietor; and his colleagues may be known as 'Penthesileans' for short. This workshop first appears in the sixties of the fifth century, and right down to the twenties great numbers of vases, mostly cups, poured from it: 826 of these have been preserved, entire or as fragments; and a score of painters can be distinguished (*A.R.V.* 581-628 and 962-3). Not all of them were working simultaneously, but there were others, who remain for the present among the 'unidentified Penthesileans'. There may have been several potters, too, besides the chief man.² In a sense it is mass-production. The potter's work keeps a good level: the painting is seldom better than third-rate, except in the art of the Penthesilea Painter itself, which is always lively and vigorous, and sometimes rises to great heights. Among these 826 vases there are 22 instances of two painters working on one cup. It was evidently not very uncommon for one painter to pass a cup on to his neighbour when it was half-finished, and thus add a little variety to mass-products which often stood in need of it. In all these cups, which are put together in *A.R.V.* 581, the inside is by one hand, the outside by another. The only exception is Agora P 10206: it is a zone-cup, that is, besides the usual pictures inside and out, there is an additional picture in a zone

¹ The calyx-krater *A.R.V.* 766, no. 1 bis, and 968, Oxford 1942. 3, is figured in *Ashmolean Museum Report*, 1942, pl. 2.

² The chief man is the potter of Bloesch's 'Three-corner Group' (103-7). *A.R.V.* 618, no. 19, the Vatican cup by the Painter of London E 777, is said by Bloesch (104, no. 12) to belong to section 1 of his Three-corner Group: but his description does not tally. May not the cup he means be *A.R.V.* 578, Ancona Painter no. 3? (Ancona Painter nos. 2 and 5 are Bloesch 106, Three-corner Group, iii, nos. 24 and 31.)

round the tondo within: the zone is by the Painter of London E 777, and all the rest by the Painter of Bologna 417.

The collaborators are all Penthesileans, regular members of the staff. There is one exception: in Heidelberg 155 the interior is by a Penthesilean, the Painter of London E 777 (*A.R.V.* 618, no. 23), but the exterior is in a style that has no connexion with the general style of the workshop. An outsider has for once been fetched in to fill a gap. Worth noting that the chief artist in the workshop, the Penthesilea Painter, has not yet been detected among those who collaborate: he seems to have stood aloof. Yet there are instances, though not in this workshop, of a first-rate artist collaborating: in the loutrophoros by the Achilles Painter, Philadelphia 30.4.1 (*Museum Journal*, 23, 4-22; *A.R.V.* 636, no. 38), the small frieze below the main picture, and the subordinate figures on the neck, are by the Sabouroff Painter; and on a cup of about 430 B.C., in Freiburg (*A.R.V.* 729, no. 66, and 734, no. 7), the inside is by the Calliope Painter, a good man, and the outside by the Eretria Painter, one of the best artists of his time, although the quality of his work varies greatly, and the Freiburg pictures are a very ordinary specimen of his powers.

In one place, *a priori*, collaboration might be expected. Even in the late archaic period there is a tendency to subordinate one side of the vase—I speak of pots, not cups—to the other; and after that time there is regularly a front and a back: even in fine pieces the back is usually treated quite summarily, with a few conventional figures. Now it might well be anticipated that the master would not trouble himself with these ‘mantle-men’, but would leave them to an underling: and it has often been stated or implied that this was the practice. But if it had been so, we should find, occasionally at least, the same back paired with different fronts: the backs of two vases both by A; but the front of the first by B, of the second by C. Yet of this in thousands of vases I have never noticed one case. Given the back you can always tell what the style of the front will be. Besides, you often find, in the less careful parts of fronts, figures that might seem to have strayed in from backs; or whole fronts that are only slightly more elaborate than backs: every degree and shade, in fact, between back-style and front-style. The back, then, was painted by the same man as the front: and even if a few vases should still turn up in which it was not so, it would not invalidate the rule.

Again, it might be thought that the pattern-work on the vase—borders, neck-palmettes, handle-palmettes—could be delegated to a subordinate. Sometimes it may have been: but this

was not the rule. A distinctive style of figurework is commonly accompanied by a distinctive set of patterns, executed in a distinctive way. This might mean no more than that the figure-artist had a well-trained pattern-man at his disposal and ready to work to his orders. But there are vases of which the pattern and floral work is so closely interwoven with the figures that it seems unnatural to parcel them between different hands: to separate the stylized plants on the Munich stamnos of Hermonax (F.R. pl. 137, and iii. 95; Jacobsthal, *O.* pl. 100; *A.R.V.* 318, no. 18) from the Erotes standing on them; or on the fragment of a lekythos in Adria (*Berl. Mal.* pl. 12, 2; *A.R.V.* 141, no. 159) the lioness from the maeander below it and the flowers beside it. The lioness is by the Berlin Painter: border and flowers are drawn as in his other vases: the simplest explanation is that pattern as well as figures are his, both here, and in the rest of his work. An exception is his oinochoe in New York (22.139.32: Richter and Hall, pl. 17, 15, and pl. 177, 15; *A.R.V.* 142, no. 179). Compare it with his only other vase of the same shape, in Munich, which cannot be more than a few years later (2453: *A.R.V.* 142, no. 180): in the Munich vase palmettes and maeander, both in design and in execution, are in the same style as the patternwork of his other vases; whereas in the New York vase design and execution are both different. Either the regular pattern-man was not available; or much more probably the painter himself, for whatever reason, left the borders, exceptionally, to someone else. Practice may have varied: but in general the artist would not feel, as a modern might, that pattern-work was beneath him.

In the great white-ground cups of the early classical period, the red-figure exterior is commonly so slight and cursory that there is a temptation to separate it from the white-ground interior and ascribe it to a less able hand. In the Munich Hera cup, for example, by the Sabouroff Painter (2685: F.R. pl. 65; I, Philippart, *C.A.B.* pl. 31; *A.R.V.* 556, no. 14), there is certainly a difference of quality between the noble figure of the goddess inside and the mechanical red-figure picture of Triptolemos with his companions outside; or in the unpublished cup by the Pistoxenos Painter in Taranto (*A.R.V.* 575, no. 4; a small detail, *A.J.A.* 1941, 601) between the magnificent satyr and maenad inside, and the red-figure exterior. But the fact is that both these artists were enamoured of the white-ground technique, and never did their best in their red-figure work. The famous skyphos in Schwerin, from which the Pistoxenos Painter

has been given his conventional name, is fine but not surpassing red-figure (*Jb.* 27, 24, and pll. 5-8, whence Hoppin, *Rf.* ii. 373; *F.R.* pl. 163, 1; *A.R.V.* 576, no. 16): his white-ground cups—the Taranto cup, the Aphrodite in the British Museum (Murray, *Wh. A.V.*, pl. 15; Diepolder, *Penth.* pl. 6; *A.R.V.* 575, no. 3)—are masterpieces. As to the Sabouroff Painter, none of his many red-figured vases rise out of the second or third class. Only one white-ground cup of his has remained: he doubtless painted others, though not many: but he turned to white lekythoi, and in these his small but genuine gift found scope: there is a simple charm in all his white-ground work. These two were by no means the only artists to whom white-ground was more congenial than red-figure. The Achilles Painter himself (*A.R.V.* 634-45) was a great worker in red-figure, and his red-figure pictures with their solid composition and the noble mildness of his persons nearly always give pleasure: but his masterpieces in red-figure are easily counted; whereas in white lekythoi he produces, at his prime, almost without effort, one perfect picture after another.

In bilingual vases, again—those in which part of the decoration is in the old black-figure technique, part in red-figure—one might perhaps expect to find two artists working on a single vase: but if this ever happened it was rare.¹ If the new white ground often inspired the red-figure painter, one might think that it would dishearten him to be constrained to use the old black-figure technique, and that he might be inclined to seek a collaborator among the old-timers or the very young. Here, however, a distinction might be made. In the early days of red-figure not all good artists adopted the new technique, and those who adopted it did not always forsake the old. Some indeed, after trying the new, reverted to the old. Others, though they practised both, did better in black-figure than in red: for example, the Nikoxenos Painter (*A.R.V.* 147-50 and 952). In the late archaic period, the best of the red-figure pot-painters were familiar with the technique of black-figure, and the Panathenaic prize-amphorae of the Kleophrades Painter, the Eucharides Painter, the Berlin Painter, are sound black-figure, though naturally not on the level of their red (*A.R.V.* 128-31, 157-8, 144, 952-4; *A.J.A.* 1943, 445-9). But after the middle of the fifth century black-figure is practically confined to the

¹ In the cup with the signature of the potter Chelis, in the Cabinet des Médailles (*A.R.V.* 79, no. 1), the red-figured exterior is by the Chelis Painter, while the black-figured interior may be by Oltos.

traditional Panathenaic amphorae. An artist like the Achilles Painter cannot have enjoyed painting these (*A.J.A.* 1943, 448–50): but possibly the dispiriting effect was offset by the material advantages that accompany official recognition. Throughout the fifth century the Panathenaic amphorae were not painted by black-figure specialists, but as a side-line by red-figure artists; and so no doubt in the fourth century as well, although it has not yet been possible to assign any fourth-century panathenaic to a red-figure painter.

The vast majority of vases are unsigned: and the question may be asked why some are signed and others not. It is not as if the best vases were signed, and the others unsigned. Many of the best are unsigned, and some of the worst signed. No one reason will account for the presence or absence of a signature. There is of course the natural desire to put one's name on what one thinks will do one credit: but there are other considerations that may have been operating, singly or jointly, in any given case. First, fashion: signatures are fairly common in one period, rare in another. In more modern art also the practice of artists varies. Some of the greatest, like Rubens, signed seldom. Of the two masterpieces of Northern painting in the fifteenth century, one, the 'Adoration of the Shepherds' by Hugo van der Goes, is unsigned; the other, the 'Adoration of the Lamb', bears the names of the artists on the frame, but this inscription is under grave suspicion. Second, the artist's temperament: some were indifferent about signing, others (like the potter Nikosthenes) had a mania for seeing their names in writing; some (like the painter Douris) for a long time sign regularly, then give up signing: this particular form of self-assertion lost its appeal. Third, the artist's mood at the moment. Fourth, the relation of the signature to the vase: here is an example. Three-quarters of all signed black-figured vases are cups of a certain type, the so-called Little-master cup. The reason for this preponderance is simply that in this kind of vessel an inscription is not, as elsewhere, an adjunct, but is an integral part of the decoration; and the most obvious sort of inscription is either a greeting to the user—χαίρει καὶ πίνει εὖ—, or a statement about the cup and its maker—Τλήσων ἐποίησεν.¹

It may be taken as certain that many artists never signed their names. Others did sign, but rarely: and these must have been

¹ See *J.H.S.* 52, 194.

more numerous, compared with those who never signed, than might at first appear. For it should be remembered that of the potters and vase-painters known to us by name, a very large proportion are known from a single signature only. Forty-two Attic potter-names out of 97, 17 painter-names out of 43, each depend on a single vase: and these include such noted potters as Meidias, such noted painters as Onesimos, Makron, Polion, and Aison. If the Helen skyphos in Boston had not been unearthed at a minor site, Suessula, we should know the style of Makron, but not his name, and we should doubtless be calling him, as a makeshift, the Hieron Painter. There is therefore good hope that some at least of the great artists hitherto anonymous, the Berlin Painter, the Brygos Painter, the Pan Painter, the Achilles Painter, the Meidias Painter, may one day have their conventional designations replaced by their real names.

There are more than twice as many potter-signatures as signatures of painters; and this would point to the potter, in general, having been more important than the painter. Logically the potter is prior: for a potter can exist without a vase-painter, but a vase-painter cannot exist without a potter. Modern students have been inclined to give more attention to the painter. The case of Euphronios is instructive. The signature of Euphronios occurs on sixteen vases¹ (*A.R.V.*, index, 1182): in four of them with *egrapsen*, in ten with *epoiesen*, and in two the verb is now missing. The vases with ΕΥΦΡΟΝΙΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ are later than those with ΕΥΓΡΑΨΕΝ, some much later, and were decorated by two or three different painters, none of them identical with Euphronios. That Euphronios the painter is the same as Euphronios the potter is not proved, but highly probable. It would seem, then, that Euphronios began as a painter, and later became a potter. Modern writers have found this hard to understand: partly because of the notion that while painting or drawing people may be art, shaping vases is only craft. It is doubtful whether such a distinction held in 500 B.C.; and even if it did, why should it influence a true artist or a true craftsman? We cannot know what led Euphronios to turn from decorating vases to shaping them. A mishap; change in eyesight—there were no spectacles to correct such changes—; the legitimate desire for a still better living. He may have actually preferred shaping vases to decorating them. Like many other vase-painters he had been trained in both branches from a boy, was

¹ Not fifteen as I said in *A.R.V.* 15: I was forgetting the Perugia cup by Onesimos (*A.R.V.* 222, no. 56).

master of both crafts; and when the opportunity came, or the blow fell, he dropped the brush and devoted himself to the potter's art.

Double signatures of the type 'X epoiesen, Y egrapsen' show the freedom of the relations between potter and painter. Show, for example, that Oltos worked for at least four different potters (*A.R.V.* 34), Epiktetos for at least six (*A.R.V.* 44). Stylistic evidence confirms the inscriptions and supplies much fresh information: thus the potter Kachrylion provided cups for at least ten different painters (*A.R.V.* 1183, index; Bloesch, 45-7 and 119-22), the potter Euphronios for as many (*A.R.V.* 1182, index; Bloesch, 70-80).

Naturally, however, there was a tendency to form more or less stable and permanent unions between potter and painter; and it is worth while looking at the cups of the late archaic period from this point of view. In the next seven paragraphs I take much from an important and fascinating treatise which I have quoted several times already, *Formen attischer Schalen* by the Swiss scholar Bloesch. Some of his conclusions agree with observations which I had made myself: but much the greater part of them are new to me. Many of these I cannot check: but my experience of those I can check leads me to trust the rest.¹

The great majority of late archaic red-figure cups, from the point of view of the *painters*, fall into five groups: Panaitios Painter and Onesimos; Antiphon Painter; Brygos Painter with his associates and imitators; Douris; Makron (*A.R.V.* 209-316, 955-8, 968). The cups decorated by the Panaitios Painter and Onesimos were supplied by the potter Euphronios. So were those decorated by the Antiphon Painter. The cups decorated by the Brygos Painter were provided by the potter Brygos. Brygos also furnished the imitators of the Brygos Painter with many of their cups; others were furnished by imitators of the potter Brygos; and the Foundry Painter, an excellent artist whose work is sometimes hard to distinguish from the Brygos Painter's, had most of his cups not from Brygos but from Euphronios. Makron had nearly all his cups from the potter Hieron; only one, and that a very early piece, from Euphronios.

¹ Perhaps I may say that as Bloesch's book was published in 1940, on the subject of painters his references are to my *Attische Vasenmaler* of 1925 and not to my *A.R.V.* of 1942, which adds many new attributions and corrects or precises some of the old. If anyone cares to collate it with Bloesch he will find that the picture of the relations between potter and painter will gain definition.

Douris had nearly all his cups from the potter Python: but his very earliest cups were furnished by Euphronios; one early cup by Kleophrades; and one in his middle period by Kalliades. Douris was himself a potter: for two vases of his middle period, though neither a cup, bear the legend ΔΟΡΙΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ.

Looking now at the same cups from the point of view of the *potters*, we find that four great potters correspond broadly to the five great groups of painters, although they are not conterminous with them: Euphronios, Brygos, Python, Hieron.

The chief collaborator¹ of the great potter Euphronios was the Panaitios Painter. The Panaitios painter was succeeded, as chief collaborator, by Onesimos: unless indeed the two painters are the same (*A.R.V.* 209 and 218): the single cup signed by Onesimos, and the many unsigned that cluster round it, would then represent a second phase in the career of the Panaitios painter: works of consummate ease and grace, but falling short of the magnificence which places the earlier cups in the forefront of Greek art. Next in importance, as a group, are the numerous cups painted for Euphronios by the Antiphon Painter, none of them signed by either painter or potter; but many other excellent painters also worked with Euphronios—Colmar Painter, Triptolemos Painter, Foundry Painter. The latest extant signature of Euphronios, on the white-ground cup decorated by the Pistoxenos Painter, Berlin 2282 (Hartwig, pll. 51–2; Diepolder, *Penth.* pl. 1 and pl. 2, 2: *A.R.V.* 574, no. 1) is of about 470 B.C.² This gives a career as potter of some thirty years. The vases with the signature of Euphronios as painter are as early as 520 to 510 or a few years after. This would give a total career of half a century, and Euphronios would have been about seventy years old in 470.

The chief collaborator of the potter Brygos was the great artist whom we know as the Brygos Painter. Many other painters worked with the potter Brygos, most of them, though not all, imitators, more or less gifted, of the Brygos Painter. Fragments of one signed cup, in the Cabinet des Médailles (*A.R.V.* 262, ξ), stand right apart from the rest, and show that the potter Brygos was already at work before the end of the sixth century. This gives a career of over thirty years.

¹ Henceforth this word will be used of the collaboration of potter and painter, not as hitherto of two painters working on one cup.

² Two other white cups decorated by the Pistoxenos Painter bore the signature of a potter, but the name is missing (Acropolis 439, *A.R.V.* 575, no. 2; Taranto, *A.R.V.* 575, no. 4).

Hieron's chief collaborator was Makron. After the disappearance of Makron about 480 (we have to use this term, as without external evidence retirement cannot be distinguished from death), he continued to produce cups for the Telephos Painter and other early classical disciples of Makron. Outside this circle he had few collaborators.

Much as Hieron stood to Makron, Python stood to Douris. The association began very early in the career of Douris, and lasted to the end, nearly forty years. Python and Douris disappear together. The Douris tradition was continued by many pupils, and in the person of the Euaion Painter can be followed down to the thirties (*A.R.V.* 521-37 and 961; *J.H.S.* 62, 99). The cups made by Python were decorated by Douris, or, a few of them, by imitators of Douris, and there are not many exceptions: one of these, early, is a cup decorated by Epiktetos, London E 38 (*A.R.V.* 46, no. 15; Bloesch 28, no. 13, and pl. 7, 4).

Most of the finest cups in the late archaic period, according to Bloesch's researches, were made by one or other of these four potters: but not all. For example the magnificent cup decorated by the Kleophrades Painter, in the Cabinet des Médailles, is signed by the potter Kleophrades (*A.R.V.* 128, no. 91, and 952; Bloesch 58, no. 1, and pl. 16, 6). It is quite likely that Kleophrades was mainly a maker of large pots, and only occasionally made kylikes: just as the *decorator* of the Paris cup, the Kleophrades Painter, was primarily a painter of large pots, although when he turned to cups, he painted masterpieces. But this remains to be proved.

We speak of early, middle, late work of a painter; and it is often possible to arrange his vases, on internal evidence, in a chronological sequence. Some artists develop slowly, and their early work gives little promise of a splendid prime; others reveal their quality at once. The general tendency is to pass from a tighter style to a freer, but the rule does not always hold good, either in antiquity or in more modern times. All that can be said here is a word about the latest works of painters, and their earliest. The Brygos painter is a master of furious movement and exquisite form (*A.R.V.* 245-56 and 956). But his last phase consists of a group of vases which I used to call 'weak Brygan' and to think of as imitations, but which I now see to be the latest work of the artist himself. They are comparatively slight pieces: chiefly *small* cups with a single figure inside: and lekythoi with

one or two figures. The style of drawing is much the same as before, but the tense lines now slacken and sag: there is often charm, but the fire has died down, and exhaustion is setting in. Other painters sink to mechanical hackwork. Others again, before their powers begin to fail, disappear.

Turning to the other end of the Brygos Painter's career, it would be interesting to know what the earliest work of such a master was like. But although we have nearly 180 works from his hand, none of them can be appreciably earlier than the Dionysos cup in the Cabinet des Médailles, where his style is fully formed and has already reached the acme of assurance and elaboration (Hartwig, pl. 33, 1, and pl. 32; I, Langlotz, *G.V.* pl. 16, 23; phot. Giraudon; *A.R.V.* 247, no. 15; Bloesch 81, no. 1, and pl. 22, 1). It may be that earlier works exist and have not been recognized: but if so it is not for want of search, and I think it unlikely. It is also possible that such existed but have not reached us. In any case there is a period in the life of every artist previous to his appearance before the public. How did the Brygos painter learn to draw? What did he draw on before he painted vases? This question is inseparable from another: what was the nature of the preparatory sketches or studies which the artist must have made before executing the complex decoration of a great vase? Every figure, of course, on a red-figured vase was incised with a bluntish point on the vase itself before the painting began: but this was no more than a preliminary blocking-in. It is conceivable that, between this incised sketch and the painting, the design may have been carried out in a volatile material which disappeared in the subsequent firing.¹ But in addition to work *on* the vase, there must have been work *off* the vase, at least when the composition was elaborate. We can only guess at the answers to these questions. Papyrus must have been too dear for promiscuous use. Pliny, speaking of Parrhasios, says that many drawings by him were extant, *in tabulis ac membranis*, from which artists were said to profit. Parchment also (*membranae*) must have been too expensive for young apprentices to practise on. But the use of wooden boards, and wooden tablets (*tabulae*), must have been widespread. The tablets would be of the same type as the deltoi that served as writing-tablets: not coated, however, with wax, but primed or painted white. Such tablets were in common use down to the fifteenth century throughout Western Europe (Meder, *Die Handzeichnung*, 73-4). Potters' designs will also have been on wood, or, as Caskey has suggested,

¹ Compare Binns and Fraser in *A.J.A.* 1929, 8.

on a marble slab (*Geometry of Greek Vases*, 34). There was also the white-washed wall. I fancy it might have been expected that ostraka, broken or discarded clay pots, such as served in Egypt at almost all periods for writing and even drawing, would have provided the vase-painter with a convenient material for sketches and studies of all kinds: but it seems not to have been so: or some of them would have been preserved.¹ Probably what was often used for preliminary or practice drawing was not finished and fired clay pots, but pots or plaques in leather-hard condition, either made on purpose, or damaged at an early stage and so made available. The process of drawing on these would have the great advantage that it was not merely an approximation to the process of actual vase-painting, but was the same. The only difference was that the object, after painting, instead of being sent to the furnace and fired, and so made almost indestructible, was allowed, its purpose served, to crumble, or was broken up.²

Artists have always varied greatly in the amount of preliminary work they require. Some do in their head much of the work that others do on paper. If paper were rare and dear, more would be done in the head. From the nature of Greek art it may perhaps be surmised that Greek artists, once fully trained, were in general of those who do much in the head, and comparatively little outside the object itself, whether stone block, wooden panel, wall, or vase. Comparatively little; and they will have varied.

A study of potter and painter may fitly conclude with a glance at two works of Douris, one of the few painters of his time who are known to have been potters as well. The first is the kantharos in Brussels which bears the double signature Δορισεργαφειν: Δορισηπ[οισειν] (F.R. pl. 74, 1, whence Hoppin, *Rf.* i, 233; *C.V.* pll. 5-6; B, Richter and Milne, fig. 168: *A.R.V.* 292, no. 197).

¹ Fired sherds with unfinished drawings on them are rightly explained as trial-pieces to test firing conditions in the furnace. Most of the following were mentioned by Hartwig (*Jb.* 14, 164-6): Wurzburg 495, fr. of a cup (*Jb.* 14, 165, fig. 4; Langlotz, pl. 217), by the Painter of Bologna 417 (*A.R.V.* 599, no. 65); Sèvres 2543, fr. of a cup (Brongniart and Riocreux i, 563; *C.V.* pl. 21, 11), by the Aberdeen Painter (*A.R.V.* 605, no. 21); Bonn 306, fr. of a bell-krater (*Jb.* 14, 166; *C.V.* pl. 19, 3), late manner of the Niobid Painter (*A.R.V.* 425, no. 10); Berlin, fr. of a bell-krater or calyx-krater (*Festschrift für Benndorf* 306; *Jb.* 14, 165, fig. 5: *not* from the same vase as the last); New York 11.212.9, fragmentary cup (Richter, *Craft*, 43), about 400 B.C.; Athens 2202 (N. 1077), fr. of a bell-krater (Nicole 234), later part of the fourth century. See also *C.V.* Bonn, pl. 38, 1-5 (Greifenhagen). A nice Corinthian specimen, *A.J.A.* 1931, 8 (Newhall).

² This is akin to a suggestion of Reichhold's (in *F.R.* ii. 199), but not the same.

It belongs to the early middle period of the painter, and is a special model—no other kantharos, of those that have remained, has just this shape—doubtless Douris's own invention. The second is the somewhat later lekythion or 'round aryballos' found not long ago in a tomb at Athens, with Erotes pursuing a boy, and the inscription ΔΟΡΙΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ (Papaspzyridi in *Delt.* 1927-8, 91-110; part, Richter and Milne, fig. 106: *A.R.V.* 293, no. 210). There is no painter-signature, but the style shows that Douris was the painter as well as the potter. Here again the shape is unique: it is the only aryballos of this model (*B.S.A.* 29, 187-223). Douris may well have made others; and that this was long his idea of what an aryballos should look like is shown by a much later work of his, a cup in Boston, where the aryballoi hanging on the wall, with their single handle and broad bottom, are faithful reproductions of the same model as the signed vase in Athens (Hartwig, pll. 74-5: *A.R.V.* 288, no. 118). A second inscription on the Athens aryballos is of particular interest because it proves that this was a bespoke piece: Ἀσοποδορωλεγγυθος,¹ the lekythos belongs to Asopodoros.² Inscriptions giving the name of the owner are not uncommon on vases, but they are nearly always incised, added to the finished vase after firing: on the aryballos, the words are written in red, and were written, with the signature, before the vase was fired. A peculiar detail is that the character ω is used for the impure diphthong of the genitive instead of ο. This character is hardly ever found on Attic vases before the early classical period, and here it may go back to a draft by the customer himself—whether Asopodoros, or a friend of Asopodoros—whose spelling-habits were different from the vase-painter's. The character ω also appears on

¹ The voicing of the kappa may be due to the word being said by the writer under his breath. In any case compare ηγτορ for ηκτορ on the calyx-krater by Exekias, *Hesp.* 6, 479. The same habit of mumbling the word being written may have caused the reduction of Μενον and ηκτορ to Μειλον and ηκλορ on the Louvre Douris cup G 115 (Hoppin, *Rf.* i. 245; *Enc. phot.* iii. 14-15: *A.R.V.* 285, no. 70, and 957).

Vase-painters do not always spell well: but their language is not 'vulgar Greek', it is Greek. If it sometimes appears solecistic, very likely we have misread the inscription, or copied it from someone who has misread it, or not allowed for hasty spelling, or taken seriously what did not pretend to be more than a meaningless conglomeration of letters.

² Another good example of a bespoke vase is the Early Corinthian aryballos in London (Payne, *N.C.* 162): 'above, a portrait of the popular Aineta; below, the names of her admirers', who no doubt subscribed for the vase and either presented it to her or retained it for communal use. Very likely, too, they furnished the vase-painter with a rude draft.

Douris's School cup in Berlin (F.R. pl. 136, 1, whence Hoppin, *Rf.* i. 215; detail of A, Kirchner, *Imagines*, pl. 11, 21: *A.R.V.* 283, no. 47, and 957), but only in the line of poetry written on the scroll held by the schoolmaster: here too, in an unusual sort of inscription, the painter may have been copying a draft penned by someone else.

A cup in Berlin which bears the inscription ΔΟΡΙΣΕΥΡΑΦΕΥΝ sets a typical problem (2286: *A.Ζ.* 1883, pl. 4, whence Hoppin, *Rf.* i. 217; I, *Jb.* 31, pl. 2: *A.R.V.* 241, no. 27). The date must be about 480. The palmettes outside are of Douris's type, and according to Bloesch (97, no. 12) the cup (although the most characteristic member, the foot, is missing) can be said to have been fashioned by Douris's 'partner', Python. The border inside looks at first glance like Douris, but seen closer it reveals itself as a pseudo-Douris-border: the pattern-squares are the same, but the maeanders are different and more ordinary. The style of the figurework bears no resemblance to the style of Douris in 480, much less at any other period, before or after. To include this cup among the works of Douris would be to make him suddenly fetch an enormous detour. On the other hand, we have 87 other vases—cups, and pots—in exactly the same style as the Berlin cup. I name the artist, after the subject of a stamnos in the Louvre, the Triptolemos painter (*A.R.V.* 239-44 and 956). If these 88 vases were by Douris, it would not be a sudden fugue and a sudden return, but such a case of double personality as has never been seen in art. Between the evidence of the style and the evidence of the inscription we dare not hesitate. The signature must give way: however its presence is to be explained. Several explanations are possible. If one could be sure that the handwriting was or was not Douris's, the choice would be narrowed: but it is hard to decide: the small thick commonplace red letters in which most inscriptions on red-figured vases are written do not vary much. There is rather more scope for individuality when the inscription, as is usual in black-figure, is in black on a reserved ground, but that is not so here. As the cup seems to have been shaped by Python, the painter was probably working in the neighbourhood of Douris. He may have forged Douris's signature without his knowledge; or with his consent; perhaps at the instance of Python. Or Douris himself may have set his name to the work of another. There are analogies from modern times. A pupil of François Boucher records that the master made his young pupils copy his drawings, and, correcting the copies at lunch-time, would sometimes honour one that was especially

well done by signing his own name to it. Corot is said to have been so good-natured that he authorized artists to put his name on their canvases in order to make them sell more easily.¹ If none of these things happened in antiquity, human nature has changed. Lastly, it is possible that the name of the Triptolemos painter was Douris, and that he had as good a claim as the other to write Δορις ἐγραψε. This may not seem very likely with a name like Douris, which is rare in Attica: but the two may have belonged to the same family. In the two other cases of the same problem in vase-painting this is probably the right explanation. Epiktetos I is the well-known cup-painter whose signature appears on 34 vases (*A.R.V.*, index, 1182); but the Kleophrades Painter, as Miss Richter has shown (*A.J.A.* 1936, 100-15), was also called Epiktetos—Epiktetos II; three Polygnotoses were vase-painters (*Att. V.* 478; Robinson and Freeman in *A.J.A.* 1936, 220-7; *A.R.V.* 516-18, 677-81, and 384). The possibility of homonyms is always to be considered, in ancient pottery as well as in ancient sculpture: for the son commonly followed the father's craft; and names recurred in families. If anyone should feel that it is far-fetched to suppose homonyms, let him remember that there were two *famous* Polykleitoi and Kephisodotoi, or let him turn over the pages of Löwy's inscriptions.

In trying to ascertain the authorship of the *paintings* on vases, it was necessary, if one may so say, to keep the *potter* at arm's length: for instance, not to be led by a signature of the *potter* Kachrylion into assuming that he had necessarily anything to do with the *painting* of the vase. Now that the *painters* of nearly all important Attic vases, and most of the less important, have been determined, the whole material must be re-studied from the point of view of the *potters*; and this time we must be prepared to hold the *painters* at arm's length. Pioneer work in the field has been done by the Americans Hambridge and Caskey, and recently, as was said, by the Swiss Bloesch. It will not be enough to note the general proportions, and the features of the shape: the eye must become accustomed to perceive minute refinements of curve and line. Then it will be possible not only to write the history of Attic vases from the point of view of the *potters*, but,

¹ I take these two instances from Tietze (in *Metz. St.* 5, 17-18). He gives a third. I could wish that he had authenticated them more fully. A few years ago we had a case of a distinguished artist signing a work by another man under the impression that it was his own: but this was after a long interval, and does not apply to any of our signatures.

in the long run, to shed fresh light on the *painters* with whom they collaborated.

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- Pl. 1, 1. Fragment of a vase (amphora ?) in Athens, Acr. bf. 853. After Graef, i, pl. 56. See p. 87.
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- Pl. 2, 1. From a hydria in Munich, 1717. After F.R. i, 159. See p. 88.
 2, 2. Bronze statuette, from Phoiniki, in Athens. After *Anz.* 1937, Bericht, 78, fig. 40. See p. 89.
 2, 3. Bronze statuette, from Olympia, in Athens. After *Anz.* 1937, Bericht, 78, fig. 39. See Pl. 3, 1-2, and p. 89.
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 5, 2-3. Fragments of a calyx-krater in Athens, Acr. 739. See p. 96.
 5, 4. Fragment of a skyphos in Athens, Acr. 470. After Langlotz, pl. 38. See p. 96.
- Pl. 6-7. Cup in Naples, 2615. Photos. Marie Beazley. See p. 109.
- Pl. 8. Cup in Naples, 2609. Photos. Marie Beazley. See p. 110.

NOTE

THIS is a lecture delivered to the Joint Meeting of Classical Societies at Oxford in September 1942, but I have revised and expanded it. The lecture was fully illustrated: the reader is asked to be content with a token number of illustrations: happily most of the objects referred to have been published elsewhere.

I wish to express my thanks to Miss Gisela Richter for giving me her opinion on several technical matters; to Mr. Giovanni Fiorini for information about furnaces and forges; to Prof. H. T. Wade-Gery for examining some inscribed stones with me; to Dr. Paul Maas for restoring an inscription; to Prof. P. N. Ure for his verdict on a Boeotian vase.

Prof. Amedeo Maiuri has kindly permitted me to reproduce two cups in the Naples Museum. The photographs of them are by my wife, who has helped me in other ways as well.

The abbreviations are those used in my *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*.



1



2



3



4

1. Fragment in Athens, Acr. bf. 853. 2-3. Cup-fragments in Athens, Acr. 166. 4. From a stamnos in Brussels, A717



1

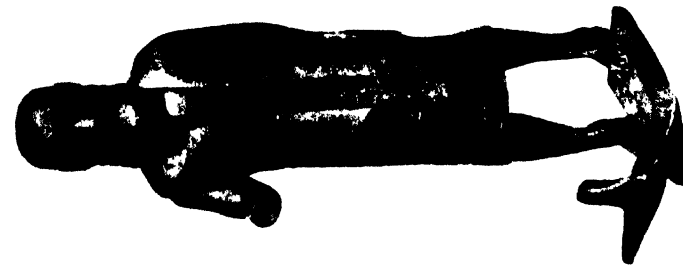


2



3

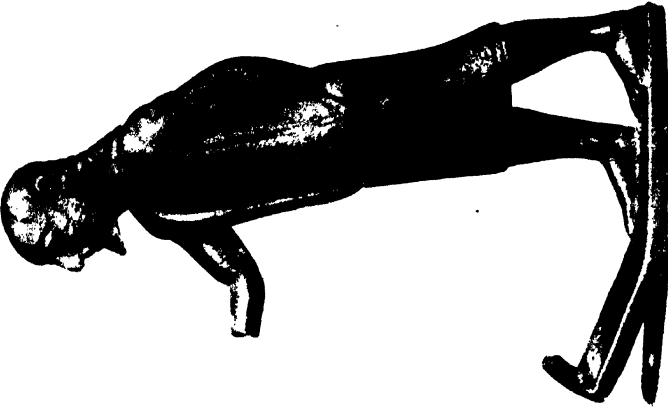
1. From a hydria in Munich, 1717. 2. Bronze from Phoiniki, in Athens. 3. Bronze from Olympia, in Athens



1



3



2

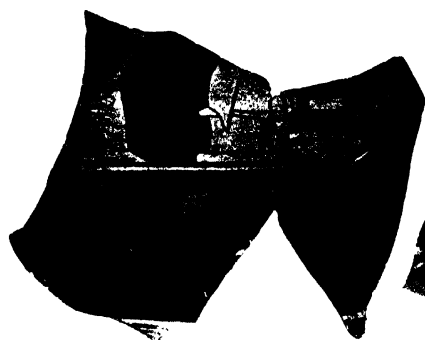
-2. Bronze from Olympia; n Athens. 3. From the marble relief in Athens;
pl. 4



Marble relief in Athens, Acropolis Museum, 1332



1



2



3



4

1. Calyx-krater in Caltagirone. 2-3. Fragments of a calyx-krater in Athens, Acr. 739. 4. Fragment of a skyphos in Athens, Acr. 470



Cup in Naples, 2615



Cup in Naples, 2615



Cup in Naples, 2609

THE SURVIVAL OF ANGLO-SAXON ILLUMINATION AFTER THE NORMAN CONQUEST

By F. WORMALD

Read 14 June 1944 .

WITHIN recent years the study of the Norman Conquest has shown that while much of English life was changed by that invasion of this country, many aspects of English civilization remained comparatively unaffected. One of the most notable studies in this field is the remarkable essay by Professor Chambers on the continuity of English prose where he shows that though the use of English prose died out for official purposes it continued without interruption in works of piety, such as the *Angren Riwele*.¹ Speaking of the Conquest Chambers says:

The foreign prelates and abbots whom William imposed upon the conquered English found in their monasteries a tradition of two things without parallel on the Continent, a splendour of manuscript illumination and a tradition of vernacular composition. We might have expected on *a priori* grounds that they would have encouraged the art and discouraged the language. But, in fact, while illumination disappears, manuscripts in the English language continue to be transcribed, not only at Worcester, under Wulfstan, but under Norman rule at many other places.²

Dr. Eric Millar also says:

The Battle of Hastings forms a convenient break in the history of English illumination, if only because for the time being it leaves us in complete darkness. What is at least certain is that Norman monks, including scribes and illuminators, were introduced in large numbers into English religious houses throughout the country and a change of style followed as an almost inevitable result.³

Both these opinions imply that the Conquest upset the cultural life of England so much that an important and flourishing aspect of English art was destroyed and that the next important school of English illumination was that centring round the Albani Psalter, now at Hildesheim, whose style is entirely different

¹ R. W. Chambers, *The Continuity of English Prose from Alfred to More*, see Early English Text Society's edition of Nicholas Harpsfield, *The Life and Death of Sir Thomas Moore*, 1932, pp. xc-c.

² R. W. Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. xc.

³ E. G. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts from the Xth to the XIIIth Century*, 1926, p. 25.

from Pre-Conquest illumination. If this is so, then there is indeed a gap of at least thirty years which has got to be bridged, and, if the Albani Psalter, which cannot be before 1119, is to be considered an early example of the first Pre-Conquest style, then this gap is of about fifty years.¹ Now the style of the Albani Psalter is so different from that of the Pre-Conquest illuminators that it would seem at first sight most probable that the Conquest had indeed destroyed the Anglo-Saxon style and left England for at least a generation without anything to replace it. The following remarks will, I hope, serve to show that this was not so, and that the Pre-Conquest style had still a most important role to play in the development of English illumination.

At the Norman Conquest the style of illumination was the direct descendant of the style of the 'Winchester' school which had been evolved a century earlier as a result of the great monastic reform associated with the names of St. Dunstan, St. Ethelwold, and St. Oswald. Its primary origin was Carolingian, some of its elements coming from the school of Metz and some of them from the Franco-Saxon style of the North of France.² A less showy element seen in certain initials is undoubtedly a survival from earlier Anglo-Saxon illumination of the eighth and ninth centuries.³ The chief features of the 'Winchester' school were an abundant leafy scroll ornament and a remarkable outline drawing style which was without contemporary parallel in the rest of Europe.

The leafy scrolls of the border ornaments can be seen in such manuscripts as the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold at Chatsworth and the Benedictional of Archbishop Robert at Rouen. At the corners of the borders are roundels over which the leaf-work clammers and on the sides these leaves grow over the frames of the border in the manner of creepers. Very often they

¹ See Adolph Goldschmidt, *Der Albani Psalter in Hildesheim*, 1895, pp. 28-30. It is unfortunately not possible to date precisely the other manuscripts belonging to this style; see handlist of English Illuminated MSS. in E. G. Millar, op. cit., pp. 113, 114, nos. 69, 73-6. B.M. Cotton MS. Titus D. XVI is dated about A.D. 1100, but this may be rather too early.

² For the connexions between the 'Winchester' school and its Carolingian predecessors see Otto Homburger, *Die Anfänge der Malschule von Winchester im x. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1912. The connexion with the Franco-Saxon school is most clearly seen in some of the large initials, e.g. London, College of Arms, Arundel MS. XXII, fragment of a late tenth-century Gospel Lectionary with a fine initial and border.

³ F. Wormald, 'Decorated Initials in English MSS. from A.D. 900-1100', *Archaeologia*, xci. 107-31.

grow out on long stalks ending in a kind of trefoil. Their ends curl over in a crinkled pattern which gives the artist an opportunity to vary the colours. The effect produced is extremely lively and gives the illusion of an endless and scintillating activity. One's eye is carried up and down, in and out, over the whole of the decoration. This device of carrying the eye swiftly over the pattern must surely be the reappearance of the spirit which produced the elaborately interlacing birds and animals of such early manuscripts as the Lindisfarne Gospels. In the beautiful initial 'B' in Harley MS. 2904 in the British Museum, which belongs to the last quarter of the tenth century, this 'Winchester' scroll may be seen in its purest form.¹ The device of the never-ending pattern can be fully appreciated here because, though the ornament is kept within the framework of the initial, it is nevertheless allowed considerable freedom within its border. During the eleventh century the scrolls tend to become more writhing and more stringy in appearance. The effect is more animated than ever. Another initial 'B' from a manuscript in the University Library at Cambridge shows how this is achieved.² In the Harley Psalter the leaves have a certain body to them, but in the Cambridge MS. they have become thin and wiry. The stalks have become much longer and thinner and the leaves crinkle and flutter in a much more exaggerated manner. It seems clear, therefore, that during the course of the eleventh century the typical 'Winchester' scroll developed even more rococo habits than it was endowed with originally. What was the reason for this tendency towards exaggerations of this kind? The answer seems to be the intense love of the Anglo-Saxon artists for expressive line and for the reduction of the object represented to terms of pattern. This dependence on the use of line for the achievement of the desired effect is of fundamental importance for the whole development of English medieval art, and the skill displayed by the Anglo-Saxon artists of the tenth and eleventh centuries in the use of it has never been surpassed.

In the tenth century, when the artists were still to some extent adhering faithfully to their Carolingian and earlier archetypes, the figures and draperies have a semblance of solidity. Such a figure as the St. Matthew from the tenth-century Gospels at

¹ B.M. Harley MS. 2904, f. 4; reproduced by E. G. Millar, *op. cit.*, pl. 11.

² Cambridge, University Library MS. Ff. 1. 23, f. 1. Reproduced in Wormald, *op. cit.*, pl. 1.

York Minster shows how carefully the artist was trying to follow his original, but the liveliness of the figure is undoubtedly created by the enormous hands and the characteristic fluttering, crinkling folds of the drapery (Plate 1a).¹ Nothing could be simpler than the drawing of a splendid fish in Harley 2506, but in no contemporary work of art is such intensity of expression achieved with such economy (Plate 1b).² This book is known to be a copy of a much earlier manuscript, yet the English artist has strikingly modified it by the impress of his own personality. The effect is most remarkable and it is achieved by the complete assurance with which the artist has used his line and by the skilful management of the blank space behind the object. This use of the blank vellum behind the figures is most important, since by it the English artists of the tenth and eleventh centuries achieved an illusion of space which was not possible by the use of coloured backgrounds. But outline was not merely used to procure an illusion of vitality. It was also used by the 'Winchester' school artists to express the spiritual content of a scene. The famous miniature of the Crucifixion in a Psalter in the British Museum is not only a superb drawing, but is a moving expression of the artist's feelings. In it the outline is varied from the thick solid lines of the legs of the Christ to the thin suggestive drawing of the muscles of His body or the fluttering draperies of the figure of St. John. By this variation the artist was not only able to represent the dead Saviour with His mother and the Beloved Disciple, but he was also able to express the grief of the Virgin and the eager love of St. John. The whole miniature is given thereby a kind of lyrical mysticism which is not met with in contemporary European art.³

The intensity of feeling which these artists could give their works is particularly well illustrated in a miniature of the Crucifixion in a Gospel book which seems to be datable about the second quarter of the eleventh century, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (Plate 2). This miniature will be referred to as the Weingarten Crucifixion. It is a splendid work of great poignancy, but, what is so extraordinary about it, is a quality which makes one think of late medieval art with the tendency towards violent expression of the sufferings of the Passion. When looking at this miniature one's mind turns

¹ See New Palaeographical Society, *Facsimiles of Ancient MSS.*, 2nd Series, Plates 163-5.

² B.M. Harley MS. 2506, f. 40 b.

³ B.M. Harley MS. 2904, f. 3 b, reproduced by E. G. Millar, *op. cit.*, pl. 10.

involuntarily to that wonderful English fourteenth-century lyric which begins:

Gloryouse Lord, so doolfully dy3t
 So rewfully streyned upry3t on þe cros;
 For þi mykel mekenesse, þi mercy, þi my3t
 þou bete al my bale with bote of þi blood.

This miniature makes use of expressive line and the jagged outline of the high cross serves only to intensify the dramatic aspect of the situation. The contrast between the tall figures of St. Mary and St. John and the kneeling woman at the foot of the cross serve to heighten the expressiveness of the whole scene. What the artist did was to give as it were a calligraphic note of his emotions by endowing his outline with a burning vitality.¹

By 1060, however, some English artists were experimenting with a style entirely independent of the outline drawing style which has just been discussed. Arundel 60, a Psalter from the New Minster at Winchester, has in it two miniatures of the Crucifixion. One is executed in the old outline style and is not a very good example of it.² The other is a work of remarkable power and importance (Plate 3).³ This miniature is framed by a border of leaf work which is derived from the old 'Winchester' scroll. There are the same long leaves clambering all over the framework of the border and gripping the edges, but whereas in such manuscripts as the Cambridge Psalter these leaves have a hard wiry look about them, in the New Minster Psalter they are more serpentine and fleshy. It is, however, in the figure of the Christ that the difference is most remarkable. In the Weingarten Crucifixion the whole effect was gained by the characteristic management of the outline. In the New Minster Psalter this is achieved by a deliberate attempt to represent the solidity of the human form by exaggeration of the muscles, particularly of the torso. The folds of the loin-cloth instead of being soft and fluttering are divided up into hard geometrical shapes, enriched with heavily jewelled borders. What is the explanation of this? The answer must be that during the Confessor's reign artists in

¹ New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS. 709, f. 1 b. Gospels, of the second half of the eleventh century, formerly in the Benedictine Abbey of Weingarten.

² B.M. Arundel MS. 60, f. 12 b. This miniature shows 'Winchester' outline drawing just before the Norman Conquest. If compared with the Crucifixion in the Weingarten Gospels in New York it will be obvious that the Arundel MS. is much less vigorous in style.

³ *Ibid.*, f. 52 b, reproduced in E. G. Millar, *op. cit.*, pl. 31.

England were beginning to experiment with means of representing solid form in the same way that the artists on the Continent were experimenting, for there is no doubt that this artist was definitely turning his back on the accepted 'Winchester' style and was interested in the treatment of folds and a representation of the human body which ultimately goes back to archetypes entirely different from the 'Winchester' school. The whole figure looks much less naturalistic than the Weingarten Crucifixion and is much more hieratic. What is more surprising is that the artist does not appear to be copying a continental archetype in a purely mechanical way. The ornament is certainly derived from 'Winchester' manuscripts, but the figures show something quite new in English art.

It is not easy to find contemporary manuscripts from the Channel area which show the same advanced interests, but a Gospel book in the British Museum provides some means of comparison, though it may be slightly later.¹ Unfortunately we do not know where this book comes from. Usually it is called North French. The figures of the Evangelists in this manuscript show something of the same interest in the representation of the muscles as well as the stiff angular treatment of the draperies. What is, however, quite clear is that the New Minster Crucifixion is much closer in spirit to this manuscript than it is to the Weingarten Crucifixion and both are experimenting in something which is moving away from the illusionism of the 'Winchester' manuscripts towards something which will develop into the romanesque.

Arundel 60 is, therefore, of very great importance in the history of English illumination, because it shows that on the eve of the Conquest there were artists in England who were breaking away from the traditional style of the country in favour of the new style which was beginning to stir on the Continent. It is tempting to see the influence of the Confessor's foreign friends here, but the evidence is not forthcoming for the proof.

Having now seen what the position was in England at the Conquest, let us see what was the position in northern France from which any new style would be most likely to come. From the start it is important to remember that from the end of the tenth century the 'Winchester' style had a number of continental

¹ B.M. Add. MS. 11850, f. 91 b. This manuscript is copied from a manuscript illuminated in the 'Winchester' manner, but the treatment of the draperies shows definite tendencies towards the stylizations already found in B.M. Arundel MS. 60, f. 52 b. The manuscript should be dated *circa* 1100.

followers, particularly in large and important North French monastic houses like Saint Bertin at Saint Omer.¹ The work of these foreign followers was remarkably close to 'Winchester' originals, but it can usually be distinguished quite easily from real English work. The splendid Gospels from Saint Bertin in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (MS. 333) show how the fluttering 'Winchester' folds become hardened when produced second-hand on just the other side of the Channel. The ornament, too, was hardened, not in the way it was hardened in England, where it is thin and stringy, but it becomes as it were petrified and without liveliness. A Bible from Saint Vaast at Arras, also of the eleventh century, shows the same close borrowing from the 'Winchester' style, both in figure drawing and in ornamental details.² In a fine initial, f. 198, the top of the letter is a direct copy of an initial style which was well known in England at the beginning of the eleventh century. This Bible shows also certain borrowings from the other important eleventh-century style derived from the Ottonian MSS. from Trier and Echternach. From what we know, therefore, of the North French style of illumination during the eleventh century there seems to be every indication that the Anglo-Saxon element played an important part in its make-up. When, therefore, the Conqueror put Norman abbots into the English monasteries it is likely that any foreign manuscripts which they brought with them were illuminated in a style which had at any rate in part an old 'Winchester' element in them. From what little evidence we have it seems that in fact the Normans had very little to offer in the way of a style which could be used as an alternative to a vigorous national style which was still flourishing.

The Norman Conquest undoubtedly upset the normal tenor of English monastic life and with it the production of books. There is, however, no evidence to suggest that the Conqueror attempted to interfere with an entirely harmless activity. Indeed the presence of Lanfranc at the head of the Church in England was sufficient to ensure that it was not interfered with.

¹ Particularly the manuscripts executed during the abbacy of Othbert, circa 988-1007. See Dom. A. Wilmart, 'Les livres de l'abbé Othbert', in *Bulletin Historique de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie*, xiv. 169-88. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS. 333, a Gospel Book of this period shows this very well.

² Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 559, a Bible from Saint Vaast, eleventh century, contains initials, particularly f. 198, with ornament derived from initials found in English manuscripts of about 1000, see F. Wormald, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-4.

It is true to say, however, that there are no illuminated books which can safely be dated within the first fifteen years after the Conquest. It may be that when the chronology of the palaeography of this period is more sufficiently established it will be possible to date books within these years.

The first body of decorated books which can be dated in Post-Conquest England are the manuscripts connected with William of Saint Carileff, Bishop of Durham, from 1081-96. At least sixteen books can be ascribed to this group. Their illumination is confined to their very fine and interesting initials, and this fact has perhaps been the reason why they have not received more attention from students of English illumination. There is sometimes a tendency to minimize the importance of initials in favour of full-page miniatures, especially if the initials are primarily of an ornamental nature. The ornament of the initials in the Durham MSS. can be shown to be for the most part derived from Pre-Conquest Anglo-Saxon ornament. In the first place the leafy scroll ornament is certainly derived from the scrolls found in the sumptuous manuscripts of the end of the tenth century, such as Harley MS. 2904. There are the same long and short leaves which spring from a knot-like protuberance on the stalk. This scroll-work is frequently combined with dragons which have wide open jaws and tails ending in a rich crop of 'Winchester' leaf-work. Such dragons may be paralleled in English Pre-Conquest initials from the middle of the tenth century onwards. A third type of initial is a curious construction of small gripping heads, broken interlace with fragments of 'Winchester' scrolls. Initials with an exactly similar construction are found in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of about 1000.¹

From this it can be seen that the majority of the ornamental motives in the manuscripts of William of Saint Carileff are derived from Pre-Conquest English initials. There is one modification, however, which is important, and that is the increase of figures amongst the ornament of the initials. Admittedly scrolls inhabited by human beings occur in the New Minster Psalter (Arundel 60), but the style of this manuscript has already been shown to have certain peculiarities.² This use of the humanly inhabited scroll is related to another new type of English initial

¹ Particularly R. A. B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, plates 18, 25, and F. Wormald, *op. cit.*, pl. viii b.

² See B.M. Arundel MS. 60, f. 13. Figures forming part of initials are found in English manuscripts of the first half of the tenth century, see Oxford, Bodleian MSS. Tanner 10 and Junius 27.

and that is the so-called 'gymnastic' style, where animals and creatures clamber all over the frame of the initial rather in the manner of acrobats. This type was rare in England before the Conquest, but is found in the Durham MSS. and is an outstanding characteristic of Canterbury illumination of about the year 1100.¹

Although the Durham MSS. can be shown to have such a respectable Anglo-Saxon ancestry, there is a good deal in the style which shows the artists were not merely slavish imitators of their parents. In some ways the treatment of the scrolls is much more robust than in the later 'Winchester' manuscripts. The dragons, too, are stouter than their somewhat exiguous forebears, and the initials with the dragons' heads are often more animated than the original style which is much drier and more precise. Nevertheless these initials remain fundamentally Anglo-Saxon and show a development rather than a break in the style.

While the Durham MSS. display this very 'Winchester' ornament, the figure style is in some ways much less accomplished than the figure style of the Pre-Conquest manuscripts. There does not seem, however, to be any reason to suppose that there is anything new here, and the use of coloured outline and stripes suggests that this is merely a modification of the 'Winchester' treatment. But it was not only in Durham that the ornament was derived from the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. The great abbey of Christ Church, Canterbury, used a very effective type of initial which was executed in outline and composed of dragons and scroll ornament. In the same way as the Durham initials, both have become much fatter and fleshier than most of the earlier work.² Other places also show similar initials. They are to be found in manuscripts from St. Albans and Exeter as well as from Durham and Canterbury (Plates 4*b*, 5*a*).³ Thus

¹ A good example is reproduced by M. R. James, *Catalogue of the Western MSS. in the Library of Trinity College Cambridge*, iv, pl. iv *a*.

² e.g. Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B. 3. 14.

³ Oxford, Bodleian MS. Bodl. 569, ff. 28, 42, 58 b, 92 b, a Lanfranc from St. Albans, *circa* 1100; Bodl. 691, ff. 72 b, 84 b, 92 b, St. Augustine from Exeter. Many of the initials in this manuscript have been entirely redrawn in the fourteenth century. Bodl. MS. 717, St. Jerome on Isaiah, also from Exeter, which is reproduced in *New Palaeographical Society*, 2nd Series, pls. 190-2, should be placed in this group. Its initials should be compared with St. Augustine on the Psalter, Durham Cathedral MS. B. 11. 13, which is dated about 1088, see Mynors, *op. cit.*, pls. 19, 20. Initials in this manuscript have also been compared with Bodl. 301, also from Exeter. The Exeter St. Jerome seems to be dated too late by the editors of the *New Palaeographical*

we have ample proof that numerous Post-Conquest initials were based on their Anglo-Saxon predecessors. In this connexion it is surely significant that all these places, with the possible exception of Exeter, were closely connected with Lanfranc and his reforms. It is obvious that current views should be revised.

The survival of the famous Anglo-Saxon drawing style can be seen in a number of manuscripts which date from the early years of the twelfth century. What is significant is that here again the survival is to be seen for the most part in historiated initials and not in large miniatures, which are not common at that time. There are three manuscripts which show this survival very well, and it is interesting that two of them should come from St. Augustine's, Canterbury. The first of these is a very fine martyrology with obits which seem to belong to the first decade of the twelfth century.¹ The illuminations are confined to the KL monograms at the beginning of each month and the figures in them are the signs of the zodiac. If we take the figure of Virgo we shall see that while the figure itself is closely related to Anglo-Saxon drawings, the ornament is much less close. The old rich scroll has been modified and several new types of flowers appear. The figure is, however, surprisingly 'Winchester' in style. There is the same flickering of the draperies and the same use of the expressive outline to endow the figure with life.² We have here the beginning of the com-

Society. The position of Exeter is very interesting. During the episcopacy of bishop Leofric, who died in 1072, there had been a considerable interest in the library, see Max Förster, *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry*, 1933, pp. 10-32. It is not, therefore, inconceivable that books were being produced in Exeter at that time. At any rate there are the two manuscripts mentioned above which show that the Pre-Conquest types survived there. Another manuscript, Bodl. 783, St. Gregory, Cura Pastoralis, also shows both in script and decoration considerable affinities to the Exeter manuscripts, and consequently to the Carilef books. The style of this manuscript is also derived from Pre-Conquest illumination.

¹ B.M. Cotton MS. Vitellius C. XII.

² Ibid., f. 139, reproduced by F. Wormald, 'The Development of English Illumination in the Twelfth Century' in *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd Series, vol. viii, pl. xiii b. The origin of romanesque initial ornament is still to be written, particularly the history of the introduction of new types in the early years of the twelfth century. Special attention should be paid to the appearance of flower motives having a strong family likeness to the 'Blütenblatt' ornament of Byzantine illumination, see Kurt Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinische Buchmalerei des ix. u. x. Jahrhunderts*, 1935, pp. 22-32. In this connexion the Gloucester candlestick in the Victoria and Albert Museum of about 1110 offers some important early evidence on the introduction of new types of ornament.

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bination of the Anglo-Saxon drawing style with romanesque ornament.

The second manuscript, a collection of lives of saints, is British Museum, Arundel MS. 91 (Plate 5*b*). Its decoration is also confined to its fine series of decorative and historiated initials. The artist is possibly the same as the artist of the St. Augustine's martyrology. In this manuscript we find the same active combination of the 'Winchester' drawing and romanesque ornament, indicating that we are not dealing with a purely conservative creation, but with artists who were using the Anglo-Saxon style because they found that it answered their requirements.

Probably the most sumptuous manuscript to show the survival of the 'Winchester' outline drawing style is a manuscript of the *De Civitate Dei* of St. Augustine, now in the Laurenziana at Florence.¹ It is usually dated early in the twelfth century and may be either North French or English in origin. Wherever it was made, it is extremely English in spirit and there is no doubt that its miniatures are derived from Anglo-Saxon figure drawings and romanesque ornament as in the case of the two St. Augustine's books. Thus we can see that in the first years of the twelfth century there were flourishing schools of illumination which owed the greater part of their style to Anglo-Saxon illumination.²

Undoubtedly the most important stylistic change during this period was the growth of the historiated and humanly inhabited initial. Before the period of the Carileff books there had been large and magnificent initials like the great 'B's at the beginning of Psalters which had their origin in Carolingian scroll work. In the theological manuscripts, as distinct from the liturgical ones, there was the style which was composed of a number of different elements, but which is most easily recognized by its characteristic interlace and gripping heads. As we saw, the Carileff artists used both these types of initial in great profusion. They also introduced figures into the initials on a much more lavish scale. The idea of a richly inhabited initial was, therefore, already well

¹ Florence, Biblioteca Medicea—Laurenziana MS. XII. 17, St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, late eleventh or early twelfth century, see New Palaeographical Society, 1st Series, pls. 138, 139, and G. Biagi, *Fifty Plates from the MSS. in the R. Laurentian Library*, pls. x-xii.

² The St. Thomas bowl in the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities in the British Museum should also be connected with these outline drawings, see O. M. Dalton, 'On Two Medieval Bronze Bowls in the British Museum', *Archaeologia*, lxxii. 133-40.

established before 1100. Nevertheless, both the ornamental motives and the figure style were based upon the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of the 'Winchester' school. What was new was the scale upon which these initials were done. This growth of the large and elaborate initial must be, I think, considered a manifestation of the romanesque and should be considered in any historical account of romanesque illumination. Whatever the origin it was not English and, therefore, introduced probably from the Continent by the followers of the Conqueror.

On the whole Durham can be called conservative in its development of the ornament of large initial. The Durham artists introduced figures into Pre-Conquest ornament. Canterbury, on the other hand, not only did the same as Durham, but also made use of the entirely new type of initial style, the gymnastic style. These initials are not constructed from leafy scrolls, interlace, and dragons with the occasional introduction of a figure. They are built up by causing a number of miscellaneous creatures and dragons to clamber on top of each other, in and out of the framework. These initials are, I think, a contribution from the Continent. They are found in Continental manuscripts of this period, and appear at a later date in manuscripts from Citeaux. To a certain extent the same principle is found in some early romanesque carvings. At Canterbury this style of initial was extremely popular and is found side by side in the same manuscripts with motives derived from Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. They are often executed in a drawing style which we have seen was derived from the outline drawings of the 'Winchester' school, and are a striking indication of the vigour in which artists working in a purely insular drawing style could modify their traditional initial style and create something new in it.

Probably towards 1120 England produced a style of illumination which was quite different from these radically Anglo-Saxon styles which we have just discussed. This is the style associated with the Albani Psalter. Its characteristics are a complete contrast to the Durham and Canterbury illumination which relied on the expressive outline to give it vitality, and used elegant delicate colours. The effect was pale and ethereal with a marked emphasis on the pattern. In the Albani Psalter the colour is heavy and the draperies, instead of fluttering in a scintillating design, hang in heavy folds about their wearers. The faces, too, which are frequently represented side-face, are

heavy, with large staring eyes and rather gloomy expressions. These figures no longer live in a world of mystical excitement like those in the Weingarten Crucifixion. Here one is in the presence of a solemn hieratic art. The spiritual effect is not achieved by an impression of burning personal passion, but by an almost liturgical solemnity.¹ Indeed the contrast bears something of that which exists between the short prayer that pierces unto Heaven and the grandeur and pageantry of a High Mass. In the Albani Psalter we see the English artists abandoning their fundamental love of the continuous pattern for a style which was based upon the art of the Mediterranean with its stress on the representation of the human figure as a corporeal being. In the twelfth century, and indeed all through the Middle Ages, England was to make use of styles deriving from Mediterranean art, but in all cases, having received the style, it is modified in order to maintain the love of expressive outline and of reducing everything to terms of pattern. An exception appears in the case of the Albani Psalter group of manuscripts. Here heavy colours and rich modelling satisfied the twelfth-century artist's desire to clothe his figures with flesh and blood, but there was lacking the vitality which was so expressive in the Anglo-Saxon style. Artists working immediately after the period of the Albani Psalter were attracted by its richness and solidity, but still wanted the Anglo-Saxon vivacity. They, therefore, treated the Albani Psalter style as they were to treat all imported styles. They combined it with the native style and thereby assimilated it. This fusion may be seen in a number of manuscripts of the second quarter of the twelfth century, notably in such manuscripts as the Shaftesbury Psalter in the British Museum which we know was partially copied from the Albani Psalter.² A magnificent drawing of the Virgin and Child at Oxford, of the same period as the Shaftesbury Psalter, shows the reduction to pattern very well. The subject is of a most hieratic nature and yet the whole figure is endowed with vitality by a skilful arrangement of the design which is reduced to pure pattern by the heart-shaped

¹ Compare for instance the treatment of the Christ in majesty in a thoroughly Anglo-Saxon manuscript such as B.M. Cotton MS. Tiberius C. VI, f. 126 b, and a miniature of a similar composition in Cambridge, Pembroke College MS. 120, f. 6 b, which is of the school of the Albani Psalter.

² B.M. Lansdowne MS. 383, reproduced in E. G. Millar, *op. cit.*, pls. 32, 33. The miniature of the Women at the Sepulchre on f. 13 of this manuscript is a copy of that in the Albani Psalter.

arrangement of the knees and the geometrical treatment of the crown and the veil.¹

The English artists' adherence to the Anglo-Saxon principles of expressive outline are no more clearly seen than in the Psalter of Henry of Blois, now in the British Museum.² This manuscript was made in the early years of the second half of the twelfth century at Winchester. The artist, like others of his time, was certainly influenced by South Italian or Byzantine manuscripts. Indeed, there are copies of Italo-Byzantine paintings in this very manuscript.³ Yet his style is quite inexplicable unless it can be allowed that he was also influenced by the Anglo-Saxon tradition. The miniature of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple shows this very well (Plate 6).⁴ The figure of the ancient Simeon is much closer to the spirit of the Weingarten Crucifixion than to the Albani Psalter. His whole figure, and particularly his beard, is extraordinarily expressive of old age, but there is really no attempt to represent him as the historical Simeon. He is the expression of the artist's conception of old age. The whole miniature is indeed symbolic and this symbolism is produced by a kind of calligraphic convention. This calligraphic convention is exactly what is found in the Weingarten Crucifixion.

In Nero C. IV there also appears a tendency towards violent caricature which was to remain an important element in English illumination.⁵ This can be seen not only in the figure of the aged Simeon, but also in the picture, immediately below, of Christ disputing with the doctors in the Temple. The scene is extraordinarily well staged. Christ, small and innocent, sits isolated under the central arch. At the sides are the Jewish doctors, and what a terrifying crew they are with their eager faces and clawing hands ready to confound their victim. One sees here the whole medieval conception of the Old and the New Law. The

¹ Oxford, Bodleian MS. Bodl. 269, see F. Wormald, 'A Romanesque Drawing at Oxford' in *The Antiquaries Journal*, xxii (Jan. 1942), pp. 17-21.

² B.M. Cotton MS. Nero C. IV. For a bibliography of this manuscript, see E. G. Millar, op. cit., p. 84.

³ ff. 29, 30.

⁴ f. 15, reproduced in *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, tom. cit., pl. xviii.

⁵ One of the sources of these caricatures has been suggested to me by Dr. Otto Pächt. It is that they are adaptations by twelfth-century artists of late antique masks such as may be seen in the Terence MSS. copied from late antique manuscripts, see particularly Oxford, Bodleian MS. Auct. F. 2. 13, twelfth century, reproduced by L. W. Jones and C. R. Morey, *The Miniatures of the MSS. of Terence*, 1932, pl. 8.

drama of the situation is accentuated by this careful use of caricature and equally careful stylization of the folds which form a network of pattern over the whole picture, so that one's eye is again hurried over its surface.

The development of the treatment of folds in English twelfth-century manuscript painting affords a most interesting study of the English artists' love of reducing everything to terms of pattern. In many figures the folds divide the body up into zones. Originally this was a device borrowed from Mediterranean art to accentuate the muscles of the human form under the drapery, but in England it was violently stylized and reduced to an intricate pattern system which would infuse into the figures the required vitality. Nowhere is this more clearly seen than in the miniatures of the Lambeth Bible which also can be dated in the second half of the twelfth century.¹ In this manuscript the folds have become a conglomeration of shapes built up into a pattern, which gives the scene a kind of agitated vitality, though fluttering draperies have here been reduced to a kind of frozen formula. What has all this, however, to do with the survival of the Anglo-Saxon style? A good deal, I think. The English illuminator of the twelfth century was very much like his predecessor of a century earlier. He was anxious to be able to put down in terms of a calligraphic pattern something which would express more than a mere representation of the scene. He wished to endow his figures with a life of their own by reducing them to a continuous pattern by means of expressive outline. The result is as fantastic as the conglomeration of animals in the Lindisfarne Gospels. It is inconceivable that this treatment of folds is anything else but a recrudescence of a spirit that had already appeared in Anglo-Saxon art during the eighth century and again during the tenth and eleventh centuries in the 'Winchester' school.

During the twelfth century a knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon style must have been kept very much alive by the copying of manuscripts with 'Winchester' school illuminations. A remarkable example of English twelfth-century artists copying 'Winchester' school miniatures is the drawing of the Crucifixion in the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester, in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford (Plate 7).² If we compare the treat-

¹ London, Lambeth Palace MS. 3, see E. G. Millar, 'Les Principaux Manuscrits à Peintures du Lambeth Palace à Londres', in *Bulletin de la Société française de reproduction de manuscrits à peintures*, 1924, pls. II-XI.

² Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS. 157, Chronicle of Florence of

ment of the loin-cloth of the Christ with that in the great Crucifixion miniature in Harley MS. 2904, it will be seen at once how the twelfth-century artist was capable of reproducing the fluttering folds of the Anglo-Saxon manuscript, as well as changes of emphasis which were so noticeable in a work like the Harley Crucifixion. The Virgin's veil also shows how the twelfth-century artist was able to reproduce the spirit of earlier Anglo-Saxon drawing. The implication, therefore, is that the artist was interested in the 'Winchester' style as a style. This again surely argues against a complete disappearance of Anglo-Saxon influence, since the Florence of Worcester Crucifixion is not earlier than 1130 and may be later.

By 1150, however, England as well as the rest of northern Europe was profoundly influenced by the twelfth-century renaissance and its interest in the Mediterranean style. Throughout the second half of the century there was a continuous influence from Byzantine art, which may be seen in such manuscripts as the Winchester Bible where some of the hands have been quite rightly compared with Sicilian mosaics. But as in the case of the Albani Psalter style the Winchester Bible style was modified in England by contact with the traditional outline drawing. Nowhere can this be more clearly seen than in the Guthlac Roll in the British Museum which was probably made at Croyland about the year 1200 or a little later.¹ It is helpful to compare a drawing in this manuscript of the death of St. Guthlac, with a drawing of the Harrowing of Hell, in a Psalter of about 1050, Cotton MS. Tiberius C. VI, f. 14 (Plate 8a, b).² The composition of the first is an intricate pattern of fluttering draperies with the two angels built up into tall shape, and in the earlier drawing we have the same use of the fluttering folds with their endless pattern to express the tumult of the scene. In the Guthlac Roll the same effect is achieved by the same device. Both artists wished to express the drawing up of the soul to Heaven,

Worcester, see New Palaeographical Society, 2nd Series, pl. 87. Dr. Pächt has pointed out to me that, though the original drawing may have been made as early as 1130, it has been redrawn in the second half of the twelfth century by an artist working in the manner of the Terence MS., Oxford, Bodleian MS. Auct. F. 2. 13. Nevertheless this second hand was equally influenced by Anglo-Saxon drawings.

¹ B.M. Harley Roll Y. 6, see Sir George Warner, *The Guthlac Roll*, Roxburghe Club, 1928.

² For a reproduction of the death of St. Guthlac, see Warner, *op. cit.*, pl. xiv. B.M. Tiberius C. VI, f. 14, is reproduced in *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, tom. cit., pl. xii.

and in each case this is managed by the use of this tall mass covering the whole picture. In the picture of the death of St. Guthlac the treatment of the border is important. The angel is represented as hovering in front of the border, because both his halo and his wing come over it. The artist undoubtedly devised the angel thus, so that the spectator did not feel that the angel was cramped by the border and consequently the feeling of ascent, which is essential to the whole idea of the picture, lost. This fear of loss of movement is, I think, an essential aspect of Anglo-Saxon drawing, because if it were lost the all-important principle of the expressive and continuous line would be violated.

Throughout the Middle Ages one finds in English manuscripts superb outline drawings which are certainly in the tradition of the drawings of the 'Winchester' school and of their twelfth-century successors. Their most important characteristic is that the drawings are not unfinished sketches for the illuminator to fill in with colour afterwards, but are independent works of art whose principal aesthetic effect was not achieved by colour but by line. This tradition can be traced through such works as the Guthlac Roll, the drawings associated with Matthew Paris, the drawings of Queen Mary's Psalter, and the Holkham Picture-book. Admittedly all reflect the various influences of their age, but all of them achieve their effect by the use of the expressive line, even by having recourse to the most violent kinds of caricature. If one looks at the representation of the Tartar cannibals in the manuscript of the *Chronica Majora* of Matthew Paris, one sees how successful he was in handling this tradition.¹ What the artist wished to represent was the savagery of their habits and the rapacity of their horses. The whole scene could be merely disgusting, but he has endowed it with a fierce realism which transcends mere savagery. This realism is achieved by the very opposite of realistic representation. The whole thing is a fantastic expression of the artist's views on Tartars and their horrid ways. Everybody is doing something violent, and all this is achieved in the same way that the artist of the Weingarten Crucifixion obtained his effect. Both artists wished to record not only the historic fact of the Crucifixion or the historic existence of cannibals, but also the ideas which lie behind them, whether it be the horror and loneliness of the Cross or the savage terror of the Tartar hordes. Both artists made use of the never-

¹ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 16, f. 166, see M. R. James, 'The Drawings of Matthew Paris', *Walpole Society*, xiv (1925-6), pl. xvi, no. 86.

ending outline pattern and the exaggeration of the expressive outline.

This tradition is shown very well in the fourteenth century by such manuscripts as the Bible Picture-book belonging to the Earl of Leicester, Holkham MS. 666. Heaven forbid that one should say that all the stylistic elements in this manuscript are attributable to its Anglo-Saxon ancestors. What is true is that the style of this manuscript is inexplicable unless the tradition of Anglo-Saxon drawing is taken into consideration. The miniature of the Crucifixion is typical of fourteenth-century religious piety with its tendency to dwell on the more horrible aspects of the Passion (Plate 9).¹ The whole scene in its fantastic terror reminds one of the picturesque passages in the mystical writings of Richard Rolle, who, when speaking of Christ's wounds, said: 'Thy body is like to a dovehouse. For a dovehouse is ful of holys, so is þy body ful of woundes.' In the Holkham miniature there is the same restless agitation as in Rolle's meditation. The rolling eyes of the thieves and of Christ and the grotesque expression of the executioner once again take one back to the Psalter of Henry of Blois, and ultimately to the eleventh-century drawings. The use of the scrolls is certainly a means whereby the artist heightened the movement and wildness.

Yet dare I almost be glad, I do not see
That spectacle of too much weight for mee
Who sees God's face, that is selfe life, must dye;
What a death were it then to see God dye?

These scrolls in a sense perform the same function as the fluttering draperies of the 'Winchester' school drawings, carrying the eye ever and again over the whole picture, just as in the Lindisfarne Gospels the animals and birds twist in and out and form a pattern over the surface of the picture.² In this miniature we see, therefore, not only the reduction of the scene to a pattern but also the use of the calligraphic line to express the artist's

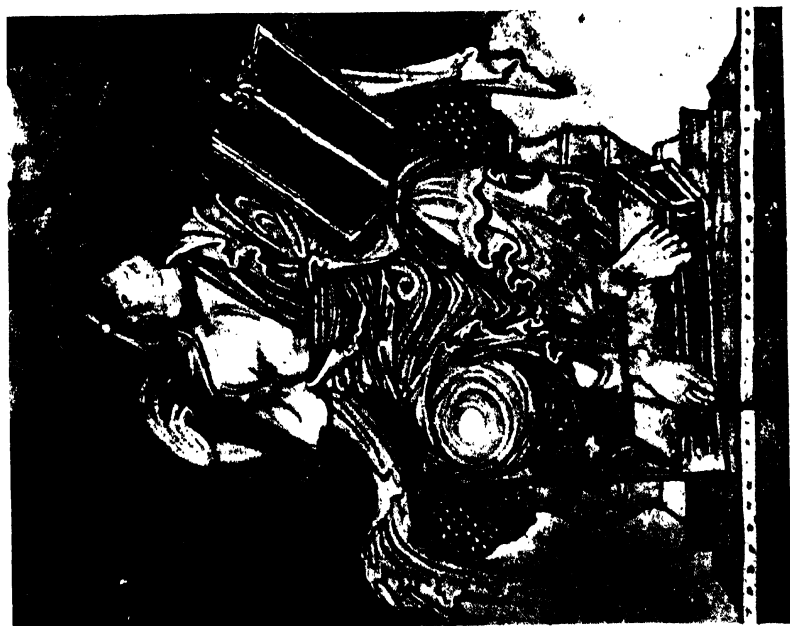
¹ Holkham Hall MS. 666, see M. R. James, 'An English Bible-Picture Book of the Fourteenth Century', *Walpole Society*, xi (1922-23), pp. 1-27, pls. 1-xix. The miniature of the Crucifixion on f. 32 is reproduced on pl. xv.

² The most elaborate use of scrolls in a decorative manner is found in the Tickhill Psalter, an early fourteenth-century manuscript from Worksop Priory, now New York Public Library, Spencer Collection MS. 26, see D. D. Egbert, *The Tickhill Psalter and Related Manuscripts*, 1940, particularly pl. xxv. Another case is the miniature of the benefactors of Croyland Abbey in the Guthlac Roll, see Warner, *op. cit.*, pl. xviii.

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emotions at the sight of the crucified Saviour, and once again one must admit that the artist was in this dependent on Anglo-Saxon tradition.

Now to sum up. We have seen that at the Norman Conquest there was no break with the traditional style, which continued unimpaired both in initial ornament and in outline drawing to about 1120, when new romanesque styles began to influence English artists, but they were not overwhelmed by these new influences. They took them and frequently modified them, ever maintaining their affection for the calligraphic method and expressing their emotions by the reduction of the essentials of a scene to a significant pattern. Both these characteristics belong to Anglo-Saxon art and were its great contribution to English medieval art, endowing it with a power and vividness which are its own. The story is in some ways very close to Chambers's story of the continuity of English prose. English prose survived in devotional treatises made for devout men and women, the Anglo-Saxon style survived in the initial frequently decorating a dry theological treatise, but survived nevertheless with sufficient power to mould much of medieval English art.

My thanks are due to the following for permission to reproduce their MSS.: The Trustees of the British Museum, the Bodleian Library at Oxford, the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, the Dean and Chapter of York Minster, the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral, the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, the Right Honourable the Earl of Leicester, and to the Director of the Warburg Institute, the University of London, Dr. Saxl, for permission to use the photograph of the York Gospels.



a. York, Minster Library, Gospels, St. Matthew,
late 10th cent.



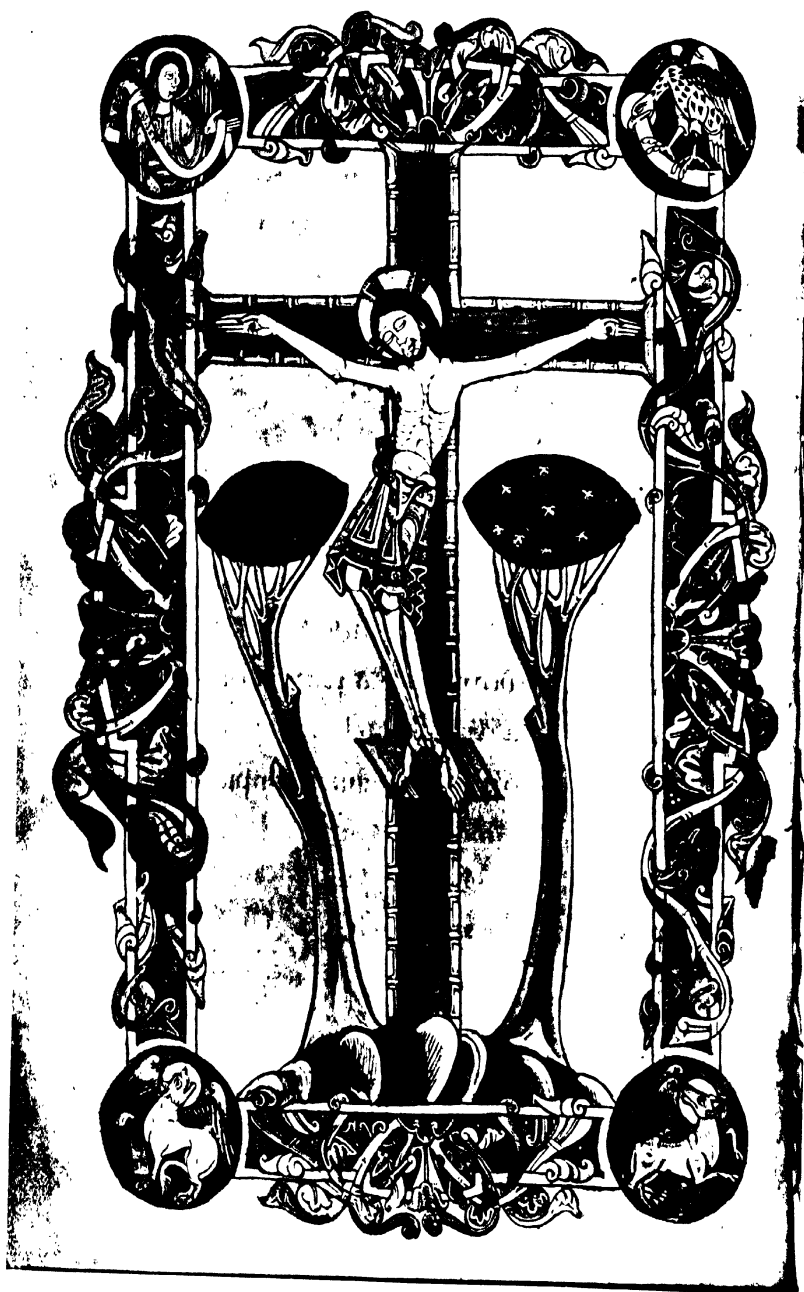
MANL.
2506 | 40b

[unimagna carnis es p[ro]p[ri]a carnis p[ro]p[ri]e]

b. London, British Museum, Harley MS. 2506, f. 40b.
Aratea, late 10th cent.

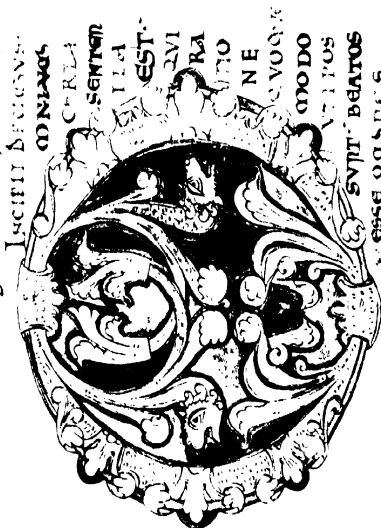


New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Morgan MS. 709, f. 1b. Gospels, c. 1050



London, British Museum, Arundel MS. 60, f. 52b. Psalter, from Winchester, c. 1060

cris & iacrum ppe uita uera p
 morte adipiscenda colendos putat
 qualescunq; illi sint & quolibet uo
 cabulo digni sint n eorum uelle piale
 religionis obsequium nisi unum dñi colli
 aquo creati & cui participatione be
 iti sunt ad uiuam ipso insequen
 libro diligentia differem; Expt lib ñ



esse oia spēs
 homines uelle. Qui autē sunt ul' un
 de sunt diu mortellū querit infirmi
 tas multē maligneq; citrouer sic ceterū
 sunt inquit philosophi. studia & o
 tia cōtuerunt. Quas in mediū addu
 cere iteq; discutere & longāq; & non
 necessariū. Si enī recideret quibet lege

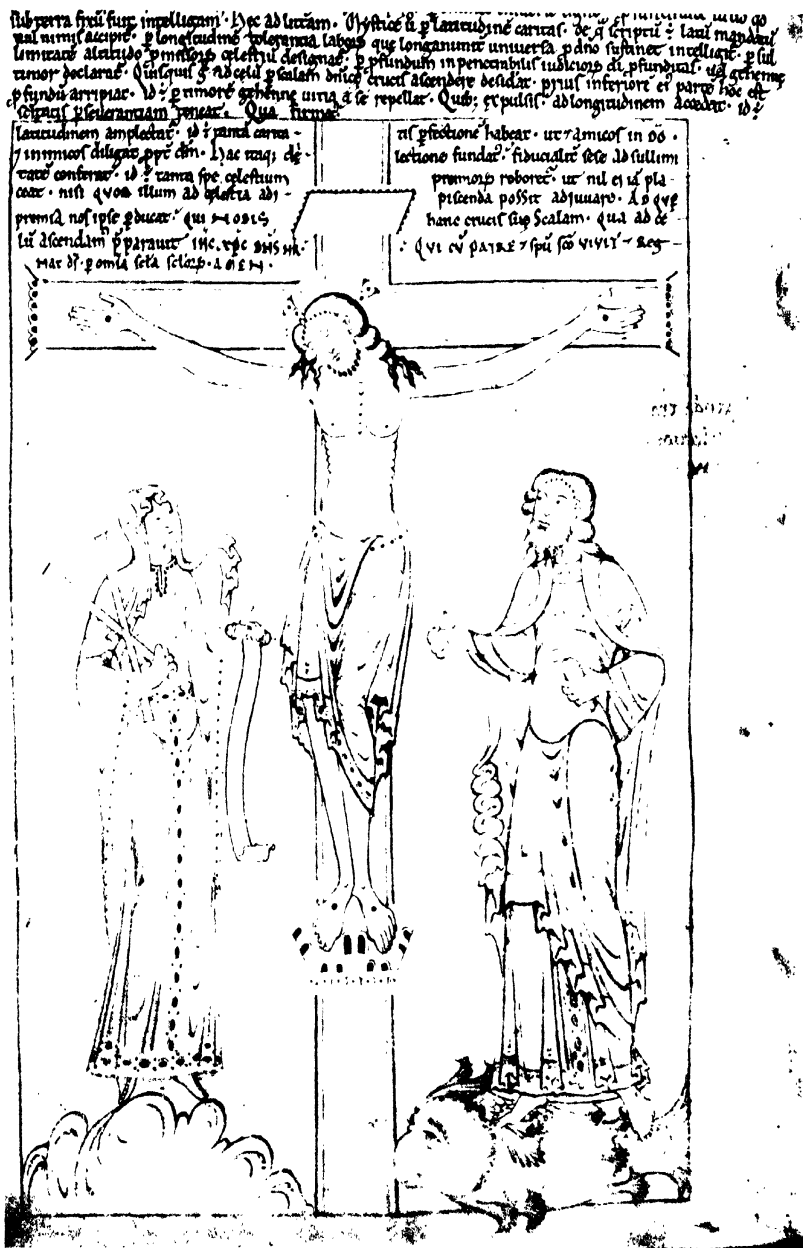
a. Oxford, Bodleian, MS. Bodl. 691, f. 92v. St. Augustine,
 from Exeter, c. 1100



b. London, British Museum, Arundel MS. 91, f. 40b. Passionale,
 from St. Augustine's, Canterbury, early 12th cent.



London, British Museum, Nero C. IV, f. 15. Psalter, from Winchester, c. 1150



Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS. 157, f. 77v. Chronicles, from Worcester, mid 12th cent.



a. B.M. Harley Roll, Y. 6. The Guthlac Roll, c. 1200



b. London, British Museum, Cotton MS.
Tiberius C. VI, f. 14, circa 1050



Holkham. MS. 666, f. 32. Bible Picture-Book, 14th cent.

THE COMPILATION OF THE *CHRONICA MAJORA* OF MATTHEW PARIS¹

By F. M. POWICKE

Fellow of the Academy

Communicated July 1944

H. R. LUARD's edition of the *Chronica Majora*, published in the Rolls Series between 1872 and 1882, is rightly regarded as a fine monument of English scholarship. Luard's suggestions and conclusions, which followed important work done by Duffus Hardy and Frederic Madden, have won general acceptance; and any man who casts doubts on them must do so with hesitation and without dogmatism. Three main contentions, now regarded as facts beyond dispute, assert

- (1) that in the text of the chronicle, as contained in MS. 26 of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (usually described as A), we have the compilation of John de Cella, abbot of St. Albans from 1195 to 1214. This work ends, as A ends, in 1188;
- (2) that the continuation of the chronicle, at any rate from 1213, at which point the hand changes, as contained in MS. 16 of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (usually described as B), is the original or a contemporary copy;
- (3) that Matthew Paris died in 1259.

After some examination of Luard's arguments, of the text of the chronicle and other works written by Paris, and of the manuscripts, I find myself unable to accept these statements. I doubt the ascription to John de Cella of a St. Alban's Chronicle. I think that B, from 1213 onwards, is a fair copy, much revised, of the original text of the *Chronica Majora*, and was made later in

¹ This paper first appeared in *Modern Philology*, xxxviii (1941), 305-17, in an issue dedicated to Professor W. A. Nitze on the occasion of the completion of his thirtieth year as Head of the Department of Romance Languages at the University of Chicago. I desire to thank the editors of *Modern Philology* and the University of Chicago Press for their kind permission to reprint the paper, with changes and additions, in the *Proceedings* of the British Academy. I have revised the paper in the light of Professor V. H. Galbraith's lecture, *Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris* (Glasgow University Press, 1944). I accept most but not all of his criticisms. F. M. P.

the life of Matthew Paris. I am not certain that Matthew died in 1259.

I

Luard proposed, though not dogmatically, to add the name of John de Cella to the names of Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris in the list of the historiographers of St. Albans. The sequence would run as follows: John de Cella, to 1188; Roger of Wendover, to 1235; Matthew Paris, to 1259. He was seeking an explanation of the view that C.C.C.C. 26 or A, written in Matthew Paris's time and revised by him, contains a text which is independent of the text of Wendover's chronicle as this has come down to us in the Bodleian MS. Douce 207. Matthew, he thought, did not follow Wendover for the period before 1189, but adopted a text which Wendover, before him, had made the basis of his chronicle. Who was responsible for this earlier compilation? With some hesitation Luard suggested that the answer to this question might be found in a marginal note added in Douce MS. 207—that is to say, to the text of Wendover—at the very point where A ends. The note reads, 'huc usque in lib. cronic. Johannis abbatis'.¹ Might not this be a reference to a work by the well-known abbot, John de Cella?

Douce MS. 207 was written about 1300, not, as Luard thought, some fifty years earlier.² The note just quoted is in a hand contemporary with that of the text. The natural meaning of the words is that a manuscript in the possession of Abbot John ends at this point. Now A was in the possession of the abbey and may well have been at this time (c. 1300) in the custody of Abbot John of Berkhamsted (1290–1301) or of Abbot John de Maryns (1302–8).³ The suggestion that the Abbot John to whom the note refers was John de Cella cannot be supported by any other scrap of evidence. It stands alone. Nothing in what we know of his life points to him as a chronicler. Moreover, in the late fourteenth century, A was supposed to contain the

¹ *Chronica Majora*, ed. Luard, vol. ii (1874), pp. x, xi; Wendover, ed. Coxe, ii (1841), 435 note.

² *Chronica Majora*, vol. i (1872), p. xiii. Professor V. H. Galbraith, whose knowledge of the handwritings of St. Albans gives his judgement special authority, considers that the manuscript was written c. 1300. I am greatly indebted to him for his assistance.

³ A later note added a hundred years later (c. 1400) in the right-hand margin of the manuscript, opposite the earlier note, may be the result of independent comparison with A, by Walsingham, but its wording is clearly derived from the earlier note. It runs, 'usque huc cronica Johannis abbatis, et hic finis'.

text of Wendover, for when the author of the tract known as 'De fundatione et meritis monasterii Sancti Albani' distinguished the work of Wendover from that of Matthew Paris, he drew the dividing line at 1189. Wendover, he says, 'plane et perlucide ab initio mundi per annorum distinctiones digessit Chronica sua, usque ad tempora Regis Henrici, a Conquestu Secundi'.¹ If the writer had consulted a text of Wendover, he would have known that this was not the case, and that Wendover's chronicle ends in 1235, but his mistake is natural if he was misled by the division of Matthew Paris's text into two volumes, the first of which, A, ends in 1188. A note written at the end of A might, indeed, directly suggest to him that Matthew's own contribution began in 1189, with C.C.C.C. 16 or B. This note reads: 'Anno Domini Incarnationis mdlxxxix est vera continuatio historiae Mathaei Parisiensis in alio volumine eiusdem manus'.² The meaning obviously is that the continuation of the text was to be found in another volume written in the same hand; and in fact the hand of B until the middle of the year 1213 is the hand of A. The author of the tract—misled perhaps by the phrase *vera continuatio*—supposed that the artificial division at the end of the year 1188 and the reference to Matthew Paris's continuation pointed to a transition from the work of one chronicler to the work of another.

If this alternative interpretation of the meagre evidence is correct, the alleged break at the end of 1188 rests upon a misunderstanding. The fact that the main text of the *Chronica Majora* was bound up in two volumes, divided at this date, was the occasion of the note in the Douce MS. of Wendover and of modern views. If, setting these views on one side, we start afresh, it is obvious that the division between A and B is simply a division of convenience. The mass of quires was bulky and could not conveniently be bound in one volume. A glance at the text shows that the division requires no other explanation. Hence we are free to consider whether the compilation which lay behind the work of Wendover and Matthew Paris really existed and, if it existed, ended at some other date. The question, at what point did Wendover begin his own compilation, is reopened.³ Luard, who made a careful collation of the

¹ This tract, attributed by the editor to Thomas Walsingham, is printed in Riley's edition of the *Annales monasterii S. Albani a Johanne Amundesham*, in the Rolls Series, ii (1871), 296–306. The passage quoted above is on p. 303.

² *Chronica Majora*, ii. 336 note.

³ A favourite date is 1154, suggested by Duffus Hardy as the end of a

text of A and the first part of B with the text of Wendover, assumed that the whole of A was independent of Wendover. He did not point out, what can be inferred from his own foot-notes, that in fact there is no such independence except for the period from the Creation to the year A.D. 231, and the period from 1013 to 1065. For the years 231 to 1012 and 1065 onwards the texts are nearly identical. The differences between the St. Albans Chronicle copied for Matthew Paris (A) and Douce MS. 207 are the differences which one would expect to find between two manuscript traditions of the same work, neither more nor less—except for the two parts noted, which together occupy 177 pages (pp. 2–136, 489–530) in the first volume (542 pages) of Luard's edition of the *Chronica Majora*. In short, A, with these exceptions, is a copy of Wendover, and although Wendover may have used and continued an earlier chronicle, there is no evidence that he did. I see no reason why he should not be given the credit for the work which goes by his name, at any rate from the year 1065.

The differences between A and Wendover in the period before 1065 require more attention than have yet been given to them. It is possible, but unlikely, that they are due to Matthew Paris himself. It is possible, and more likely, that the copyist of A followed another compilation for the years before 231 and between 1012 and 1065. When Matthew worked over A and added passages or made changes in his own hand he must have had access to other materials, and there is some evidence, for example, that he used a chronicle which was afterwards made the basis of part of the St. Albans compilation known as 'Matthew of Westminster' and now preserved in the Chetham Library in Manchester. Mr. N. R. Ker has pointed out to me that some of Matthew's marginal insertions in A are like passages in an unpublished chronicle which has survived in two manu-

chronicle ascribed by him to a certain Walter of St. Albans (*Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. iii (1871), p. xxxvi). The basis for this view is as fragile as historical surmise can build upon. It is not known that any St. Albans chronicle ended in 1154 or that Walter lived in the twelfth century. Pits, who is the first writer to refer to Walter, merely says: 'scripsit quaedam Anglicarum rerum chronica' (*De illustribus Angliae scriptoribus*, 1619, p. 845). Encouraged by Tanner's acceptance of Walter, Professor Claude Jenkins expresses agreement with Hardy's view (*The Monastic Chronicler and the Early School of St. Albans*, 1922, pp. 31, 36–41). He sees a reference to an early chronicle, ending in 1154, in the description, already quoted, of Wendover's work in the tract *De fundatione*: 'usque ad tempora Regis Henrici'.

scripts, and which is a source of 'Matthew of Westminster'.¹ The connexion between this work and St. Albans has yet to be investigated. But, so far as is known at present, there is no justification for the confident assertion that Wendover and Matthew Paris entered upon a heritage of continuous historical activity at St. Albans. What is certain, however, is that they had access to a good collection of books.

II

The earliest text now in existence of the *Chronica Majora* is contained in A and B, and ends with the year 1253. A and the first part of B, to the middle of the year 1213, are in the same hand, and contain a text of a chronicle which, in view of the previous discussion, it is convenient to describe as a text of Wendover. Matthew Paris with his own hand freely annotated this manuscript. The writing of B changes suddenly in the middle of the year 1213, and from this point the work is carried on in a hand which is similar to that of Matthew. Sir Frederic Madden's view that it is Matthew's is now considered to be very doubtful. Henceforward, to the year 1235, when Wendover's chronicle, which is still the basis of the work, comes to an end, Matthew incorporated most of his changes and additions in the text. For the years 1213 to 1235 he made free with Wendover's text in a way which he had not followed in his treatment of the earlier years. He added other notes later, as had been his habit, but it is clear that his method changed when B was resumed in another hand. Then comes his own continuation, running on from 1235 to 1253 and comprising, as it were in the stride of the manuscript, an elaborate close at the end of the year 1250, where Matthew at first had intended to lay down his pen. When was this great manuscript written, and especially, when was the greater part of B, covering the forty years between 1213 and 1253, written? It is generally supposed that Matthew or his copyist wrote the part which contains his continuation of Wendover (from 1235) year by year and that B gives us the original text of his chronicle. This is the second generalization which I find it very hard to accept.

In the first place, it is very improbable that one of the longest

¹ The copy in the British Museum, Harleian MS. 5418, was written before 1291 and ends imperfectly at the year 1192. The later copy in the College of Arms MS. 1 ends in 1199. I beg to thank Mr. Ker for bringing this text to my notice.

and most elaborate of medieval chronicles could be composed in the way which this view implies. If the manuscript were written by the author, we should expect to find a great contrast between the appearance of A and the early part of B, on the one, and the appearance of the rest of B, on the other hand. Up to the middle of the year 1213 the manuscript is admittedly a copy, made no doubt at Matthew's instigation. The continuation, in another hand, proceeds from the middle of a sentence without a break and continues smoothly to the end.¹ If the later comments, changes, and additions to the text are set on one side and our attention is focused on the manuscript as it left the scribe's hand, it announces itself as a copy made in the course of a short period, not as an original or even a fair copy made year by year. If it were not a fair copy of the whole chronicle up to the year 1253, a break at 1250, where Matthew brings his work to a stately close, would have been inevitable, but in the manuscript this conclusion is written by the scribe *currente calamo* on his way to the actual termination at the year 1253.² The manuscript gives the impression of having been carefully planned.

This impression is much strengthened, if not confirmed, by an analysis of the relations between the text of this chronicle and the *Liber Additamentorum*, a collection of documents, now Cotton MS, Nero D. 1, edited in part by Luard in the sixth volume of his edition of the chronicle.

In this paper, as first printed in 1941, I also relied upon a piece of internal evidence, noticed by Luard, but not fully discussed by him. If his interpretation of a change in the text of the emperor Frederick II's encyclical of 1239 were correct, that part of B which deals with the year 1239 could not have been written before January 1257; for the copy of the encyclical sent to Richard of Cornwall seems to anticipate the latter's election as King of the Romans in that month and year. Professor Galbraith, however, has pointed out that Luard's interpretation cannot be accepted. It rests, as I should have noticed, upon faulty punctuation and translation.³ I have accordingly omitted my discussion of this bit of evidence in the present revision of my paper.

The relation between B and the *Liber Additamentorum* is a

¹ *Chronica Majora*, ii. 557 note.

² *Ibid.* v. 420. The next and last section, from 1254 to 1259, was copied into what is now Royal MS. 14 C. vii. after the autograph of the *Historia Anglorum*. See below.

³ Galbraith, *Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris*, pp. 26-8.

much more complicated matter. For reasons which I shall give later, I am convinced that this famous collection, now Cotton MS. Nero D. 1 in the British Museum, did not assume its existing form until late in Matthew's life or more probably after his death.¹ I refer not to such obviously late additions as records of judicial proceedings in the reign of Edward II, but to the body of material which Matthew himself used. This material was accumulating throughout his life as an historian. Much of it was copied *verbatim* into the text of his great chronicle as this was transcribed in B, but there is clear evidence that these documents, which now appear in the text of the chronicle, were at one time kept apart with the growing body of material variously described as the book of additions, the book of many things, the book of very many things (*liber plurimorum*), and so on. I suggest that, when a document had been copied into B, it was as a rule withdrawn from the book of additions. It is significant that, prior to 1246, B contains only four references to the additions, the first being in the revised text of Wendover at the year 1215. For the period 1246 to 1250 B contains about twenty references to documents in the book of additions, while there are no less than forty references, most of which can be verified, for the years 1251 onwards. If he had been consistent, Matthew would have continued to insert copies of the documents, not references to their position in the *Liber*; but, in fact, as the transcript reached the period from 1246 onwards, fewer documents were copied and more frequent reference was made to the collection.

How do these facts concern our problems of the date and nature of B? The answer is to be found in an analysis of the relations between the book of additions and two other works written by Matthew Paris, the *Historia Anglorum* and the *Gesta Abbatum*. Matthew tells us himself that he began the former work in 1250 and ended the latter work in 1255.² Now in both works he refers to documents in the book of additions which are no longer to be found there, but some of which can be found in the text

¹ Conclusions drawn from the manuscript, Nero D. 1, must be regarded as tentative, pending an examination by a palaeographic expert. Luard did not regard the problems which it suggests from a palaeographical point of view. The manuscript should be taken to pieces, and its structure submitted to close scrutiny. I have examined it as well as I could and noticed nothing which is inconsistent with the opinions which I have reached on non-palaeographical grounds and which I have set out in this paper, but this word of warning is necessary.

² *Historia Anglorum*, ed. Madden, i. 9; *Gesta Abbatum*, ed. Riley, i. 324.

of B. I draw the conclusion that, in the decade 1250 to 1260, or, to be more precise, in the early years of this decade, the book of additions was not the same as it is to-day, and that B was not yet transcribed. I hazard the suggestion that, while Matthew was writing his chronicle, he frequently referred to documents as being in the book of additions, documents which, when the fair copy, B, was made, he ordered to be transcribed into his text; and that, as the work on B proceeded beyond the year 1246, he tired of this method and referred more abundantly to the book of additions.

These conclusions require some discussion.

Matthew Paris began the *Historia Anglorum* in the year 1250. The work is based, though by no means slavishly, upon the great chronicle, and, if in 1250 Matthew had the text of B, so far as it had gone, before him, we should expect to find evidence of this fact in the shorter history. Indeed, it is usually taken for granted that the actual manuscript B was the source of the *Historia Anglorum*. But an analysis of the text of the *Historia Anglorum*, now Royal MS. 14 C. vii in the British Museum, reveals the fact that there is no reference to the text of B until the later part of the book. The first unequivocal bit of evidence that Matthew had B before him comes under the year 1249.¹ Before the end of 1247 there are twenty references in the *Historia Anglorum* to the book of additions. Seventeen of these are no longer to be found in the existing *Liber Additamentorum*, but they are in the text of B. The inference seems to be clear that, while the greater part of the *Historia Anglorum* was being compiled, that is to say during the years 1250 onwards, B did not exist, and that a book of additions, different in content from the existing form, did exist. A further inference is that the original draft of the great chronicle, which Matthew had before him, did not contain most of the documents which can now be found in its copy, B. The transcription of B would seem, therefore, to have been made

¹ *Historia Anglorum*, iii. 45 and note. The original text of the chronicle, in the Royal MS. 14 C. vii, refers to the death of Marcellinus, bishop of Arezzo, who was hanged by order of Frederick II, as follows: 'Hujus autem eventus seriem in epistola elegantissima et proluxa in Majoribus Cronicis scripta sedulus indagator poterit invenire ad hoc signum', &c. Matthew, later, pasted a piece of vellum over this passage with different words written on it, but Madden was able to read the original. If we turn to the *Chronica Majora* in B, we find the long letter, to which Matthew refers, set out in full, with the same sign in the margin (*ad hoc signum*) as Matthew drew in the text of the *Historia Anglorum*. See *Chronica Majora*, ed. Luard, v. 61-7. The letter was written by Cardinal Reiner Capocci to the Pope.

while Matthew was writing the later parts of his *Historia Anglorum*. A time came when Matthew carried on the latter, from about the year 1248 onwards, with the aid of the new text. We have seen that the first clear reference to B in the *Historia Anglorum* implies that Matthew had before him the annals for the year 1249. Obviously Matthew worked in a leisurely manner on his *Historia Anglorum*. He began it in 1250 and, as he came near the end, under the year 1249 he referred to B. He then finished off his work at 1253, the date at which B ends.

The references to the book of additions and to other material in the *Gesta Abbatum* are consistent with this interpretation. The *Gesta* was finished in 1255, and Matthew tells us something about the material before him. The quires on which he was writing contained a document to which he refers as follows: quas si [quis] inspicere desiderat, in hoc volumine, ubi scilicet pinguitur avicula, poterit invenire, cujus rubrica et titulus talis est.¹

This document, letters to Pope Gregory IX from the convent, written in 1235, is to be found in B, but there is no picture of a little bird. There is no such document, and no little bird, in the existing book of additions. I think we must conclude that Matthew had, in the quires before him, a number of documents which were, or were part of, the book of additions in its earlier form. This conclusion is supported by another reference, this time to a well-known bull of Pope Clement III 'Religiosorum vitam eligentibus', which is also said to be in the earlier part of the work (*quod in presenti prescribitur volumine*) and which *is* in the existing book of additions (Nero D. 1, f. 158). The *Gesta* was written at the end of a collection of documents, and I have no doubt that this was the collection to which Matthew refers so frequently in his *Historia Anglorum*. Indeed, the text of the *Gesta*, that is to say of Matthew's part of it, is still in the *Liber Additamentorum* (ff. 30-62, 64-9), though now it precedes the additions and does not follow them.² We may assume that the connexion between so intimate a work and the monastic muniments was always close and that its place in the existing book of additions indicates a continuous association between it and Matthew's historical materials. When these

¹ *Gesta Abbatum*, i. 514; cf. *Chronica Majora*, iii. 313-15.

² The existing *Liber Additamentorum* begins with the lives of the two Offas and tracts on St. Alban, continues with the *Gesta Abbatum*, and goes on to various collections of material. Some documents used by Matthew in the compilation of the *Gesta* interrupt the text of this work (ff. 62, 63). See Luard's analysis in his *Chronica Majora*, vi. 491 seqq.

materials were arranged in their existing form, after many documents had been removed, the *Gesta* remained with them, though in a different place.

Moreover, while Matthew was writing the *Gesta* he had before him not only a collection of documents but a chronicle also. He mentions this fact in a reference in the *Gesta* to the Invention of St. Amphibalus in the time of Abbot Simon (1166-83):

cujus Inventionis seriem, si quis videre desiderat, revolvat chronica presentis libri usque ad annum gratie millesimum centesimum septuagesimum octavum, ubi ipsam plenius descriptam poterit reperire.¹

Madden supposed that this chronicle, which lay in quires with a collection of documents before Matthew as he wrote, was the existing manuscript of the great chronicle (A and B). The account of the Invention of St. Amphibalus can be found under the year 1178 in A, but it can also be found in the *Historia Anglorum* (Royal MS. 14 C. vii) and in the text of Wendover. It is unlikely that a large and stately manuscript, such as A and B² is, would have been continued in this way, but it is not at all unlikely that the *Historia Anglorum*, on which Matthew was still at work, was part of the bundle of quires before him.

The conclusion which I draw from the preceding analysis is that B, from the year 1213, was written continuously, under the chronicler's supervision, some time between the years 1253 and 1257, probably in the middle of this period, and that the leisurely composition of the *Historia Anglorum* overlapped the work of transcription. This view is inconsistent with the generally accepted impression that the *Historia Anglorum* was actually based upon B; and here it is necessary to refer to an argument which, if it were sound, would destroy my hypothesis. Occasionally a marginal note added later in B and followed by a sign reads 'impertinens Anglorum historiae usque huc', suggesting that it was intended as a direction to omit certain passages from the shorter history. Investigation shows, however, that notes of this kind were added in a most capricious way and also that the writer was not thinking of any particular book, for he wrote in other places 'pertinens historiae Wallensium, indirecte tamen Anglorum usque ad hoc signum', and 'pertinet historiae Scotorum'. Moreover, the variant 'impertinens Anglis

¹ *Gesta Abbatum*, i. 193

² The transcript up to 1213 may well have been in existence by this time, before 1255. The later part was not, in my view.

usque huc' also appears.¹ Finally, these marginalia are but a few of a continuous series written in many moods. Some call attention to a striking or portentous incident, others to a Scriptural quotation, others to matter which required deletion or modification. In so far as they are directions, they were intended for the guidance of the scribe who made Nero D. 5, the copy of A and B. The *Historia Anglorum* was not composed in any such mechanical way. It is a free, independent work. It does not confine itself to English history, though it naturally omits the long divagations in the larger chronicle. In short, it would be nearer the truth to say that it uses than that it is based on the *Chronica Majora*.

III

If Matthew Paris died in 1259, as is usually supposed, it would certainly be hard to see how he could crowd into his last few years the arrangements for the transcription of B, the continuation of his great chronicle to 1259, the later part of the *Historia Anglorum*, and the numerous subsidiary works, such as the copy of the great chronicle which is now Cotton MS. Nero D. 5, the *Abbreviatio Compendiosa*, based upon the *Historia Anglorum*, now in Cotton MS. Claudius D. vi,² and the endless revision of his works, as attested by the state of A and B, Nero D. 5 and Royal MS. 14 C. vii (the *Historia Anglorum*). But the evidence that Matthew did die in 1259 is not altogether convincing. The belief that he did is a facile deduction from the note added by the scribe to the text of the last portion of the great chronicle, for the years 1253-9, written at the end of the *Historia Anglorum* (Royal MS. 14 C. vii). That this note was written after Matthew's death is more than probable, for the scribe added a drawing of him on his death-bed, but the note itself merely says that Matthew was responsible for the chronicle up to this date, 1259 (*hucusque perscripsit*). The transcript may have been written several years after 1259, and it does not follow that because a chronicler brings his work to an end in a certain year he died in that year. Moreover, in the course of original composition, a time-lag of a year or more was almost inevitable. It is significant, for example, that the chronicle for the year 1252

¹ See, for example, *Chronica Majora*, iv. 188-9, 200-2, 298-311, 316, 495-6; all within the years 1242 to 1245.

² Printed by Madden in his edition of the *Historia Anglorum*, iii. 159-348. The *abbreviatio* begins with the *Creation*, but from 1067 to 1253 (the dates covered by the *Historia Anglorum*) it is abridged from this work.

was composed some time later, for under this year 1252 Matthew refers to papal letters which were written as late as 3 November 1253.¹ Matthew Paris may have been alive for some little time after 1259.²

This consideration gives us possible elbow room. We can consider Matthew at work without assuming a last illness and death in 1259. I shall conclude with a brief attempt at reconstruction suggested by the doubts and alternative interpretations of the evidence which I have already discussed in this paper.

The inclusion in B of Matthew's version of Wendover for the years 1213 to 1235 implies the existence of an annotated text of Wendover for these years, from which, in due course, B was copied. I cannot suggest when this preliminary work was done. Sometime after Wendover's death Matthew began his continuation, probably year by year, from 1235. He must have broken off his work in 1248, for in this year he went to Norway. After his return to St. Albans in 1249 he decided, before he finished off his greater work, to compile a shorter history of the English from the Norman Conquest, based upon Wendover from 1067 and on his own work. During the first stages of its composition, which he tells us he began in 1250, he would depend for the years 1235 to 1247 on the original manuscript, now lost, of the great chronicle, for, as we have seen, the short history for this period reveals no knowledge of B, the existing transcript of the great chronicle, and the method of its composition suggests that B was not yet in existence. It is tempting to suggest that the greater part of the *Historia Anglorum*, as far as 1247 or 1248, was written in 1250, but the manuscript (Royal MS. 14 C. vii) shows no obvious change of writing suggesting a break, and it is more likely that Matthew kept the text by him and added to it gradually throughout the following years. His numerous corrections, especially from about the year 1244 onwards, show that it was a favourite text. Moreover, its revision of Wendover, which is independent of Matthew's revision of Wendover in A and B, could not have been made quickly. In the meanwhile Matthew finished off his great chronicle, taking it to the end of 1250, where he intended to stop. He also wrote the *Gesta*

¹ *Chronica Majora*, v. 318; cf. vi. 260-4, and *Historia Anglorum*, iii. 124.

² The tradition at St. Albans was that he died about this time, for the fourteenth-century continuator of the *Gesta Abbatum* says that he flourished and died in the days of Abbot John II, who died in 1260 (i. 394). Professor Galbraith (*op. cit.*, pp. 29-30) argues in favour of 1259.

Abbatum, which he finished in 1255. His next tasks were the continuation of his great chronicle from 1251 to 1253 and the supervision of the transcript of this chronicle. When the first part of this famous manuscript, the transcription of Wendover up to the year 1213, was made, we cannot tell, but the transcript of the rest was proceeding about 1255, and the continuation, from the years 1251 to 1253, was ready for inclusion in it as it drew to its close. About the same time the *Historia Anglorum* was brought to an end at the same date, 1253. Finally, Matthew brought his great chronicle up to date, with his continuation from 1254 to 1259. The only extant copy of this concluding part of his work was written at the end of the *Historia Anglorum* (Royal MS. 14 C. vii). But Matthew had not finished his labours. In his last years he supervised and annotated the copy of A and B which is now the Cotton MS. Nero D. 5, and he continued his correction of B; for, as Luard has pointed out, the correction of B overlapped the composition of Nero D. 5.¹ Also, he still worked, in a minute and rather fussy way, on the text of the *Historia Anglorum*,² and very probably directed, if he did not undertake himself, the *Abbreviatio compendiosa* which survives in Cotton MS. Claudius D. vi. The new matter which this compendium contains suggests that he was responsible for it.

We see an old man, conscious that his work is nearly done, and weary of original composition. The last continuation of his great chronicle goes on heavily. He pores over his manuscripts. He deletes, adds, pastes little bits of vellum, with words which for some reason he prefers, over erasures. He returns again and again to his text. Just as, while he was composing his history of the English, some memory or some old note continually brought things into his mind, things which he had not mentioned in the draft of his big chronicle, so it is now to the end. Fragments of fresh detail are inserted in the new copy of the great chronicle (Nero D. 5) and, after the new copy has been made, he still returns to the earlier (B) and makes changes here

¹ For this copy of the *Chronica Majora* see Madden's edition of the *Historia Anglorum*, vol. i, pp. lxi-lxiv, and Luard's edition of the *Chronica Majora*, vol. i, p. xii. Nero D. 5 frequently gives the original reading of B in cases where Matthew later altered the phrasing of B; cf. Luard, vol. iv, p. xv. It omits passages marked in B by Matthew for deletion (e.g. *Chronica Majora*, iii. 381 note). Occasionally it contains new matter, as, for example, the detail about the exploits of Andreas Dingas at Berkhamsted in 1216 (*ibid.* iii. 6). Dingas is nowhere else mentioned by Matthew Paris.

² The deletion in the manuscript of nearly all the references to the *Liber Additamentorum*, by this time a changed work, is a case in point.

and there. He cannot stop. He keeps his young men busy till he dies.

If the Corpus manuscript (B) was a fair copy written in and about 1255, it follows that the numerous drawings which it contains belong to the same period. For example, Dr. A. G. Little's suggestion that the drawings of St. Francis preaching to the birds and of the reception of the stigmata may perhaps be ascribed to a date nearer to 1236 than to 1250¹ could not be entertained. Indeed, this delightful artistic collection would prompt several questions. Is it more or less likely to have come from Matthew Paris's own hand than if it had been made over a longer period of years when he was a younger man? Does it provide a more helpful standard of comparison for students of the drawings in other manuscripts executed under Matthew's supervision? I cannot express any opinion on problems of this kind. They may have no substance in them. What is clear is that, if my doubts of the views hitherto accepted are sound, the historical student is given more freedom to use his critical judgement on the chronology of Matthew's text and in some measure on the exactness of his memory.²

¹ A. G. Little, *Franciscan Papers, Lists and Documents* (1943), p. 18 (in a paper on Brother William of England, first published in 1914). The drawings in the Corpus manuscript (A and B) and other manuscripts of Matthew Paris were described and reproduced by Dr. M. R. James in *The fifteenth volume of the Walpole Society* (1926), pp. 1-26, with thirty plates.

² Since this paper was first printed Mr. N. Denholm Young has given a striking example of the possibilities which lie in a new approach to the text and arrangement of the *Chronica Majora* in his article on the 'paper' constitution or plan of reform attributed to 1244 (*English Historical Review*, lviii. 401-23, October 1943). Whether or no his precise conclusions are acceptable, he has certainly shaken an important document loose from a date which has caused historical scholars much embarrassment.

RALEIGH LECTURE ON HISTORY
1848: THE REVOLUTION OF THE
INTELLECTUALS

By L. B. NAMIER

Fellow of the Academy

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I

ON 30 June 1847, in Rome, Father Joachim Ventura, in an oration delivered at the funeral of Daniel O'Connell, spoke of 'the revolution which threatens to encompass the globe'.¹ He voiced a widespread pre-cognition which was formative of the coming events. The revolution of 1848 was universally expected, and it was super-national as none before or after; it ran through, and enveloped, the core of Europe, 'the world' of the continental Europeans, which extended from the Channel ports to the frontiers of Russia, from Paris to Vienna. But it did not penetrate the two empires that flank the Continent—'What remains standing in Europe?' wrote Tsar Nicholas to Queen Victoria on 3 April 1848. 'Great Britain and Russia.'² 'What happened in London on April 10?' wondered the Polish poet, Count Krasiński. 'Thereby the fate of Europe will be decided for a long time to come.'³ The 10th of April 1848 witnessed the eclipse of Chartism: in the most highly industrialized country the fight for the political and economic emancipation of the urban working classes passed into non-revolutionary channels. Russia, a perfect autocracy, with the largest peasant population living under a complete system of serfdom, presented the constitutional and social antithesis to England. In either country revolution would have had a homogeneous social character; in the middle zone it had not—and this is one of the outstanding features of 1848. Still, the European Continent responded to

¹ '... la rivoluzione, chi minaccia di fare il giro del globo. . . .' (see *Elogia funebre di Daniello O'Connell*, p. 62).

² *The Letters of Queen Victoria*, edited by A. C. Benson and Viscount Esher (1908), vol. ii, p. 196.

³ *Listy Zygmunta Krasińskiego do Augusta Cieszkowskiego* (*Letters of Zygmunt Krasiński to August Cieszkowski*), vol. ii, p. 19 (1912). The letter is dated Rome, 16 Apr. 1848, and in it, as printed, Krasiński asks about 'April 16th'; but the Chartist demonstration was on the 10th, and had Krasiński thought it to be on the 16th, he would have referred to it as happening 'to-day'.

the impulses and trends of the revolution with a remarkable uniformity, despite the differences of language and race, and in the political, social, and economic level of the countries concerned: but then the common denominator was ideological, and even literary, and there was a basic unity and cohesion in the intellectual world of the European Continent, such as usually asserts itself in the peak periods of its spiritual development. 1848 came not as an aftermath of war and defeat (as so many revolutions in the following century), but was the outcome of thirty-three creative years of European peace carefully preserved on a consciously counter-revolutionary basis. The revolution was born at least as much of hopes as of discontents. Odilon Barrot, under the July Monarchy one of the leaders of the Dynastic Opposition, writes: 'Never have nobler passions moved the civilized world, never has a more universal impulse of souls and hearts pervaded Europe from end to end: and yet all this was to result in failure. . . .'¹ And Lamartine, another of the makers and shipwrecks of 1848, describes it as 'the product of a moral idea, of reason, logic, sentiment, and of a desire . . . for a better order in government and society'.² The sequence and emphasis of his enumeration are significant. 1848 was primarily the revolution of the intellectuals—*la révolution des clercs*.

There was undoubtedly also an economic and social background to the revolution. Lean harvests in 1846 and 1847, and the potato disease, were causing intense misery in most parts of the Continent. Agrarian riots occurred in France where 1847 was long remembered as 'l'année du pain cher';³ there was a 'potato revolution' in Berlin (complete with barricades), bread-riots in Stuttgart and Ulm, labour troubles in Vienna and in Bohemia, rank starvation in Silesia, &c. Count Galen,

¹ *Mémoires*, vol. ii (1876), p. 83. His shallowness, displayed in his *Mémoires*, does not render him less representative: he shared the naive enthusiasms of his time. Guizot writes about him (*Mémoires*, vol. ii (1859), p. 131): 'M. Odilon Barrot thought constitutional government easier, and men wiser, than they are; he banked too much on the virtue of free institutions to enlighten the nation, and on the lights of the nation to practise free institutions.' Falloux, in his *Mémoires d'un royaliste* (1888), says that Barrot died 'at the age of 80 [in 1873] without having taken stock of the Revolution of 1848 . . .'; and quotes a contemporary: 'C'est l'homme du monde qui pense le plus profondément . . . à rien!' And Proudhon: 'ce grand parleur, grand imbécile' (*Correspondence*, vol. ii (1875), p. 279; 25 Feb. 1848).

² *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848* (1849), vol. i, p. 3.

³ See Albert Crémieux, *La Révolution de Février* (1912), p. 86.

the Prussian Minister, wrote from Kassel on 20 January 1847: 'The old year ended in scarcity, the new one opens with starvation. Misery, spiritual and physical, traverses Europe in ghastly shapes—the one without God, the other without bread. Woe if they join hands!'¹ Against this background economic or social conflicts were assuming a bitter, acute character. In most parts of the Austrian Empire, but more especially in Hungary and in Galicia, a final adjustment between big landowners and peasants was overdue: seignorial jurisdictions, *corvées*, and other remnants of serfdom had to be cleared away, and the title of the peasant to the land which he worked on his own, had to be established. Even in south-western Germany, on the confines of France and Switzerland, feudal survivals were fomenting agrarian revolt. All over Europe independent artisans were fighting their drawn-out losing battle against modern industry, especially desperate in the case of hand-spinners and weavers, or of carriers and bargees facing the competition of railways and steamboats: hence the attacks against modern machinery and means of transport at the outbreak of the revolution. On the other hand, the new class of factory workmen was starting its fight for a human existence. And when in 1847–8 a severe financial crisis set in, widespread unemployment ensued both among artisans and workmen, and among the large numbers of unskilled labour engaged on railway construction. Here was plenty of inflammable matter in ramshackle buildings. But was there a social-revolutionary movement at work, pursuing a feasible aim?

The French Revolution of 1789 and the Russian of 1917 were made and sustained by the converging action of the two greatest revolutionary forces: the people of the capital, effective through concentration at the very centre of government, and the peasant masses, invincible through their numbers, their dispersion, and the primitive, practical character of their demands (they never seek by revolt to establish new and higher forms of production, but to free themselves of burdens, or seize more land in order to cultivate it in their traditional, inadequate manner). In 1848 it was the proletariat of the quickly growing modern capitals² which brought the widespread discontents to a head: and 'accidents' and 'misunderstandings', epidemic in

¹ See Veit Valentin, *Geschichte der deutschen Revolution von 1848–49*, vol. i (1930), p. 192.

² The population of Paris increased from 774,000 in 1831 to 1,053,000 in 1846, reaching 1,226,980 if the suburbs are included; of Vienna from 248,000 in 1820 to 384,000 in 1840, 90 per cent. of the increase being non-indigenous

character—the ‘fusillade’ of the Boulevard des Capucins on 23 February, the salvo before the Vienna Landhaus on 13 March, and the ‘two shots’ fired in front of the Royal Palace in Berlin on the 18th—converted revolts into risings. For lack of support from other sections of the population, and of faith in themselves, the monarchical Governments collapsed under the impact of the working-class revolution. The conviction was universal that a change was long overdue. Aristocratic assemblies, such as the Hungarian Diet or the Bohemian Estates, were showing a progressive, oppositional spirit; in Italy, a liberal Pope, elected in 1846, set out to reform the administration of his States; in Prussia, the convocation of the United Diet in February 1847 (partially redeeming a promise of more than thirty years’ standing) marked a step towards a constitutional régime. The abortive Polish revolution of 1846, the ‘Sonderbund’ War of 1847 in Switzerland, and, early in 1848, the outbreaks in Italy (or even the Lola Montez riots in Munich, an *opéra bouffe* suited to the place) were forerunners of a very much greater movement, symptoms of ‘that mysterious force’ which was to raise Europe. There was an intense consciousness of revolutionary tension, and no one seems to have had the strength, or even the will, to stand up to the storm when it broke. In exile Louis-Philippe declared that he had given way to forces of a moral order—*à une insurrection morale*; and on the eve of the revolution his queen and sons pressed for a change of system.¹

(see M. Bach, *Geschichte der Wiener Revolution, 1848* (1898), p. 251). By 1848 Vienna and Berlin had populations of over 400,000. But there were only three provincial towns in France with a population of over 100,000 (Lyons, Marseilles, and Bordeaux); two in the Habsburg Monarchy (Budapest and Prague); and two in Germany (Hamburg and Breslau), besides four which were approaching the 100,000 mark (Munich, Dresden, Königsberg, and Cologne). The greatest number of city agglomerations (but of the pre-modern type) was to be found in Italy: Naples with a population of over 400,000, Rome, Palermo, Milan, and Turin with over 150,000, Venice, Genoa, Messina, Florence, and Bologna with about 100,000. (Even Great Britain had in 1851 only ten cities with over 100,000 inhabitants: London with 2,362,000; Liverpool, Glasgow, and Manchester with over 300,000; Birmingham with over 200,000; and Leeds, Edinburgh, Bristol, Sheffield, and Bradford with over 100,000.) In the capitals the garrisons were hardly adequate, if unaided, to keep down a serious rising. Their armament was not much superior to that which civilians, many of whom had received army training, could procure for themselves; and in street fighting these had a marked tactical superiority.

¹ About the Court opposition to Guizot, see his *Mémoires*, vol. viii, pp. 541–2 and 579–83; also Montalivet, *Fragments et Souvenirs*, vol. ii (1900), p. 115—he relates that some 8 or 10 days before the outbreak of the revolution, the

On 9 March 1848 King Wilhelm of Württemberg thus excused himself to Gorchakov, then Russian Minister in Stuttgart: 'Je ne puis pas monter à cheval contre les idées.'¹ In Vienna members of the Court and the Government were convinced of the need of Metternich's resignation before the cry for it was raised in the streets. Frederick William IV of Prussia more than surrendered to the revolution: he made a half-hearted attempt to place himself at its head. The monarchs gave in because they themselves were affected by the *Zeitgeist*—the ideas of a period 'whose active religion was politics';² and the middle classes, the foremost exponents of the new political creed, let them reel but did not overthrow them: with the sole exception of the Orleans dynasty, none lost its throne in 1848. The monarchs had merely to turn 'constitutional' and receive liberal intellectuals into political partnership. The mob had come out in revolt, moved by passions and distress rather than by ideas: they had no articulate aims, and no one will ever be able to supply a rational explanation of what it was they fought for, or what made them fight. Proudhon writes: 'Le 24 février a été fait sans idée.'³ The working classes touched off, and the middle classes cashed in on it. There was something incongruous about the opening scene of the revolution of 1848.

II

In France and Germany the middle classes comprised probably half the nation,⁴ and were ever ready to comport themselves as if they formed the whole. Self-assertive but timid, and individualistic in outlook, they were not given to mass-action, and watched popular movements with misgivings. When in Vienna and Berlin they demanded 'arms for the people' (*Volksbewaffnung*), they meant for men of property or education, Queen, influenced by the Princes (Joinville, Aumâle, and Montpensier) sent for him, and begged him to make a supreme effort to persuade the King to get rid of Guizot; Montalivet replied that she alone had a chance of succeeding. See further Crémieux, *La Révolution de Février*, about the line adopted by the Queen and the Princes in the afternoon of 23 Feb.

¹ Valentin, op. cit., vol. i, p. 352.

² 'La religion active de nos jours, c'est la politique', Circourt, *Souvenirs d'une mission à Berlin en 1848* (1908), vol. i, p. 310.

³ *Correspondence*, vol. ii, p. 280.

⁴ In France the *bourgeois* starts lower in the social scale, and extends higher, than in most countries; and in 1848 he was sharply separated from the upper classes and the people. For the middle classes in Germany, see Valentin, op. cit., vol. i, pp. 289-96; his estimate for Prussia includes in them two-thirds of the population.

fit guardians of the existing social order as much as of the newly acquired freedoms: in both cities workmen, day labourers, or journeymen were excluded from the National Guard.¹ The terms 'Communists' and 'proletariate' (since embalmed in the Marxian nomenclature) were in general use, and evoked intense, exaggerated, fears.² The very absence of a definite programme, perhaps not unjustifiably, tended to increase them: for it pointed to a class-war of blind hatreds. On 13 March cases of murder and looting occurred in the Vienna suburbs, though the mob which attacked factories and destroyed their machinery carefully refrained from pilfering. Even when during the siege of Vienna, in October 1848, the nationalist radicals fought side by side with men from the working-class suburbs, distrust persisted. Smolka, a Pole who at that time presided over the Austrian Parliament, in a letter to his wife on the 30th, mentions fears of looting by the 'proletariate' as they were being forced back on to the Inner City. 'I was sure that this would not happen,' he writes; 'I have come to know the integrity and honour of the poor people of this town: their exemplary behaviour deserves the highest praise.'³ All over Europe the middle classes paid lip-service to the 'people' and its cause, but never felt altogether secure or happy in its company. They would emulate the humanitarian endeavours of the Convention of 1792 (described by one of its members as 'an assembly of philosophers engaged on preparing the happiness

¹ When on 14 March, leading Vienna citizens called at the Burg to demand the formation of a National Guard—which they obtained after some resistance—both sides were agreed from the outset to exclude 'proletarians'. When the same day, workmen gathered before the Arsenal demanded arms, the university students were in favour of giving them, but the citizens violently protested against it, 'as they feared that the bloody riots of the Mariahilf district would be repeated in the Inner City and its immediate suburbs' (see Reschauer, *Das Jahr 1848. Geschichte der Wiener Revolution* (1872), pp. 383–4; also M. Bach, op. cit.). The exclusion of the workmen was embodied in the Statute of the Vienna National Guard of 10 Apr., which the Committee of Fifty (*der Fünfziger-Ausschuss*) of the Pre-Parliament (*Vorparlament*) recommended to other towns as a model (see Valentin, op. cit., vol. i, p. 522).

² Anton Springer, a contemporary, writing in 1863, speaks about 'the exaggerated fear evoked [in 1846–8] by the social movement' (*einer — damals über Gebühr gefürchteten — sozialen Bewegung*); see his *Geschichte Oesterreichs seit dem Wiener Frieden, 1809* (vol. i, p. 532), to this day perhaps the best comprehensive work on the Austrian revolution of 1848.

³ See S. Smolka, *Dziennik F. Smolki, 1848–49, w listach do żony* (*The Diary of F. Smolka 1848–49, in Letters to his Wife*) (1913), p. 113.

of the world') but they were determined to avoid the sequel. They had faith in democracy, parliamentary democracy, and trusted that the people whom they had enfranchised would return them in elections; and then it should stand behind them, and await the outcome of their deliberations. They wanted the revolution to enter like the ghost in Dickens's *Christmas Carol*, with a flaming halo round its head and a big extinguisher under its arm.

Baron von Meyendorff, Russian Ambassador in Berlin, wrote on 25 March to Field-Marshal Prince Paskevich, Governor-General of Russian Poland, that the first stage of the social revolution in Prussia had closed with 'the triumph of the *bourgeois* allied to the workman over the Government'; but now the *bourgeois* will wish for order and security, while the workman will attack property: if fighting breaks out between the National Guard and the workmen in Paris, and the workmen win, the conflict will spread to Berlin.¹ It was still an open question whether the revolution of 1848 would assume a social character, or be confined within political channels: and it was primarily in France that this had to be decided. There, on the political side, 1848 was deeply tinged with historical and literary reminiscences, and followed a revolutionary routine. 'On cherchait . . . à se réchauffer aux passions de nos pères, sans pouvoir y parvenir', writes Alexis de Tocqueville; 'on imitait leurs gestes et leurs poses tels qu'on les avait vus sur le théâtre, ne pouvant imiter leur enthousiasme ou ressentir leur fureur.'² On the social side the need of improving the lot of 'the labouring poor' was acknowledged. Most of the candidates at the French general election of April 1848 placed 'l'organisation du travail' foremost among their promises, and proclaimed it their principal concern, but failed to define it: it stood 'surcharged with epithets and obscured by metaphors',³ admitted as a problem and descanted about in a manner which suggests ignorance, embarrassment, and apprehension. Meantime, the stage was

¹ Peter von Meyendorff, *Politischer und privater Briefwechsel 1826-63*, edited by Otto Hoetzsch (1923), vol. ii, pp. 53-4.

² *Souvenirs* (1893), p. 75. The secondary, imitative character of the February Revolution finds direct, or unconscious, illustration in practically all contemporary memoirs—and their name is legion—but nowhere is it so brilliantly analysed as in Tocqueville.

³ See Henri Moysset, 'L'Organisation du Travail dans les Professions de Foi' in *La Révolution de 1848. Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire de la Révolution de 1848*, vol. iii. Most candidates, though not all, issued these programmatic declarations, and Moysset has analysed some 4,000 of them.

being set for Civil War. The demonstration by the 'bonnets à poil' (the National Guards from the Paris middle-class district) on 16 March, and the counter-demonstration of the workmen the next day, the collision on 16 April, the abortive *coup* of the extremists on 15 May against the National Assembly, were pre-ludes to the June Days—'that insurrection . . .', writes Tocqueville, 'the greatest and most singular . . . in our history', in which 100,000 insurgents fought 'without a war-cry, without chiefs, or a standard, and yet with a cohesion and a military skill which surprised the oldest officers'. 'This formidable revolt was not the work of a group of conspirators, but the rising of one part of the population against the other. Women took part in it as much as men . . . they hoped for victory to ease the lot of their husbands, and help to bring up their children.' 'This was . . . not a political struggle . . . but class-war, a kind of slave-war. It forms the most characteristic feature of the February Revolution.' Without it the French revolution of 1848 becomes senseless: there remains the gaping void of its politics.

No wonder if after June people started asking themselves what the February Days had been about, and asserted that the revolution, which had been predicted months, if not years, ahead,¹ was an accident, a meaningless, yet fatal, accident. 'A revolution without cause or properly defined aim', writes Odilon Barrot;² ' . . . which no one wanted the day before, and to which everyone seemed to resign himself on the day after.'³ 'A revolution out of proportion to its cause', runs Falloux's correcting version;⁴ 'it interrupted a development which was slow, but did advance.' 'A miserable and childish affair, a banquet which should have been allowed provided it did not interfere with the street traffic, sufficed to destroy so much noble work and open an abyss which we have not yet fathomed', wrote Ernest Renan in 1859.⁵ The year 1848 in France carried the two basic political ideas of the Great Revolution to their logical conclusion: equality was achieved in universal suffrage, and the sovereignty of the people in the Republic. The development which it interrupted, and the noble work which it

¹ See H. Monin, 'Le Pressentiment Social, à propos de la Révolution de 1848 en France', in the *Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, vol. v (1897).

² *Mémoires*, vol. ii, p. 66.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁴ *Mémoires d'un royaliste*, vol. i, p. 217.

⁵ In the essay 'Philosophie de l'histoire contemporaine', reprinted in *Questions contemporaines* (1863), p. 55.

destroyed, were what in other continental countries the revolution, on its political side,¹ aspired to attain: parliamentary government and political liberty under a constitutional monarchy. But the intellectuals, red or pink, had yet to learn that the parliamentary system is based on an articulation of society, and not on levelling it down, and that, with social superiorities discredited and the political structure broken, the field is open, or rather the void is prepared, for plebiscitarian dictatorships. Montalembert said in Parliament, on 19 October 1849: 'The kings have reascended their thrones, liberty has not reascended hers—the throne which she had in our hearts.'²

III

The June Days heightened the fears, the self-consciousness, and the determination of the middle-classes throughout Europe. The National Guard in Vienna came out against the workmen in August and September, and when on 18 September the Frankfort Parliament called in Austrian and Prussian troops to put down a popular riot in the town, the Provisional Government of the new Germany (yet unborn) naively 'believed . . . through their victory to have justified their existence'.³ But, in fact, none of the popular revolts in central and east-central Europe had a clear class character: there was a growing element

¹ The Memorandum of the Czech Members of the Austrian Parliament about the policy which they had pursued in 1848–9, apparently drawn up by the historian and politician, F. Palacký, distinguishes between the social, political, and national elements in the revolution, making 'political' cover the problem of self-government and the freedoms (see Palacký, *Gedenkbücher*, pp. 190–1). This seems a useful classification.

² I cannot enter here into the reasons why parliamentary government failed in France and the July Monarchy collapsed. The most succinct explanation of its fall was given by Sainte-Beuve: 'Les d'Orléans n'étaient ni un principe ni une gloire nationale, ils étaient une utilité, un expédient . . .' (*Nouveaux Lundis*, vol. i, 14 Oct. 1861, essay on Guizot's *Mémoires*). The 'juste milieu' was not even a workable compromise, for the Legitimists, looking upon it as a 'profanation of monarchy', split the Conservative forces; they openly rejoiced at the downfall of Louis-Philippe. Parliament, like monarchy, must command respect in order to exist and work. The stories about 'parliamentary corruption' under Guizot are more significant than convincing; such stories crop up regularly when a parliamentary régime totters to its fall (and is about to be succeeded by one even more distinguished for political mendacity and mendacity).

³ Valentin, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 168–9. For the pride which, for instance, Anton von Schmerling, the quasi-Premier, took in the putting down of the riots, see his letters of 22 and 24 Sept., printed in Arneth, *Anton Ritter von Schmerling* (1895), pp. 213–14.

of national radicalism in them. Nor can the three earlier counter-revolutionary *coups*—the bombardment of Cracow on 26 April, the fighting in Posnania in April and May, and the bombardment of Prague by Windischgrätz on 17 June—be classed with the June Days, even though they worked in a parallel direction: their background was national.

The only other outbreak of a class character, negating the national principle, was the Galician *jacquerie* of 1846,¹ which deeply influenced the development of the revolution of 1848 in the Habsburg Monarchy, and caused governments, parliaments, and the landed classes themselves, to hasten the reforms completing the emancipation of the peasants from feudal burdens and jurisdictions: the issue was decided before it was joined.

Among the Poles and the Magyars, the gentry—an exceedingly numerous body² which has hardly its equivalent in any

¹ It is often stated that Ruthene peasants massacred Polish big landowners: in reality the outbreak was almost entirely limited to districts of western Galicia whose peasantry speaks Polish.

² A. de Fenyés, in his *Statistik des Koenigreichs Ungarn* (1843) puts the number of 'gentry' in Hungary at 550,000, in a total population of less than 13 millions. This estimate is borne out by the fact that in the *comitats* (shires), in which the suffrage was limited to the gentry, there were at that time 136,000 voters. Thus there was one *nobilis* to some 23 *roturiers* in the total population, and 1 to 9 among the Magyars.

For Poland there are no reliable statistics of the gentry. In the book on *Poland* (1945), edited by Bernadotte Schmitt and R. J. Kerner, Halecki puts the gentry at nearly 'one-tenth of all the inhabitants' (p. 44), Zawacki at 'nearly 12 per cent. of the total population' (p. 334), while Radwan puts the petty gentry alone at 'around 15 per cent. of the total population' (p. 219). None names the date, and hence the exact territory, to which his estimate refers, and all three estimates seem therefore equally vague and unreliable; and Radwan's is certainly too high. On the other hand, specific nineteenth-century estimates for Galicia are frequently too low: the political privileges of the gentry having disappeared, the petty gentry tend to be left out of account. Thus Fenyés states that in Galicia there was, in 1840, 1 member of the gentry to 68 'non-gentry' (for Lombardy he puts the proportion at 1 to 300, for German Austria as 1 to 350, and for Bohemia as 1 to 828). Ostaszewski-Barański, *Rok Żłudzeń, 1848* (*The Year of Mirages, 1848*), p. 75, puts the number of the Galician gentry in 1848 at 30,454, in a total population of 4,920,300; Wiesiołowski in his *Pamiętnik z r. 1845-6* (1868) (*Diary of 1845-6*), p. 7, puts it even lower: at only 12,000 in 1833.

So much, however, is certain: that among the Poles and the Magyars practically the entire educated class, the only one with a marked national consciousness, was of gentry extraction, but that among the gentry there were large numbers of men who, except for their national and class consciousness, differed but little from the peasants.

other nation—replaced the middle classes. It was much more effective than these as a national revolutionary force: bred to arms for generations, the gentry had the spirit and traditions of fighting men. Having, together with the magnates, enjoyed a monopoly of power in the State, they became the sole exponents of the national idea. Moreover, as the Polish gentry-nation had absorbed the landed classes of Lithuania, White Russia, and of most of the Ukraine, covering territory about three times that inhabited by a Polish peasantry, the greatness of Poland was bound up with the caste rule of the gentry; with certain variants the same was true of Hungary. But such was the distance that separated the Polish gentry even from the Polish-speaking peasants, that these did not, on the whole, consider themselves part of the nation of their masters.¹ Ziemiałkowski, one of the chief leaders of the Austrian Poles in 1848 and for nearly half a century after, wrote as late as March 1865: ‘. . . in Galicia the peasants do not think of Poland and do not want Poland, while the town population only begins to awaken from its lethargy.’² And things were, if anything, worse while heavy *corvées* and patrimonial jurisdictions still poisoned relations between the big landowners and their peasants, and were being deliberately exploited by a hostile Austrian bureaucracy.³

In 1845 the Polish Democrats were preparing, largely under the direction of *émigré* organizations in western Europe, a national rising against all the three Partitioning Powers. It was, of need, worked in a conspiratorial manner which helped to hide, even from the leaders, the utter insufficiency of their

¹ Like most generalizations, this, too, has its exceptions. Even in Galicia, in 1846, there were in a few places the beginnings of a national movement among the peasants, usually owing to the influence of the clergy. Under Prussia and Russia the religious contrast, by identifying Polish nationality with Roman Catholicism, favoured the growth of a Polish national consciousness, though even there the class antagonism exercised for a long time a retarding influence.

² *Pamiętniki (Memoirs)* (1904), part 4, p. 187; see also L. von Mises, *Die Entwicklung des gutsherrlich-bäuerlichen Verhältnisses in Galizien, 1772–1848* (1902), pp. 104–5.

³ Thus, for instance, Czetsch-Lindenwald, the Austrian *Kreishauptmann* (District Commissioner) of Przemyśl, wrote in a report dated 18 Apr. 1846: ‘To remove the chief source of hatred between the peasants and the gentry, namely the patrimonial jurisdictions, would undermine the foundations of government’; quoted by Mises (*op. cit.*, p. 94, n. 1) who, however, tries to defend the Austrian Government against the accusation of having deliberately continued the system of patrimonial jurisdictions in order to poison relations between the landowners and the peasants.

resources and the visionary futility of their schemes. In 1830–1 the Polish leaders, aristocrats or gentry, could not bring themselves to appeal to the peasants by proclaiming their complete emancipation. The men of 1845–6, though themselves of the gentry class,¹ saw the mistake: comparing the weakness and failure of the Polish effort with the victorious *élan* of the French revolutionary armies (when these, too, faced seemingly hopeless odds), they concluded that only by raising social-revolutionary forces could they vanquish the organized might of their enemies and oppressors.² Besides, they dreamt of a world revolution and war, and figured a system of world politics pivoting on Poland, gyrating round her, consummated in her resurrection, and culminating in her renewed greatness.³ Such fancies and conceits inspired Polish activities—then, and ever since. And the extraordinary pattern emerged of a nation, essentially aristocratic and martial, steeped in the gentry legend of the sword, with its greatness founded on latifundia and their owners, and yet plunging, from patriotic motives, into social-revolutionary action.⁴ The Poles have, by turns, been exalted as paladins of liberty and decried as reactionaries. They are neither: but a case *sui generis*, as is every nation, though more complex owing to the complexities of their position.⁵

¹ Mierosławski writes about the Polish *émigrés* (of whom he was one): 'They all were gentry, defeated gentry doing penance, redeemed by wounds of the soul and body—but gentry'; see *Powstanie poznańskie w roku 1848* (*The Posnanian Revolution of 1848*), 2nd ed. (1860), p. 39.

² The Prussian forces stationed in Posnania in 1846 were put at only 4,160, the Austrian in Galicia at about 30,000; but of these a mere 6,000 were stationed in western Galicia. A powerful popular movement might indeed have overwhelmed them in the initial stages.

³ Ladislas Mickiewicz, son of the poet, wrote in 1870, in his introduction to *La politique du dix-neuvième siècle* (a collection of political essays by his father): '... il n'est pas plus possible de faire de la bonne politique sans la Pologne que de rêver une pure morale sans Dieu' (p. lxxv).

⁴ Piłsudski was the last, and the most successful, of these revolutionary knights-errant; his 'socialism' was a modern variant on the creed of the Polish 'democrats' of 1848 and 1863. But as early as 1907 he tried to establish a para-military dictatorship within the Polish Socialist Party; and after 1918, and still more after 1926, he entered Napoleon's path without Napoleon's power or justification. It would be unfair to describe him, or even his epigoni, as Fascists—the meanness of Fascism attached much rather to his opponents of the Dmowski school. Piłsudski's was a nobler tradition; but for that very reason dangerous—to this day Polish Socialism is tinged with militarist Imperialism, disguised by political fantasies—an anachronistic Polish quasi-Bonapartism.

⁵ In Feb. 1849 one of the Czech leaders, Rieger, said in the Austrian

The leaders of the Polish conspiracy met in Cracow in January 1846. Mierosławski¹ was designated military commander, and the outbreak was fixed for the night of 21–2 February. In Russian Poland, suffering from the aftermath of 1830–1 and the consequent oppression, the movement never got going; in Posnania it was nipped in the bud by the arrest of the leaders, including Mierosławski, on 12 and 14 February; in Austrian Poland some, seeing that the rising had failed elsewhere, wished to countermand it, others to hasten it. It broke out in a few places during the night of 18–19 February. But the authorities in Galicia, scared of revolution and filled with hatred of the Poles, most effectively parried the blow: in a tense atmosphere, full of fear and rumours,² they called on the peasants to rise

Constitutional Committee: 'The Polish gentry are only seemingly liberal, in their hearts they are reactionary' (see *Protokolle des Verfassungs-Ausschusses im Oesterreichischen Reichstag, 1848–9*, edited by A. Springer, 1885, p. 186). This was a protest of a Czech democrat sitting on the Right, against the 'liberal' claims of Polish gentry-representatives on the Left: but it oversimplified the problem.

¹ Mierosławski was born in 1814, of a French mother—through her *un Gascognard*. He was educated at a military school, and as a youth fought in the Polish Revolution of 1830–1. He had command of the revolutionary forces in Posnania in Mar.–May 1848, in Sicily towards the end of the year, and in Baden in 1849; he was Commander-in-Chief during the first month of the Polish Revolution of 1863—a series of ephemeral, or even futile, ventures. His merits as a soldier are open to doubt. Circourt, in a letter of 28 Mar. 1848, credits him with 'merely the qualities of a stage hero'; and although Circourt's opinions about Poles must be treated with caution, it seems that Mierosławski hardly deserved the prominence which he enjoyed as a military leader of revolutions. He was a prolific writer of 'baroque exuberance', and his literary output seems to have unduly enhanced his military reputation. S. Kieniewicz thus sums up his career in a sound and well-balanced character sketch: 'He was a general who never commanded; he believed in the people and had absolutely no knowledge of them; he loved his country and did it the greatest amount of harm.' See *Spółeczeństwo polskie w powstaniu poznańskim 1848 roku (Polish Society in the Posnania Rising of 1848)* (1935), pp. 67–71.

² In 1845–6 some of those curious pre-revolutionary tremors, resembling *la grande peur* of 1789, were noted in Galicia. See, for instance, Wiesiołowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 33–4, on the rumours current early in 1845, especially in the districts of Wadowice and Bochnia, that on Good Friday there would be a massacre of the gentry by the peasants, who, in turn, stood in fear of an undefined 'great danger'. Many of the gentry fled into the towns, and some even appealed to the Austrian officials for protection; 'on the other hand, peasants armed with scythes and flails mounted guard at night, and would stop strangers on the roads, believing themselves threatened by "treason".' It was also widely believed by the peasants that their final emancipation was impending, and that, indeed, a decree freeing them had been signed by the Emperor but filched by the gentry.

against their masters. There was the pretence of a patriotic Austrian movement against the insurgents ('Communists', or 'Jacobins' as Metternich called them): in reality it was an indiscriminate *jacquerie*, which claimed some 2,000 victims. J. Breinl von Wallerstern, District Commissioner of Tarnów, paid money to the peasants for 'insurgents' brought in, dead or alive.¹ An order is preserved, issued by the District Commissioner of Lvov, Milbacher, which incites to murder.² On 23 February, five days after the *jacquerie* had started, Baron Krieg, head of the Galician Administration, ordered district commissioners 'to send officials to the villages and call on the peasant-serfs to co-operate in resisting and apprehending rebels'.³ Colonel Benedek (of Königgrätz fame, 1866), when taking the field against the insurgents, was accompanied by crowds of peasants, who had been promised 220 lb. of salt each,⁴ and a bonus of 5 gulden (8s. 4d.) for every insurgent captured (the battle of Gdów, miserably mismanaged by the Poles, degenerated into a sheer massacre of them by the peasants).

The Galician events produced horror and stupefaction among the upper classes of western Austria. A German big landowner, settled in West Galicia, stated in a memorandum of 16 April 1846, which he wrote at the request of the

¹ It was alleged at the time that bonuses were paid on a *per capita* basis. So far I have found no conclusive evidence to prove it. But what is admitted—that the peasants who brought in so-called insurgents, dead, wounded, or captured, were paid for 'loss of time', maintenance, 'transport', &c.—is bad enough, even if less blatant.

² Care seems to have been taken to destroy compromising documents, but this one survived through a curious chance. It is published in facsimile by B. Łoziński, *Szkice z historii Galicji w XIX wieku (Essays in Galician History in the 19th Century)* (1913), pp. 334–5, and runs as follows:

Reg. No. 74. To the Mandatory Blocki,

You are directed to summon all peasants with their scythes, order them to apprehend the rebels, and should these offer resistance, to do them in. Soldiers on leave should help. Commissary Klosson will come and give assistance to the stout peasants of Horożana.

With a hundred peasants you should be able to wipe out a hundred such rascals (*Spitzbuben*); in the district of Tarnów the peasants have achieved it; they caught 108, including four Counts, and killed 27. You have an opportunity to prove your attachment to His Majesty, and I expect it from you. Courage and energy will bring condign punishment on the rebels. Report everything to me.

Lvov, February 22, 1846.

MILBACHER.

³ Łoziński, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

⁴ From the neighbouring salt-mines of Wieliczka, owned by the Government.

highest government circles in Vienna: 'I see in the present condition of Galicia, the first victory of Communism; others must follow. . . . The peasants, who in their looting and brigandage have met with no resistance, have come to realize, or even to over-rate, their collective strength.'¹ Gradually officials responsible for the events were withdrawn, and in 1847, Count Franz Stadion, one of the most enlightened and efficient Austrian administrators, was appointed Governor of Galicia.² But the Austrian Government could not punish the peasants for the outrages—judicial proceedings against gentry insurgents were quick and sharp, against peasant murderers and looters dilatory and most lenient; in the end the political amnesty of 1848 was made to draw a veil also over the Galician *jacquerie*. Still less could the Government reduce its late allies to their previous state of subjection to the big landowners, and during the two years preceding March 1848 fumbling attempts were made at resettling relations between landowners and peasants. The agrarian problem had been opened up, and not for Galicia alone.

Frederick William IV, in talking to a Polish delegation from Posnania on 23 March 1848 told them that 'one of the highest placed personages in Austria' had said to him: 'The disturbances in Italy and the troubles in Switzerland have done us a great deal of harm, and the financial crisis has caused us many difficulties, but nothing has been so disastrous for our Monarchy as the Polish peasants rising against the gentry in defence of the Government.'³

IV

From the outset of the revolution of 1848 there was absolute unanimity throughout the Habsburg dominions that a thoroughgoing emancipation of the peasants was of paramount urgency: the work half-accomplished by Joseph II during the decade preceding the French Revolution, and shelved by his successors, had to be completed. There was a scramble for priority

¹ Łoziński, op. cit., p. 271.

² Ibid., p. 463. A rough draft of his report of 28 Dec. 1847, highly critical of the Galician bureaucracy, contains a sentence deleted from its final text: it admits that some officials 'had incited the peasants to excesses, or even participated in them'.

³ See *Im Polen-Aufbruch, 1846-8. Aus den Papieren eines Landrats* (1898). The author is identified by W. Kohte, *Deutsche Bewegung und preussische Politik im Posener Lande* (1931), p. 26, as Juncker von Ober-Conreuth, Landrat of Czarnikau.

between National Committees, Assemblies, and the Government in initiating it, each desiring to placate and gratify the peasant masses, and to attach them to its cause. The demand for the abolition of the 'robot',¹ figures prominently in the programme drafted by the Prague National Committee on 11-12 March; and even the aristocratic Bohemian Estates favoured a speedy convocation of a Diet which would deal with the problem. When the news of the Vienna Revolution reached Budapest, a national programme in twelve points was drawn up by the Radical Opposition, of which the seventh demanded the abolition of feudal rights and burdens; and on 18 March this was voted by the Hungarian Parliament, although it was composed almost exclusively of representatives of the aristocracy and the landed gentry—they merely placed the claim of land-owners to compensation 'under the protecting shield of the national honour', while the clergy voluntarily renounced its tithes. Similarly, the Address to the Emperor drafted at Lvov on 18 March, and signed by large numbers of Polish big land-owners, declared for removing all survivals of serfdom.

Fear and foresight quickened resolutions which were enjoined by common sense. The Hungarian Parliament acted under the pressing threat of a peasant rising, while Kossuth wished to gain over the peasant masses, and also reckoned with the effect which such measures might have on Croatia. When at the end of March some Conservative leaders of the Magyar magnates prepared a memorandum for the Archduke Palatine, analysing possible ways of dealing with the Hungarian Revolution, they warned Vienna against admitting a repetition of the Galician events of 1846, be it by a mere withdrawal of regular troops from Hungary: for the loyal Conservative elements in Hungary would be the foremost sufferers. And when in April the Hungarian Government demanded the return of Hungarian regiments from Moravia and Galicia (which they needed primarily against the Serbs and Croats), among the reasons which they chose to name they quoted cases of agrarian

¹ *Robota* means in Slav languages 'labour', and serfdom in Austria having been most burdensome in the Slav provinces, the word 'robot' came to denote in the Austro-German vocabulary labour dues of serf origin: it is hardly correct to speak of 'serfdom' anywhere in Austria after the reforms of Joseph II had emancipated the persons of the peasants, and a different description is required for the agrarian problem as it existed in 1848. The word 'robot' having entered the English language through Čapek's famous play, it might perhaps be possible to admit the expression 'robot problem' into the English historical vocabulary.

disturbances in certain Magyar districts, and the danger of their spreading.

Naturally even more outspoken were the Poles in this matter. In the Lvov Address of 18 March they declared that nowhere was 'a powerful development of national forces' more necessary than in Galicia, seeing that 'the deplorable events of 1846 have produced so great a rift between landowners and peasants as to threaten a complete dissolution of all social ties'. The sixth of the thirteen points of the Lvov Address demanded 'a general and most speedy arming of the towns to safeguard peace, order, and the security of persons and property'. And the amended address¹ of 6 April, while demanding a Polish 'national army', asked that in the meantime the Austrian troops stationed in Galicia should be used to maintain peace and security in the villages. When on 21 March a rumour spread in Lvov that the peasants were coming, the cry arose: 'Give us arms, for they are out to massacre us!' The National Guard in Galicia was to be formed only in places with over 1,000 inhabitants (and even there workmen and journeymen were excluded): no one would have wished or dared to arm the peasants.² Everywhere in Austria serf labour and dues ceased to be rendered after the outbreak of the revolution. In Galicia the Polish National Council on 17 April issued an appeal to the big landowners for a voluntary renunciation (which was done by a certain number). But while the agrarian settlement in most provinces of Austria was left to the forthcoming Constituent Assembly, in Galicia a decree was published on 22 April by the Governor, Count Franz Stadion, announcing that as from 15 May all serf labour and dues were to cease 'against compensation to be

¹ See below, p. 30.

² The Governor of Galicia, Count Franz Stadion, though decried as an enemy of the Poles, warned Vienna against invoking or accepting the active support of the peasants. B. Łoziński, in his book on Count Agenor Gołuchowski, *Agenor hrabia Gołuchowski, w pierwszym okresie rządów swoich, 1846-1859* (1901), tries to do justice to Stadion, who wrote on 12 Apr. 1848 (p. 71): 'As yet the peasant is quiet, but watches every step of the hated gentry; he shows devotion to the Government, but his help must never be reckoned with: for if it were invited, there could be no thought of controlling that savage force. Hatred will be the motive, and will turn the peasants against the big land-owners and gentry. They will not try to support or restore peace and order, but will take to murder and looting.' And again on 27 Apr.: 'The peasants are devoted to the Government but should not be roused, for I cannot say it too often, or too emphatically, that defence of the Government would be a mere pretext for murder, looting, and incendiarism.'

fixed at a future date at the expense of the State'.¹ 'By this praiseworthy act', writes Friedjung, 'he retained the loyalty of the Galician peasantry for Emperor and State, and nipped in the bud any attempt to separate from Austria.'²

The reactionary circles [writes Anton Springer] had no reason to fear the middle classes, which in all the big towns, and especially in Vienna, had shown themselves politically immature and lacking in independence and energy. . . . With the peasants alone they had to count as with a power. . . .

The absolutist *régime* had failed to meet the wishes and to attend to the interests of the peasants, who therefore turned against it. From the revolution they expected a favourable settlement; they understood neither programmes nor manifestos, and felt no zeal for constitutional rights or democratic principles; but they knew that they could name the price for their support, and that on all sides there was the desire to fulfil their demands. The revolution remained strong only so long as the peasants expected it to improve their condition and to secure their freedom; reaction could not set in until the emancipation of the peasants had been accomplished, and the peasants had lost interest in politics. . . . The peasants were the power behind the revolution, and the problem of 'robot' its pivot.³

In the Austrian Parliament of 1848 there were 92 peasants in a total of 383 members—and there would have been many more but for the Czechs and Ruthenes, both at that time essentially peasant nations: the Czech intelligentsia and the Ruthene Uniat priests were so close to the peasant class in origin and interests that many were returned in lieu of peasants. Thus while Upper Austria counted 13 peasants among its 16 deputies, and Galicia (almost half of it Polish) and the Bukovina had 38 among 108, Bohemia and Moravia had only 16 peasants among 138 members. In the Prussian Diet a total of 402 members included 68 peasants, but about half of them were from Silesia, a province with a large Polish population—the only one in Prussia which in 1848 experienced a peasant rising. The Frankfort Parliament had only one single peasant among its members, and he was a Pole from Upper Silesia: agrarian problems in the constituent States were outside the jurisdiction

¹ The original German text reads: 'gegen eine künftig zu ermittelnde Entschädigung auf Kosten des Staates.' According to Ostaszewski-Barański, op. cit., pp. 178–9, this was mistranslated into Polish as 'at the expense of the Government', so as to impress once more on the peasant that it was from the Government that he derived all the blessings.

² *Oesterreich von 1848 bis 1860*, 4th ed. (1918), vol. i, p. 347.

³ *Geschichte Oesterreichs seit dem Wiener Frieden 1809* (1865), vol. ii, p. 366.

of the German National Assembly, and German unity was of no interest to the peasants.

In the third session of the Vienna Parliament, on 26 July 1848, a resolution demanding the immediate abolition of all rights and duties derived from the subjection of the peasants (*das Unterthänigkeits-Verhältniss*) was unanimously carried. Controversy was limited to the question of compensation, the peasants passionately opposing any payments to their masters. Of the laughter which 'frequently interrupted the oratorical attempts of peasants', writes Springer,¹ there was none when 'in the deeply disturbed assembly a Galician peasant, Kapusciak, gave his views on the robot problem—in a clumsy manner, in broken German, but with clenched fists and rolling eyes, and with a wild hatred against the gentry'.

Yes, the nobleman has treated the peasant lovingly [said Kapusciak]. After having been made to work all week, he was entertained on the Sunday—chained and locked up in the cowshed, so that he should work still harder the next week. Yes, the nobleman is humane, for he encourages the tired robot-peasant with the whip, and if the peasant complains that his draft-animals are too weak to perform the prescribed labour, he is told: 'Then harness yourself and your wife'. . . . Three hundred steps from the manor-house, he has humbly to take off his hat . . . and if the poor peasant wants to mount the stairs, he is told to stay in the court-yard, for he stinks. . . . And for such ill-treatment are we now to pay compensation? I say: No!! The whips which came down on our heads and tired bodies must suffice. Let these be the compensation of the masters.

When on 7 September the Emancipation Act passed its last reading, the peasant masses lost further interest in Parliament;² and it did not revive even when reaction swept away most of the work of the revolution, for the agrarian settlement was left

¹ Op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 420–1.

² Ibid., p. 249. In the First Russian Duma the question was once discussed in a party meeting of the Constitutional Democrats (the so-called 'Cadets'), which should be given priority, the constitutional or the agrarian problem? Shmarya Levin, member for Vilna, though ignorant of the Austrian precedent, told his Russian colleagues the following story: 'On the Sabbath, pious Jews must not strike a light, nor even ask a non-Jew to do it, though they may have it done for them. The better-off will let the light burn all night. But during a long winter night, such a Jew found that it had gone out. He wanted to read. So he woke up his peasant servant, and asked: "Ivan, would you like a drink?" "Sure, I would." "But it's so dark, I can't find the bottle." So Ivan lit the candle—exactly what the Jew wanted. But after Ivan had had his glass of vodka, in his innocence he put out the light. Be careful or Ivan will blow out your candle.'

untouched. The Minister of the Interior, Alexander Bach (who in less than a year changed from a Radical into a champion of autocracy), was of peasant origin, and knew that there was no going back on the promises and concessions made to the peasants.¹ Even Prince Alfred Windischgrätz, the political general who at one time had set up military control over the civilian Government, failed to obtain modifications in favour of the big landowners. 'The most pronounced Communist', he told the Emperor in February 1850, 'has not yet dared to demand what Your Majesty's Government now enact.'²

There were no peasants on the Constitutional Committee set up by the Parliament of 1848, and it discussed their political rôle with naive freedom.³ 'The town is the cradle of democracy', argued K. Mayer, a Moravian German; 'democratic convictions are to be found only in towns', declared the Pole Ziemiałkowski; 'once the agrarian problem is settled, the peasant turns conservative, or even reactionary', said Pfretschner, from the Tyrol. Similarly, Lasser, from Upper Austria, who added: 'I seek democracy in the rule of an enlightened majority, and therefore want members of the intelligentsia to be assured of seats in Parliament.' And Brestel, a Vienna intellectual: 'There is an aristocracy which you cannot destroy, the aristocracy of the *Intelligenz*,⁴ and you had better recognise it.' Even the Czech Rieger, the only one to protest that peasant representatives should not be 'rejected outright', in defending the franchise and constituencies of 1848 excused the presence of a few peasants from Bohemia by their previous interest in the 'robot' problem. It was decided to assign in the larger towns one member to

¹ About Bach, see Friedjung, *Oesterreich von 1848 bis 1860*; the author had access to the Bach MSS.

² See Friedjung, 'Gegner der Bauernbefreiung in Oesterreich', in the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, vol. i (1903). With Windischgrätz's dictum cf. the remark of an Austrian Pole, in W. N. Senior, *Journals in France and Italy, 1848-1852* (1871), under date of 20 May 1850 (vol. i, pp. 258-9): '... under the influence of Bach, the Minister of the Interior, whom Czarkowski calls a Communist, it [the Austrian Government] has abolished the *corvée*, and authorised the peasants to retain as owners the lands which they tenanted as occupiers.'

³ See *Protokolle des Verfassungs-Ausschusses im Oesterreichischen Reichstag, 1848-49*. These were, however, notes, and not official, formally approved, minutes; see Odložilík, 'A Czech Plan for a Danubian Federation', in the *Journal of Central European Affairs*, Oct. 1941, vol. i, p. 261, n. 8.

⁴ The word is ambiguous, and can be translated either as 'intelligence' or as 'intelligentsia': he obviously meant both, but in English there is, fortunately, no such confusion between the two.

15,000 inhabitants, but in the rural districts one to 60,000.¹ 'To whom do we owe it that we sit here?' asked the Czech Pinkas. 'To the Vienna and Prague risings.'² What is our mainstay now? The towns only: for the peasants, freed from "robot", would not have moved had we been scattered to the winds.'³ In fact, these middle-class intellectuals hoped that the peasant would take no further interest in politics.

On whom did they count to defend their newly conquered freedom? Not on the 'proletariate'. 'If proletarians were to vote in Parliamentary elections', declared Lasser, 'I would oppose the town representation.'⁴ Fischhof, a Vienna Radical, though admitting that in a few districts of Bohemia and Silesia the social problem was acute, reassuringly pointed to the fact that the great majority of the population owned property, 'and small proprietors are the most conservative'. And Pinkas: 'Our proletariate, thank God, is not yet so dangerous: for its demonstrations in Vienna were a hothouse plant of the University.'⁵

The proletariate was defeated in Paris, the peasants were bought off in the Habsburg Monarchy. The social forces behind the revolution of 1848, disjointed and insufficient from the very outset, were thus practically eliminated. What re-

¹ Another proposal for achieving a drastic reduction in the peasant representation (which was not carried) was by creating large constituencies, as in France. It would not be easy for a peasant, argued Brestel, to be known in a wide district, 'and better-known men, of the educated class, would be returned'. Similarly the Czech Strobach: 'Then an obscure name will not carry, and I believe we shall have practically none but educated men in Parliament.' Also Ziemiałkowski favoured large constituencies, so as to exclude 'obscure men' (besides, he wished for a literacy test, which would have given a preponderance to the Polish gentry over the Polish peasants and the Ruthenes).

² Halter, of Salzburg, argued that as 'the towns conquered freedom, and with it the franchise', the seats conceded to the rural districts 'are a gracious gift, for which these are indebted to the towns'.

³ These debates on parliamentary representation in the Constitutional Committee took place in Feb. 1849, and Pinkas's remark obviously refers to the fears that had been entertained of a dissolution of Parliament after the October Revolution in Vienna.

⁴ Presumably he meant the four times greater representation of the towns.

⁵ In the Vienna revolution university students played quite a leading part: the more immature politically a community, the younger, as a rule, its politicians—'paidocracy'.

One member of the Committee who was prepared to see 'proletarians' in Parliament, was Brestel: 'The election of two or three so-called proletarians . . . would be no misfortune; representation would promote respect for the laws and their stability.'

mained was the middle classes led by intellectuals, and their modern ideology with which they confronted the old established powers and interests. Foremost in that ideology was their demand for a share in the government of States to be remodelled in accordance with the national principle.

V

The basic conflict of 1848 was between two principles—of dynastic property in countries, and of national sovereignty: the one feudal in origin, historic in its growth and survival, deeply rooted, but difficult to defend in argument; the other grounded in reason and ideas, simple and convincing, but as unsuited to living organisms as chemically pure water. To the men of 1848 the dynastic principle stood for arbitrary rule and autocracy, that of popular sovereignty for human rights and national self-government: by a crude over-simplification the conflict presented itself to them as a fight between reason and unreason, between freedom and unfreedom. The British system of representative and responsible government, carried on through parliamentary institutions, seemed to them to secure in practice the basic maxims of the French Revolution; and they did not realize how deeply ingrained the proprietary principle is in the public life of this country, where even abuses tend to become freeholds with redeemable value, where to this day heredity enters into the choice of parliamentary representatives, and no basic distinction exists between private and public law. The proprietary claim of dynasties centres in the land, and works through it; popular sovereignty is primarily the claim of men considered apart from the land. The title of 'roi de France' stressed the territorial principle; 'roi des Français' transferred the emphasis to the human element, and paid tribute to the sovereignty of the people. The growth of urban agglomerations and of an urban civilization stimulates the rise of a non-territorial ideology, but unless there be a complete return to the conditions of the horde, the basic element of territory cannot be eliminated: there is no escape from the interplay between groups of men and tracts of land, which forms the essence of history.

In central Europe the principle of dynastic property in countries found its most striking expression in the Habsburg Monarchy, and its caricature in the German pygmy States. Neither offered the basis for a sovereign national State. In the Habsburg Monarchy its emergence was precluded by the

diversity of populations which, 'through lack of a fellow feeling', could not 'unite in maintaining their liberties or in forming a paramount public opinion'.¹ The bond of union between them was primarily dynastic—Schuselka, one of the leaders of the Left in the Frankfort Parliament, thus descanted upon it in 1847: '... the Austrian peoples ... in their happy land, welded through the historically valid hereditary right of the House of Habsburg-Lorraine into a Great Power of the first order, this is Austria!'² There, even after 1848, the dynastic principle, pure and simple, was kept alive for another seventy years: bolstered up at various times by particular national interests, but at no time reinforced by a feeling of community between the component parts; and to the very end the provinces of Austria continued to bear the expressive designation of *Kronländer* (Crownlands).³ The pygmy States, on the other hand, lacked the substance of national organisms. When the Pre-Parliament fixed the normal constituency for the Frankfort Parliament at 50,000 inhabitants, the charitable proviso was added that any State which did not attain to that size should form, none the less, a self-contained constituency.⁴ And in some cases such a tiny territory consisted of a dozen fragments. These were but large feudal estates which, paradoxically, had come to be endowed with the courtesy standing of sovereign States.⁵ From the Habsburg Monarchy at the top, and the pygmy States at the bottom, the principle of dynastic property

¹ J. S. Mill, in an article on 'The French Revolution and its Assailants', in the *Westminster Review* for Apr. 1849, writing about the difficulty of forcing unwilling nations into political community.

² *Oesterreichische Vor- und Rückschritte* (1847), p. 5. I quote this piece of dynastic bombast because it comes from a member of the Left. In reality Schuselka was not even an honest Great-Austrian, but much rather a Bohemian Pan-German. In the same book (pp. 270–95) he urges the giving up of Galicia so as to lighten 'the Slav burden of Austria' and to secure a better preponderance for the Germans over the other Slavs. The Czechs, according to him, must 'remain connected with Germany' and will probably 'be absorbed completely in the German element'.

³ The Constitutional Committee of the Austrian Parliament at Kremsier proposed to change their name to *Reichsländer*, to avoid the feudal connotation; see *Protokolle des Verfassungs-Ausschusses im Oesterreichischen Reichstag, 1848–49*, pp. 117–18.

⁴ There were, in 1819, twelve such States with less than 50,000 inhabitants in the Federation, seven with a population of 50,000–100,000, ten with 100,000–500,000, and only nine with more than half a million (see 'Matrikel des deutschen Bundes', in *Verhandlungen des deutschen Parlaments. Offizielle Ausgabe. Zweite Lieferung*, 1848, pp. 509–10).

⁵ The difference between the proprietary, dynastic German States and

in countries seemed to colour off on to all Germany and Italy, and through the great syndicate of German dynasties, on to most of the European Continent. In the Habsburg interest the dynastic principle was consciously fostered by Metternich: and therefore the struggle for the principle of national sovereignty—for the unification of Germany and Italy, and the rise of the smaller nationalities in the European Middle-East—became, first and foremost, a fight against the Habsburg Monarchy. Hübner, Austrian Ambassador in Paris, records having said to Napoleon III on 15 May 1858: 'Every Power, Sire . . . has a moral basis from which it cannot depart unpunished. . . . Austria has for principle the respect due to the imprescriptible rights of sovereigns, and non-recognition of the claim of nationalities to set up as political States.'¹

The right to self-government and the right to self-determination are corollaries of the principle of national sovereignty. Because both run counter to that of dynastic property in countries, they were looked upon as cognate causes favouring each other. But constitutional development is based on States within their existing frontiers: it is therefore apt to foster organic unity even where the State is non-national and artificial in origin, and thus to work against a reallocation, or a union, of territories in accordance with language, which continental nationalisms have adopted for basis of common citizenship. Self-determination, on the other hand, contests frontiers, negates modern national States was implicitly acknowledged in the different formulas adopted for territorial cessions to these two types in the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648, and in the *Reichsdeputationshauptschluss* of 1803: in the case of the small German States it shows *ein patrimonial-privatrechtliches Gepräge*. In the Treaty of Osnabrück, Bremen and Verden, though held 'a caesarea majestate et imperio' (of Germany), were ceded 'reginae et futuris ejus heredibus ac successoribus, regibus regnoque Sueciae'; while in cessions, for instance, to Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, or Hesse, only the princes and their heirs were mentioned, not their principalities (see H. O. Meissner, *Die Lehre vom monarchischen Prinzip*, in the *Untersuchungen zur deutschen Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte*, vol. cxxii (1913), pp. 134-5 n., and H. Preuss, *Gemeinde, Staat, Reich als Gebietskörperschaften*, p. 355).

In the Carlsbad Conference of Aug. 1819, and in the Vienna Conferences (Nov. 1819 to May 1820), Metternich made great play with Art. 13 of the Federal Act of 1815: 'In all States of the [German] Confederation there shall be a constitution based on Estates' (*eine landständische Verfassung*). He thought assemblies based on Estates compatible with the proprietary right of dynasties, but not representative assemblies chosen on the principle of numbers, no matter by what franchise; these he considered to imply popular sovereignty (see Meissner, op. cit.).

¹ *Neuf ans de souvenirs d'un ambassadeur d'Autriche à Paris*, vol. ii (1904), p. 164.

the existing State and its inner development, and by civil and international strife is apt to stultify constitutional growth. In 1848 the vices of governments were known and the virtues of 'free peoples' were extolled, the diplomacy of courts was charged with having set nations against each other, and 'dynastic ambitions' were singled out as the cause of wars. On the morning of 13 March 1848, Dr. Adolf Fischhof, a young Jewish physician, thus addressed the crowd in the Inner Court of the Landhaus: 'Hitherto an ill-advised system of government has kept the peoples of Austria apart. They must now fraternally find each other. . . .' What could not be achieved by 'a vigorous co-operation in the tasks of State' between Germans, Slavs, Magyars, and Italians!—'you cannot doubt that Austria's position in Europe would be remarkable'. He concluded with cheers for 'Austria and her Glorious Future', for the 'United Peoples of Austria', and for 'Liberty'.¹ Could he have repeated that speech a year later? The sovereignty of the people merely substitutes the proprietary claims of nations for those of princes, because States are still based on territories and not on 'sovereign' hordes: and the conflicts grow fiercer.

VI

The first moves in the revolution naturally took existing States for their starting-point: constitutional freedoms were demanded, liberal governments were set up, representative assemblies were conceded: and thus new vested political interests were developed in States which had hitherto been merely dynastic creations and inheritances. With that purpose in view even before 1848 some German States, more particularly in the south, had favoured parliamentary development; on the outbreak of the revolution 'Prussia and a number of Federal States', especially among those dependent on her, tried, with noticeable haste, in assemblies of their own to create counterweights to the Frankfort Parliament'.² In the past the German people

¹ See R. Charnatz, *Adolf Fischhof* (1910), pp. 20–1. Charnatz, himself a Jew, remarks about Fischhof: 'He was the first German to make a sensible treatment of nationalities the central theme of his discourse' (p. 25). Fischhof's father was a Moravian Jew settled in Budapest, his mother an Hungarian Jewess, he himself was born and educated in Hungary, and only came to Vienna to study at the University, some thirteen years before the revolution. 'Germans' of that description have been tolerant and reasonable, and are made to pay for it.

² Valentin, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 42.

'had produced too many princes, too many noblemen, too many cities. . . . Now, side by side with the Frankfort Parliament, there was the Austrian Reichstag, the Prussian National Assembly, and a host of parliaments in the small States (*der Vielparlamentarismus der Kleinstaater*).'¹ The Austrian Germans enthusiastically supported the idea of a united Greater Germany and took a leading part in the Frankfort National Parliament, but saw nothing incompatible in the simultaneous deliberations of the Austrian Constituent Assembly: in Frankfort they tried to exercise national sovereignty joined in one body politic with Prussians, Bavarians, Hessians, &c., and in Vienna in another, joined with Czechs, Poles, Ruthenes, Italians, &c. (and they finished by voting for themselves in the two Parliaments two different sets of 'fundamental rights'—*Grundrechte*). Frederick William IV declared on 21 March: 'Henceforth Prussia merges into Germany';² but when the Prussian Constituent Assembly met on 22 May, the King's Speech explained that 'the internal conditions in Prussia did not permit awaiting the outcome of the Frankfort Parliament, though German unity remained the unalterable goal'.³ Here was an assembly, gathered in the capital of a living State and legislating for more than one-third of the population represented at Frankfort⁴—a powerful political reality without logical foundation competing against an idea as yet lacking substance, but strongly upheld by all educated Germans.

National ideas seeking embodiment must start by making

¹ Valentin, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 2.

² *Preussen geht fortan in Deutschland auf*. 'It is feared that you intend merging all German Governments into the Prussian', wrote to him on 24 March, his brother-in-law and close friend, Frederick Augustus II of Saxony (see K. Haenchen, *Revolutionsbriefe, 1848, Ungedrucktes aus dem Nachlass König Friedrich Wilhelms IV von Preussen*, 1930, p. 56).

³ Valentin, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 42.

⁴ The way in which constitutional growth was apt to stimulate State patriotism can be seen, for instance, in the case of the Rhinelander, David Hansemann, one of the early champions of German unity, and from Mar. to Sept. 1848 Prussian Minister of Finance. In Oct. 1848 he published a pamphlet, *Die deutsche Verfassungsfrage*, critical of attempts to found, in spite of existing States, a unitary German constitutional monarchy based on direct popular sovereignty: 'were it possible—which is doubtful—to destroy completely the separate life of Prussia, it would be a mistake to do so, for this would weaken, and not strengthen, Germany' (p. 17). The pamphlet is not dated, but on p. 5 he speaks of the Frankfort Assembly and 'its five months' experience', and in a later pamphlet *Das preussische und deutsche Verfassungswerk* (1850), p. 131, he refers to the other as written in Oct. 1848.

State organisms their basis, or at least by having recourse to the memories of such organisms; but in doing so, they pass from the nation as a collection of men to the territory, enter the thickets of historical tradition and heritage, and lose their logical simplicity and cogency—the less there was in 1848 (or in 1918) of an existing substructure on which to build a national State, the more there was of antiquarian ferreting.

Still, even among the submerged or partitioned nations, with whom the cause of national revival or reunion was the alpha and omega of politics, the revolution of 1848 started with demands for political freedom and for linguistic rights within existing territorial divisions, most often historic provinces. Thus the Prague petition of 11–12 March was of a constitutional and provincial rather than of a Czech national character, and the Germans joined in it, the two nations joyfully fraternizing. But by the end of the month, the Czechs having clearly formulated their national programme of a self-governing union of the three Czech provinces of Bohemia, Moravia, and Austrian Silesia, and their claim to equality with the Germans having assumed concrete forms, the ‘Sudeten’ Germans were in full hue and cry against them.

Similarly in Posnania the Poles and Germans tried at first to fraternize in ‘freedom’, and the Posnanian delegates, who saw Frederick William IV on 23 March, were subsequently blamed by their Polish countrymen for having restricted their demands too much to mere provincial affairs.¹ But the request made by the Germans of Poznań for representation on the Polish Committee was refused;² and by the end of the month,

¹ See e.g. J. Moraczewski, *Wypadki poznańskie z r. 1848* (*The Posnanian Events of 1848*) (1850); the author was one of the leaders of the Posnanian Poles. J. Feldman, in his book *Sprawa polska w r. 1848* (*The Polish Question in 1848*) (1933) tries, but not altogether convincingly, to rebut that contention. An account of the audience with the King, compiled from German reports, is printed in an appendix to the pamphlet, *Im Polen-Aufbruch, 1846–48. Aus den Papieren eines Landrats*. For the text of the petition submitted to the King, see K. Rakowski, *Powstanie poznańskie w 1848 roku* (*The Posnanian Revolution in 1848*) (1900), Appendix, pp. 15–16.

² See Kohte, op. cit., p. 22, and K. Rakowski, op. cit., pp. 86–7; the Polish answer of 23 Mar. (which was, to say the least, evasive) is printed in R. Hepke, *Die polnische Erhebung und die deutsche Gegenbewegung in Posen im Frühling 1848* (1848), p. 38: ‘... as the activities of the Polish National Committee are not confined to the Grand Duchy [Posnania], but have for their aim the independence of the whole of Poland ... the Committee do not feel authorised ... to give an immediate and definite reply to your question “whether the German element of this town will receive representation on the National

the national conflict between Poles and Germans was in full blast.

The Lvov petition of 18 March, drafted by two men who henceforth stood in the forefront of Galician politics,¹ dealt exclusively with provincial problems; it pressed the claims of the Polish language in schools and offices, demanded an autonomous administration staffed by natives, a representative Diet, &c., but did not raise the wider problem of Poland's resurrection. Moreover, the petition dealing with a province in which the Poles formed less than half the population,² but practically the whole of the educated classes, forgot to mention the existence and rights of the other nationality, the Ruthenes. After the delegation who were taking the petition to Vienna had been joined by representatives from Cracow (only since 1846 incorporated in Galicia), a new petition was drafted³ of a wider, Polish national, character, and also conceding elementary schools 'in the local language'—thus Ruthene was included without being named. The Ruthenes, on their part, pressed the demand for a division of Galicia into two provinces in accordance with nationality, and the Poles, who were so insistent in urging their own national claims, began to resort to every sophistry and distortion in order to defeat those of the Ruthenes.⁴

The 'provincial' character of the original Polish resolutions, both in Posnania and in Galicia, was subsequently used at Frankfort as an argument against wider Polish national claims.⁵

Committee"; the decision must much rather be left to the new Government now to be formed.' The Germans thereupon formed a committee of their own.

¹ Smolka and Ziemiałkowski, who were subsequently the two Polish representatives on the Constitutional Committee of the Austrian Parliament 1848-9. Smolka was Vice-President of that Parliament Sept.-Nov. 1848, and its President Nov.-Dec. 1848, and Jan.-Mar. 1849; and again President of the Austrian Parliament 1881-93. Ziemiałkowski was Minister for Galicia 1873-88. The third draftsman, Heffern, was of minor importance.

² See Ostaszewski-Barański, *op. cit.*, p. 75; he puts the number of Roman Catholics in Galicia in 1848 at 2,258,933; of Greek Catholics at 2,303,222; and of Jews at 328,026. Till the end of the century, when the Poles started falsifying Galician language statistics, the numbers of the Ruthene-speaking population invariably exceeded that of Greek Catholics.

³ See Ziemiałkowski, *op. cit.*, part ii, p. 16.

⁴ For the Polish attitude towards the Ruthenes and their demands in 1848, see protocols of Polish-Ruthene Section of the Prague Slav Congress published by W. T. Wisłocki, *Kongres Słowiański w r. 1848 i sprawa polska*, and Łoziński, *Agenor hr. Gołuchowski*, pp. 126-62.

⁵ See, for instance, debate on Poland in the Committee of Fifty, 26 Apr.

VII

In the interplay between constitutional and national movements on the European Continent, which opens in 1848, it is the latter that win: and they cut across into the international arena. A constitutional régime is secure when its ways have become engrained in the habits and instinctive reactions—*dans les mœurs*—of the political nation: it safeguards civilized life, but it presupposes agreement and stability as much as it secures them; and it can hardly be expected to build up, recast, or dissect the body in which it resides. (Hence the talk about ‘missed opportunities’ of uniting Germany by ‘Parliamentary action’ lacks substance.) States are not created or destroyed, and frontiers redrawn or obliterated, by argument and majority votes; nations are freed, united, or broken by blood and iron, and not by a generous application of liberty and tomato-sauce; violence is the instrument of national movements. Mass violence takes two forms, denoted as revolution and war; and there is close interaction between the two—they shatter political structures, and open the way for each other. In 1848 the subversive social forces were not equal to the task, and war had to come first: hence the bellicose ardours of the social revolutionaries, and the prudent pacificism of the Conservatives—for once both sides understood their business (better, indeed, than many historians who have written about it since). The national revolutionaries, recruited mainly from the middle classes or the petty gentry, and, most of all, from the intellectuals, could not become effective except by laying hold of governments and armies: as in Piedmont and Hungary. But these were small States, the one hampered by hesitations and the other beset with difficulties, which still further reduced their strength, while Prussia’s action in Slesvig-Holstein was less than half-hearted. Throughout 1848 the ultimate control of the state-machine, and still more of the armies of the Great Powers on the European Continent, remained with the Conservatives; and it is this which preserved peace in Europe. The ‘Revolution of the Intellectuals’ exhausted itself without achieving concrete results: it left its imprint only in the realm of ideas.

1848, *Verhandlungen des deutschen Parlaments*, Offizielle Ausgabe. Zweite Lieferung (1848). Also General W. von Willisen, a friend of the Poles who was in touch with their deputation, says that its claims were of a purely provincial character (‘sie hatten nur rein Provinzielles zu bitten’); see Willisen, *Akten und Bemerkungen über meine Sendung nach dem Grossherzogtum Posen im Frühjahr 1848* (1850), p. 3.

In its initial stage it looked to Britain and her parliamentary Government for patterns; and Englishmen, conscious of the excellence of their constitutional system and ascribing to it universal applicability, responded by taking a benevolent, fatherly, interest in these endeavours. They also sympathized with national aspirations, if respectable and 'legitimate';¹ but few there were who would have dissented from Palmerston's pronouncement that peace was 'the first object, to the attainment of which the efforts of enlightened statesmen ought to be directed'.² As yet the conflict between constitutional development and national movements was not patent: and its unfolding in 1848 could be written in terms of British disillusionment and disgust. Lord Minto had a foretaste of it when in 1847 he went out to Italy with a roving commission, and set to work to teach rulers how to carry on constitutional government, and liberal leaders how to conduct an opposition; failing in either task, he bitterly concluded that 'rogues and fools and cowards form the whole stock-in-trade of this country in the article of public men'. And after the *annus mirabilis* had run its course, early in 1849, Lord Brougham wrote in his magniloquent manner: 'I must . . . lift up my voice against that new speculation in the rights of independent States, the security of neighbouring governments, and indeed the happiness of all nations . . . termed "Nationality", adopted as a kind of rule for the distribution of dominion.'³ While rebutting some of Brougham's indictments of the revolution, John Stuart Mill sadly reflected on the feelings which make men indifferent to the rights and interests 'of any portion of the human species, save that which is called by the same name and speaks the same language as themselves. These feelings are characteristic of barbarians.' Now it was seen 'that in the backward parts of Europe and even (where better things might have been expected) in Germany, the sentiment of nationality so far outweighs the love of liberty that the people are willing to abet their rulers in crushing the liberty and independence of any people not of their race and language'.⁴

¹ That is, of nations whose representatives were fit to frequent London society, or whose countries were attractive to British tourists.

² See A. J. P. Taylor, *The Italian Problem in European Diplomacy, 1847-49* (1934), p. 72.

³ See *Letter to the Marquess of Lansdowne, Lord President of the Council*, p. 126.

⁴ See article on 'The French Revolution and its Assailants', in the *Westminster Review* for Apr. 1849. Meyendorff, himself a German but of the *ancien régime*, at an early date discerned the nature and significance of the German national movement. He wrote to Nesselrode on 29 Mar.: 'I have

Lastly, W. N. Senior, in 1850: 'This barbarous feeling of nationality . . . has become the curse of Europe.'¹

Thus in the *Völkerfrühling*,² 'nationality', the passionate creed of the intellectuals, invades the politics of central and east-central Europe, and with 1848 starts the Great European War of every nation against its neighbours. But this is a theme so massive in its core and so vast in its ramifications that not even a summary can be attempted in this paper. I shall limit myself to certain international developments during the first months of the revolution, and to the early manifestations of aggressive nationalisms, especially of German nationalism which derives from the much belauded Frankfort Parliament rather than from Bismarck and 'Prussianism'; and in examining the relation of these German 'Liberals', in reality forerunners of Hitler, to the Poles and Czechs, and also of the Poles to the other Slavs, I shall be discussing problems which ninety years later, in 1938-9, were to become once more a touchstone of German mentality, and a decisive element in East-European politics. An analysis of other problems in 1848—those of German unity, of the Habsburg Monarchy, of the Hungarian National State, of the 'subject nationalities', of Italy, of parliamentary assemblies, &c., I must leave to further essays.³

VIII

In February 1848, in Paris, political passions devoid of real contents had evoked revolutionary phantoms: fevered nerves and hearts grown cold responded to an overtowering past by a routine of excitement. How far would reverberations and memories carry France in the sphere of international action?

put a Danish Minister, called Lehmann, in touch with Sir Stratford Canning, so that England should see how hostile national Germany is to all other nationalities, and how it threatens the peace of Europe which England desires to preserve' (op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 58-9).

¹ See *Journals in France and Italy, 1848-52*, vol. i, p. 262, under date 20 May 1850.

² 'The springtime of nations': the Germans wax sentimental about 'March 1848', which to them is the *Wonnemond* of history; and they have managed to make other nations believe that there was something specially noble and precious and liberal-minded about the collectivity of Germans at that time, and about their performance—one of the legends of history.

³ In the lecture as delivered to the British Academy I touched on some of these problems, but having much more fully developed and documented the part here comprised, I could not include these other major themes without exceeding by far the limits of an essay.

How much of the drama would be restaged? France was not alone in remembering 1792: and the Great Powers, having learnt their lesson, steered clear of war.

In French home politics, 1848 continued the unfinished story of 1830—‘En 1830, nous nous sommes fort hâtés, nous voici obligés, en 1848, de recommencer’;¹ in foreign affairs, it merely supplied a revised edition. Once more the traditional revolutionary cries were heard, but there was no *élan*, no sacrificial zeal—as in 1830 ‘the revolutionary spirit still declaimed and agitated the masses, but did not fire them any longer with an ardent and devoted eagerness’. ‘The revolutionary party . . . thought war inevitable for France and necessary for itself, and, blindly assuming the inheritance both of the Convention and the Empire, raised the double standard of propaganda and conquest: yet expected to find for its enterprise allies in Europe.’² But the masses—‘those millions which make no noise but are France’³—would not have marched unless France were attacked.

War presaged revolutionary violence and a Caesarian dictatorship: contingencies repugnant to the middle classes and their intellectual leaders. They desired peace and prosperity, facilities for work and study, freedom and the pleasures of a brilliant intellectual life, an existence rendered glorious by pride of place: by the consciousness of France’s intellectual, moral, and political primacy in Europe. This was not a German militarism or *Wille zur Macht*, but a perplexing mixture of *hubris* and idealism. ‘The permanent rôle of France is . . . to promote civilisation and liberal ideas, and to protect the independence of small States’⁴ wrote d’Haussonville in 1850. And again: ‘It has always been the fate of France by her power to arouse anxiety among her neighbours . . . the jealousy of Europe is our honour and our danger. Shame to us if we cease to merit that honour or recoil from that danger!’⁵ Crémieux, a member of the Provisional Government of February, in December 1848 supported Louis-Napoleon for the Presidency as ‘the clearest protest against the Treaties of 1815, the most complete break

¹ Crémieux in the French Parliament on 24 Feb. 1848.

² Guizot, *Mémoires*, vol. ii, p. 85 and p. 80. These two passages refer to the early days of the July Monarchy, but, written in the fifties, seem to reflect 1848.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 12.

⁴ *Histoire de la politique extérieure du gouvernement français, 1830–1848* (1850), pp. x–xi.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

with that anti-national era which sullies our history'.¹ Circourt, a Legitimist, writes of 1848: 'France at that time seemed invested with the privilege, great and dangerous, to feel, to think, to speak, and to act in the name of humanity.'² With this belief the French democrats of 1848 combined a naive pacifism imbued with romantic sensibility—they had faith in the *sympathie pacifique des peuples*.³ France sang the 'Marseillaise' and talked peace.

Lamartine managed to voice and blend these two emotions. He was a poet and an orator, and vain, but a sincere pacifist;⁴ and in his foreign policy he showed a common sense in which otherwise he was frequently deficient.⁵ On 27 February, he wrote in a circular to the foreign ambassadors in Paris:⁶

The Republican form of the new Government has not altered the place of France in Europe, nor her loyal and sincere disposition to maintain friendly relations with all Powers which, like herself, desire the independence of nations and the peace of the world.

And in his 'Manifesto to the Powers' on 4 March (a tirade of well over 2,500 words)⁷:

The proclamation of the French Republic is not directed against

¹ *La Révolution de 1848. Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire de la Révolution de 1848*, vol. xxi, Dec. 1924, p. 266. This explanation is given in a letter to his nephew, Aimé Lyon, dated 7 Mar. 1849.

² *Souvenirs d'une mission à Berlin en 1848*, vol. i, p. 88.

³ See Laurin, 'Un précurseur de la Société des Nations', in *La Révolution de 1848. Bulletin &c.*, vol. xxi, July–August 1924.

⁴ When in the debate on the Paris fortifications in Aug. 1845 Thiers, both statesman and *brouillon*, remarked: 'Nous sommes toujours en 1792, et l'Europe nous menace toujours', Lamartine replied: 'Cinquante ans ont passé depuis 1792, et personne ne menace la France . . .' (see Daniel Halévy, *Le Courrier de M. Thiers*, 1921, p. 185). In a speech delivered at Macon, in the autumn of 1847, Lamartine said about the July Monarchy: 'La paix sera dans l'avenir, selon moi, la glorieuse amnistie de ce gouvernement contre ses autres erreurs' (see his *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848*, vol. i, p. 35).

⁵ Absent from Lamartine's cradle, says Sainte-Beuve, was 'la fée du bons sens et du sens réel' (see Essay on Lamartine's *Confidences in Causeries de Lundi*, vol. i, 8 Oct. 1849). No need to resort to Lamartine's *Confidences* for evidence—witness the self-lyricism of his *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848*. For instance: 'il avait beaucoup conversé avec la nature, avec les livres, avec son cœur, avec ses pensées' (vol. i, p. 74): about his journey to the East: 'On était parti homme, on revient philosophe' (p. 76); or this self-portrait: 'Lamartine avait été créé religieux, comme l'air a été créé transparent. Le sentiment de Dieu était tellement indivisible de son âme, qu'il était impossible de distinguer en lui la politique de la religion' (pp. 81–2).

⁶ See Lamartine, *Trois mois au pouvoir* (1848), p. 68.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 69–78. Lamartine had 'une phraséologie abondante et monotone', and found it convenient 'de couronner sa politique par des idylles' (Sainte-Beuve).

any other form of Government. . . . Monarchy and Republic are not . . . absolute principles in deadly conflict; they can face each other with mutual understanding and respect. . . .

The French Republic will not start war against anyone. The men who now govern France think: Happy is France if war is declared on her, and she is constrained to acquire strength and glory, despite her moderation! But terrible would be her responsibility were she to declare war unprovoked! . . .

The Treaties of 1815 legally no longer exist in the eyes of the French Republic; still, their territorial clauses are a fact admitted by her as basis and starting point in relations with other nations . . . this emancipation of the Republic from the Treaties of 1815 is in no way irreconcilable with the tranquillity of Europe.

But we declare that if the hour for the resurrection of some oppressed nations . . . should seem to us to have struck in the decrees of Providence; if Switzerland, our faithful ally were . . . menaced; if the independent States of Italy were invaded; if limits or obstacles were placed to their internal transformation; if the right to federate were forcibly denied to them . . . the French Republic would feel entitled to take up arms in defence of these legitimate movements. . . .

The Republic, at birth, pronounced . . . the three words, *Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité*. . . . If Europe is wise and just, each of them signifies peace.

In short: no ideological wars, no republican propaganda, no programme of conquest; a reservation is made against foreign intervention in the *pays limitrophes* (such as was made by Sebastiani and Casimir Périer in 1830-1); the fate of Poland (a country not mentioned by name) is left to the decrees of Providence (as interpreted by France).¹ There was enough verbiage to satisfy the public at home, and enough sense to reassure European statesmen. 'If the Powers of Europe wished

¹ Lamartine said to a Polish deputation: 'The Republic . . . said, thinking of you: The day when the providential hour will seem to us to have struck for the resurrection of a nation unjustly wiped off the map, we shall fly to its help. But we have reserved the right of France to appraise the hour, the moment, the justice, the cause, and the means whereby it suits us to intervene' (*Trois mois au pouvoir*, p. 135; the address is printed under 19 Mar. 1848, and reproduced without date in Lamartine's *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848*, vol. ii, pp. 259-66; but its correct date is 26 Mar.—see official *Moniteur* of 27 Mar., p. 695). Guizot, when criticizing in his *Mémoires* (vol. ii, p. 84, published in 1859) the foreign policy of the Left in the early 30's, undoubtedly had also Lamartine's circular in mind: 'They did not mean to brush aside or break those treaties, for they wanted peace; but they wished both to respect and to denounce them, and to utter threats without acting; an attitude maladroit and undignified, for their words aroused suspicions abroad which their conduct endeavoured to allay.'

to make war against France, there are in that circular abundant materials wherewith to pick a quarrel with her', wrote Palmerston to the British Ambassador in Paris; but if they are desirous of maintaining peace, its substance is in the circular, 'although somewhat clothed in the garb of defiance'.¹

This, moreover, Lamartine tried to explain away in advance by means of confidential messages. On 3 March he spoke to Normanby about 'the feeling which had existed for the last thirty years in France upon the subject of the Treaties of 1815, and the humiliation of which they had been considered as the constant record; he should have wished to have said nothing whatever about them, but this seemed impossible'—and he explained the way in which he proposed to deal with the subject.² Even before addressing himself to Normanby, Lamartine forewarned the Duke of Wellington: 'Le Gouvernement Provisoire . . . fera une déclaration énergique aux nations de l'Europe, mais le Duc de Wellington en comprendra le vrai sens.'³ (Republicans had talked of 'the malady of 1815' and 'the poignant memories of Waterloo': now to pick out the Duke of all men for recipient of such a message—how truly romantic!) And on 5 March Lamartine instructed Circourt to reassure the King of Prussia: 'In Paris we have successfully stood between anarchy and order. . . . With the same energy, we now wish to stand between war and Europe.'⁴

¹ Lord Palmerston to Lord Normanby (draft), P.R.O., F.O., 27/804, No. 132; in the heading the draft bears the date of 6 Mar. 1848, but against Palmerston's initial that of 7 Mar. is added.

² Normanby to Palmerston, F.O., 27/804, No. 118.

³ The Duke received this on 2 Mar. through his nephew, J. Wellesley, in 'a communication made to him for me by M. de Lamartine, which he wrote down in M. de Lamartine's presence, and read to him'. The import of the memorandum, which the Duke was asked to lay before Her Majesty's servants, was the wish for an alliance with Great Britain; see Spencer Walpole, *The Life of Lord John Russell* (1889), vol. ii, p. 32. The exchange of messages with the Duke is mentioned in Lamartine's *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848* (vol. ii, p. 32), in general terms and with a clever shifting of emphasis: while his message was *empressé* and the Duke's reply non-committal, Lamartine, though admitting that the initiative had been his, veils its character and makes the most of the Duke's answer—'the first impression of England expressed through her first citizen'.

⁴ Circourt, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 80. Lamartine was half-inclined to look upon Prussia as a liberal, semi-constitutional State; for the importance which he ascribed to Prussia, and a romantic discourse on 'the heart of the King', see his *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848*, vol. ii, pp. 175–9. But the message to Wellington classes Frederick William with Metternich and Tsar Nicholas: the Provisional Government 'wants to defend the free nations

Louis-Philippe and Guizot could hardly have improved on this language.¹

That the July Monarchy was nowhere cherished or esteemed was an initial safeguard against the blunder of 1792. John Russell, voicing the resentment still felt in London over the Spanish marriages, wrote to the Queen on 15 April:

The King of the French has brought upon his own family, upon France, and upon Europe, a great calamity. A moderate and constitutional Government at home, coupled with an abstinence from ambitious projects for his family abroad, might have laid the foundations of permanent peace, order, and freedom in Europe. Selfishness and cunning have destroyed that which honesty and wisdom might have maintained.²

Similarly, though for different reasons, the votaries of Legitimism derived moral comfort from the downfall of the July Monarchy. 'Who would not recognise the avenging hand of the King of Kings in all this?' wrote Frederick William IV to Queen Victoria on 28 February.³ And Tsar Nicholas to Frederick William, on 7 March: 'Louis-Philippe loses his usurped throne. . . . Thus the hand of God is clearly seen. . . .'⁴ 'What lessons for the world!' cogitated Metternich.

'We have no intention whatever', declared Lord John Russell on 28 February, 'to interfere with the form of government which the French nation may choose to adopt, or in any way to meddle with the affairs of that country.'⁵ Even more: Great Britain meant to restrain Europe from doing so, provided France refrained from attacking Europe.⁶ Britain's programme was thus summarized, on 27 February, by the Prussian Ambassador, Baron von Bunsen:⁷

against aggression from the Northern Courts, and hopes to find support in England'.

¹ Lamartine once said that 'though no one was a more determined advocate of the *status quo* and a more ardent lover of peace, he could not earn the character of the Guizot of the Republic' (see Normanby's dispatch of 1 May 1848, in Alan J. P. Taylor's *The Italian Problem in European Diplomacy, 1847-1849*, p. 95, n. 3). So he himself noted the resemblance, be it merely in a disclaimer.

² *The Letters of Queen Victoria, 1837-1861*, vol. ii, pp. 169-70.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

⁴ See Schiemann, *Geschichte Russlands unter Kaiser Nikolaus I*, vol. iv (1919), p. 139.

⁵ *Hansard*, vol. xcvi, c. 1389.

⁶ Palmerston to Clarendon, 9 Mar. 1848: see E. Ashley, *Life of Lord Palmerston, 1846-1865* (1876), vol. i, p. 86.

⁷ In a dispatch to Frederick William IV: see H. C. F. Bell, *Lord Palmerston* (1936), vol. i, p. 426.

Whatever happens, no offensive war against France, still less a war of principles; no . . . alliance . . . to such an end, but an agreement with the other Powers for the defence of the *status quo* against unprovoked attacks on the part of France. . . .

Nor had the continental rulers, though deeply apprehensive of French Republican aggression, any marked desire to plunge into preventive action. Frederick William, writing to Queen Victoria on 27 February, pleaded for resorting not to arms, but to 'the power of united speech': France should be told that no encroachment was intended, but that to 'the first breach of the peace', the Great Powers would react with their united forces.¹ To Bunsen he described this letter as his *credo*. 'My prayer to God, my longing and wishes, are for peace in Europe.'² Tsar Nicholas urged 'energetic resistance to the progress of anarchy which threatens the whole of Europe':³ impressive forces should be assembled for defence. But even he meant to remain an onlooker of the 'new political experiment' and of the consequent 'work of disorganisation, so long as it does not exceed the frontiers of France'.⁴ Metternich wrote on 7 March, in his draft for a Four-Power Declaration: 'The Courts do not regard themselves as called upon to interfere in questions which only concern the internal affairs of France'; he wished, however, to recreate the Grand Alliance and to wring from France an acknowledgement of the Treaty Settlement of 1815.⁵ But Palmerston was opposed to exacting any such 'abstract and theoretical acknowledgment',⁶ and would not engage in any great, or futile, 'political demonstration which might be misrepresented by the war party in France as an indication of intended attack, and would probably compel the Provisional Government to march troops and form armies. . . .'⁷

¹ *The Letters of Queen Victoria*, vol. ii, p. 151.

² See letter of 9 Mar. 1848, *Aus dem Briefwechsel Friedrich Wilhelms IV mit Bunsen*, edited by Leopold von Ranke (1873), pp. 178-81.

³ In an official note published in the *Journal de St. Pétersbourg*; see Vicomte de Guichen, *Les grandes questions européennes et la diplomatie des puissances sous la Seconde République Française* (1925), vol. i, p. 58; the date is not clearly indicated, but seems to be 5 Mar.

⁴ See letter of Nicholas I to Frederick William IV, 7 Mar. (N.S.), Schiemann, op. cit., vol. iv, pp. 139-40, and from Count Nesselrode, the Russian Chancellor, to Baron von Brunow, 12 Mar. (N.S.), Guichen, op. cit., vol. i, p. 60.

⁵ See Metternich's *Mémoires* (1883), vol. vii, pp. 598-9.

⁶ Palmerston to Normanby, 6-7 Mar., F.O., 27/804, No. 132.

⁷ See Palmerston's dispatch to Normanby, 4 Mar. 1848; Taylor, op. cit., p. 74, n. 1.

D'Haussonville's description of Tsar Nicholas's attitude in 1830 applies also to 1848: 'Much anger . . . much ill-will towards the French Government. As for a precise plan, he had none either for himself or for the others.'¹ And before a month had passed, revolution had engulfed central Europe. The war which would have made France 'happy' by forcing her 'to acquire strength and glory' (and might have averted the June Days) was not declared on her: and the storm-centre moved eastward.

IX

Now it was a question of the attitude not of Courts only, but of peoples, and of their interaction. German Liberals and Radicals acknowledged the debt owing to the French Revolution, and professed reverence for the French champions of human rights and freedom: but they could not overlook the nexus between French revolutionary propaganda and demands for the 'natural frontiers'. When in 1840 France threatened to play off revolution against the Governments of Europe, and talked of 'carrying once more the tricolour from capital to capital . . . in a way which would not arouse the hostility of nations but . . . set them free',² the Germans replied with the *Wacht am Rhein*; similarly in 1848, none, except the extremest Republicans, would have brooked French intrusion, and these only by an ultra-revolutionary France which would have given victory to their cause. The February Revolution quickened the movement towards German unity, both by parallel and by contrary impulses—national sovereignty, overriding dynastic rights, was a precondition of German unity if this was to be achieved without war, while the desire to safeguard social order and the national territory made Germans draw together: both these motives were almost invariably present in greater or less degree.

But there was fear of intervention and war from yet another quarter: in progressive circles fear of Russia overshadowed that of France. On 13 March the Rhenish Liberal, Camphausen (who on the 28th became Prussian Premier), wrote to the Minister of the Interior, von Bodelschwingh, about the danger of a separatist movement rising in southern and western Germany under French influence unless Prussia took the lead in a national constitutional movement: 'Germany will be rent in

¹ Op. cit., vol. i, pp. 102-3.

² In an article in *Le Temps* quoted by Thureau-Dangin, *Histoire de la Monarchie de Juillet*, vol. iv, p. 234.

two. And where would the frontier run between South and North Germany? The will of Governments cannot decide, for Germans do not shoot at Germans, but all will take up arms against the Russians'¹—an abrupt and seemingly irrelevant *finale*. When on 21 March Frederick William IV proclaimed that 'Prussia henceforth merges into Germany', and that for the 'days of danger' he assumed the leadership, he first spoke of 'supreme danger', next of 'extraneous danger from more than one direction', and in the third sentence of 'this imminent double danger'.² A week later, in a memorandum for his Ministers, in which he tried to attenuate the ultra-German emphasis of the proclamation, he described the German people, 'of over 40 millions', as predestined to form 'the bulwark of Europe against revolution and despotism, both of which everywhere endanger social order and all true legal freedom'.³ His naming of Russia as a danger was lip-service to the *Zeitgeist*: when the National Assembly met at Frankfort, numerous motions and petitions demanded an alliance with France, a transfer of troops from the western to the eastern frontier of Germany, 'prompt arming against Russia', &c. The Committee for Foreign Affairs, reporting on them on 1 July, declared against ideological war of any kind; between Germany and France there should be no hostility or struggle (only a 'noble rivalry' in freedom, its right application, and in 'true respect for the rule of law'); but a long, hesitant, and yet basically inimical paragraph was devoted to Russia: the apprehended danger of attack has been carefully considered; Russian troop-concentrations are not necessarily directed against Germany, and their size has been greatly exaggerated; still, it is a fact that Russian troops on the German frontier have been reinforced; but the necessary counter-measures cannot be determined by the Assembly. The report concluded with the following resolution, which was carried: 'That the German forces on the eastern frontier should be rendered sufficiently strong to be fully able to stand up to the army which faces them.'⁴

¹ See *König Friedrich Wilhelms IV Briefwechsel mit Ludolf Camphausen*, edited by Erich Brandenburg (1906), Appendix, p. 219.

² See A. Wolff, *Berliner Revolutions-Chronik* (1851), vol. i, pp. 298–9.

³ Brandenburg, *Briefwechsel*, p. 21.

⁴ See *Stenographischer Bericht über die Verhandlungen der deutschen constituierenden Nationalversammlung zu Frankfurt am Main*, vol. i, pp. 654–5. Here are the most important passages about ideological war: 'Germany . . . will never put her hand to a struggle of various States for political principles', as she wishes to preserve 'the movement . . . which has gripped a whole Continent, and is

Hatred of Tsarist Russia, as the mainstay of the Holy Alliance and the guardian of autocracy, was universal among European Liberals and Radicals. Russian intervention on the side of the monarchs was feared in progressive, and hoped for in reactionary, German circles: the Government in St. Petersburg, presided over by a dynasty which in every generation intermarried with German princely families, and was served at home and abroad by multitudes of Germans, Baltic and immigrant, was very nearly a German 'colonial' outpost, isolated from liberalizing influences, but deriving from its vast Slav Empire a force with which it threatened to dominate Germany—a super-Prussia beyond Germany's borders. Leopold von Gerlach, a leading member of the Prussian Court *camarilla*, said to the Russian Ambassador, Baron von Meyendorff, that in Germany 'order could not be restored without the help of foreign Powers'. 'I told him how happy I was that he, a German, was here Ambassador, because the best Russian could not have understood our conditions (*Verhältnisse*).'¹ When reading the correspondence of Count Nesselrode with Baron von Meyendorff, or the letters which Nicholas I wrote to his brother-in-law Frederick William IV, one feels that here were outlandish Germans² using the French language and representing a Power which stood for a principle of authority rather than for a national cause: as such more easily consulted and called in, and more ready to play the mentor.³

well-nigh without precedent in history, from degenerating into a universal war between the nations, and from destroying the finest of its own achievements'.

¹ *Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Leben Leopold von Gerlachs* (1891), vol. i, p. 197.

² Bismarck mentions in a dispatch from St. Petersburg, on 26 May 1859, that the discussion in Council, held in the presence of the Emperor before Nesselrode's departure, was in French, because 'Count Nesselrode and Herr von Meyendorff do not express themselves with ease in the Russian language'; see L. Raschdau, *Die politischen Berichte des Fürsten Bismarck aus Petersburg und Paris* (1920), vol. i, p. 84. Circourt writes about Meyendorff: 'He is a German nobleman with the rectitude and *Gemüth* which do honour to his race: at the same time a loyal, devoted but discerning servant of the Russian Government and Imperial House . . .' (*Souvenirs*, vol. i, pp. 130-1); and about Count Medem, Russian Ambassador in Vienna: 'a true gentleman, German in character and manners' (*ibid.*, p. 340).

³ Thus on 28 Feb. 1848, Meyendorff reports to Nesselrode having talked very freely to the Prussian Premier, Count Canitz, about the line which Prussia should adopt towards the French Revolution—'ces gens-ci ne doivent pas faire à eux seuls de la grande politique, parcequ'ils n'y entendent rien'. See *Briefwechsel*, vol. ii, p. 37.

In Germany the conviction was general in the first months of the revolution that a great inner transformation could not be achieved without war against Russia which had a double interest in the maintenance of the *status quo*: a union of Germany as a sovereign nation would have run counter both to the power-politics and to the autocratic principles of the Russian Empire—nor is it easy to determine where the one interest began or the other ended.¹

X

For war against Russia, Poland was the obvious spearhead, and anti-Russian feeling was apt to mix, as it so often does, with pro-Polish enthusiasms. The collapse of the Polish revolution in 1831 was followed by mass-emigration—of members of the Government and of the Diet, of the aristocracy and the landed gentry, of the intelligentsia (in the most brilliant period of Polish literature), and of large bodies of the defeated, disbanding army. Seldom if ever has there been such an exodus of a nation's *élite*, and for the next fifteen years the centre of Polish intellectual life and political activities shifted abroad, mainly to France. These *émigrés* did not forsake their country but carried it with them. They did not leave in opposition to any part of their own people, but as its true spokesmen. Indeed, at times, the idea was seriously canvassed of reconvening the Polish Diet in Paris on the strength of a resolution passed at its last sitting in Warsaw, on 18 September 1831, that it should follow the army and be free to meet anywhere, with thirty-three members for quorum.²

¹ The question of Russia's attitude towards German union is most fully dealt with in J. Feldman, *op. cit.* A few years earlier it was posed by Erich Marcks in a lecture 'Die europäischen Mächte und die 48-er Revolution', published in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. cxlii (1930).

² According to Gadon, *Emigracya polska* (1902), vol. ii, p. 205, in Jan. 1833 50 members of the late Diet were abroad, 34 of them in Paris. According to Lewak (chapter on the 'Great Emigration' in S. Lam, *Polska, jej dzieje i kultura* (1937), vol. iii, p. 207) in that month 25 members declared for, and 12 against reconstituting the Polish Diet in Paris. The idea (which had the enthusiastic support of Mickiewicz) was finally dropped, the Reds opposing it because they considered the late Diet unrepresentative and blamed it for the defeat, and the Whites, because they feared to provoke the Partitioning Powers and force France to take action. The idea of the 'Diet in Exile' was revived in 1846, and was pressed in 1848, when Austrian and Prussian Poland obtained parliamentary representation, but not Russian Poland. On 16 May, 14 members met in Paris and summoned a wider assembly, but apparently were no longer able to convene a quorum; see *Korespondencya J. B. Zaleskiego*, edited by D. Zaleski (1900), vol. ii, pp. 47 and 97-100.

When in that autumn nearly 50,000 Polish soldiers crossed into Prussia and Austria, some of the leaders planned to take them to France, as 'ready cadres for future Polish Legions which, in a universal European upheaval, would sally forth to conquer Poland's independence'.¹ But an amnesty for the non-commissioned ranks,² published by the Tsar on 1 November 1831, and seconded by the zealous endeavours of the two Germanic Powers, made a great many soldiers recross the frontier, and in the end only a few thousand, mostly officers, started the trek for the west. The total of the 'emigration' is estimated at almost 10,000,³ about three-fourths belonging to the educated classes.

The path of the refugees led across Germany, and, though frowned upon by the Austrian and Prussian Governments, they were fêted by the population as fighters for freedom and victims of Tsarism—this was the time of the *Polenlieder*⁴ and the *Polenschwärmerei*. But it was in France that these men hoped to reform their ranks, and from France to restart the struggle—they remembered the Polish legions of the Great Revolution and Napoleon,⁵ and the French armies marching across Europe

¹ See J. Frejlich, 'Legion Jenerała Józefa Bema w walce o sukcesję portugalską' ('The Legion of Gen. J. Bem in the War of Portuguese Succession') in the *Przegląd Historyczny* (*Historical Review*), vol. xiv (1912).

² This limitation was subsequently removed thanks to British intercession: but the amnesty was not honestly adhered to for either category.

³ Krasnowski, in his *Almanach historique, ou Souvenir de l'Émigration polonaise* (1846) supplies a list of about 8,500 names; but such lists are bound to be incomplete, and Gadon (op. cit., vol. iii, p. 232) puts the total number at 9,500–10,000. Both estimates are of the total that left Poland, not of the number abroad at any one time. Lewak (op. cit., vol. iii, p. 199) attempts a census for 1839, and arrives at the following figures:

In France	5,758
Algiers, the Foreign Legion, and the French Colonies	500
Great Britain, at least	1,300
Belgium	300
Spain	500
America	500
Switzerland, Germany, Scandinavia, Italy	300
Together about	9,000

Of the *émigrés* in France, 5,260 were in receipt of Government subsidies, and in Great Britain 600.

⁴ In the 1830's, Moser's 'Die letzten Zehn vom vierten Regiment' was one of the most popular songs in Germany.

⁵ Although in reality Napoleon, all along, fought shy of the Poles, the Napoleonic legend was cherished by them, even more than by the French. Perhaps the finest poem on the return of Napoleon's body to France was written by Słowacki. Mickiewicz remained a votary of the 'Napoleonic

till they reached the Vistula and the Niemen: and they saw the Tricolour unfurled once more. They forgot their disappointments of twenty and thirty years ago,¹ and failed to gauge the spirit of 1830. A Polish lady wrote from Paris, in December 1831: 'The King, the Government, and the upper classes do not like us, but in the French manner *ils enveloppent leurs sentiments de belles phrases*. . . . We are truly beloved by the second rank of society and by the common people, and we therefore arouse fear.'² To the Legitimists the Tsar was the high priest of their creed; the July Monarchy was intent on establishing its respectability *vis-à-vis* Europe, and on avoiding further revolutionary complications; while the Left did the Poles harm by passionately espousing their cause, by encouraging them in the belief that a universal European upheaval was near, and by using them, sojourners in a strange land and pensioners of a foreign government, as a stick with which to beat that Government. Lafayette proclaimed: 'Toute la France est polonaise'; and Louis Blanc wrote in retrospect: 'Nous vivions surtout en Pologne.' Henceforth every year an embarrassing resolution and debate on Poland was repeated in the French Parliament—a meaningless gesture repeated *ad nauseam*.³

The July Monarchy, even if they enveloped their sentiments in fine phrases, at least did not hide hard facts from the Poles, nor their own basic attitude. But when in January 1831 some Polish emissaries waylaid in Prussia the Duc de Mortemart, idea' even under Napoleon III, and by his Bonapartism disconcerted and estranged many of his collaborators in the *Tribune des Peuples*; for Herzen's account of the inaugural dinner on 24 Feb. 1849, when Mickiewicz was to have given the toast of the Revolution of 1848, but finished by invoking the shade of Napoleon, see *Byloye i dumy (Reminiscences)*, *Polnoye Sobranie (Collected Works)*, part iv, vol. 13, pp. 310–11 (1919). The Napoleonic tradition was revived in Poland shortly before 1914, and had a considerable influence on the development of the Piłsudski movement and legend.

¹ Guizot writes in his *Mémoires*, vol. ii, p. 274: ' . . . ni la Révolution française, ni l'Empereur Napoléon n'ont fait entrer le rétablissement de la Pologne dans leurs réels et énergiques desseins. On a prononcé des paroles; on a entr'ouvert des perspectives; on a exploité des dévouements en provoquant des espérances; rien de plus. L'extrême malheur a pu seul puiser quelques illusions dans de tels mensonges. Tout le monde s'est servi de la Pologne; personne ne l'a jamais servie.'

² See Gadon, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 8.

³ Lamartine writes in his *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848* (vol. ii, p. 156): 'For the past eighteen years, the French Parliament, constrained rather than convinced, at the opening of each session pronounced a sterile wish on behalf of Poland. The wishes of a great nation are derision if they are but an empty sound, unsupported by action.'

then on a mission to St. Petersburg, and he told them the truth about their situation, they would have none of it: 'French democracy will determine events; and French democracy will support Poland. Your King and your Cabinet will be forced by public opinion to come to our help. . . . The issue is joined, and it will be all or nothing.' Mortemart replied: '*Eh bien*, I grieve to have to say it, but I am deeply convinced: it will be nothing.'¹ And Casimir Périer said in Parliament, on 21 February 1832, in answering the Opposition: 'No, gentlemen, the misfortunes of the Poles should not be laid at the door of the French Government, but of those who gave them bad advice.'² The Poles drew their own conclusions. Mochnacki wrote in August 1831: '... not the Cabinets are our allies, but the peoples.'³ And General Umiński in 1833: '... all our hope is in nations rising in revolution.'⁴ And Mickiewicz: 'There can be no alliance between Poland and the Governments. . . . The enemies of the old order in Europe are our only allies.'⁵

No wonder then if the French Government, harried by Republican conspiracies and Russian remonstrances, tried to keep the Poles away from Paris. The soldiers were sent to dépôts, first at Avignon, Besançon, and Bourges, but after some revolutionary escapades, they were dispersed between some 180 small places, at a distance from the German, Swiss, and Piedmontese frontiers: they were kept in honourable semi-confinement, on meagre allowances, with no duties to perform, regimented yet undisciplined and idle. Little was left to them but to ponder over the past, dream about the future, spin schemes however fantastic, and quarrel among themselves. Even in Paris life was miserable. The poet Bohdan Zaleski wrote on 4 December 1833: 'With hearts unbearably void, we are sad and bored. To-day the same as yesterday, to-morrow as to-day: from morning to night in a dense fog which never lifts. . . .'⁶ And Konarski, on 25 September 1834: 'I sit indoors, muse, dream, sometimes play the flute, and sigh for home . . . I eat, sleep, and work like an ox, but the human side of life

¹ See Victor de Nouvion, *Histoire du règne de Louis-Philippe*, vol. ii, p. 191. Guizot mentions (*Mémoires*, ii, p. 280) having been assured by Mortemart that the account as given by Nouvion was accurate.

² Quoted after Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, vol. i, ch. v, p. 487.

³ See A. Sliwiński, *Mickiewicz jako polityk (Mickiewicz as a Politician)* (1908), p. 74.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁶ D. Zaleski, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 53.

has been taken from us.'¹ And Wielogłowski in his memoirs: 'God and our people will have mercy upon us, and forgive us our shortcomings, because of our great sufferings and our longing for home, which very nearly drove us mad.'²

Like all *émigrés* they had thought that the separation would be short, and now years went by, while they were searching in a hopeless, fumbling manner for some way of serving the cause. Only a handful went into the Foreign Legion, which the French Government had suggested to suit its own convenience. But even Prince Adam Czartoryski, a statesman of European reputation and experience, favoured in 1832-3 the scheme of a Polish Legion to fight in Portugal for Donna Maria da Gloria against Don Miguel, as representing the system of the Holy Alliance: the Poles should do so 'in their own interest', for the cause of all nations is one, and (a much more cogent reason) because it would rescue them from the idleness which undermines 'their capacities, minds, and morals'.³ About the same time the Turkish Ambassador in Vienna proposed to Czartoryski a transfer of the entire Polish emigration to Turkey, there to reorganize the army and administration. But when the Turks secured Russia's help against Egypt, they dropped the Poles, who now turned to Mehmet Ali. General Dembiński proceeded to Cairo.⁴ So went on the weary round of bizarre negotiations in exotic quarters, from which 'only extreme misfortune could draw some illusory hopes'.⁵ Still, the great mass of the Polish emigration was opposed to frittering away forces, and awaited the time for direct action in the very heart of Europe. They developed a creed, by no means free of exaltation and of illusions, yet based on premisses which were sound though postulating things not easy of realization. They saw that Poland's resurrection could only come through a war between the Partitioning Powers, or the defeat of all three (as happened in 1918); that this presupposed a general upheaval, a world

¹ M. Handelsman, *Rozwój narodowości nowoczesnej* (*The Development of Modern Nationality*), chapter on 'The Emigration and Europe' (1926), p. 130.

² Gadon, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 262.

³ See Frejlich, *op. cit.*

⁴ See A. Lewak, *Dzieje emigracji polskiej w Turcji, 1831-1878* (*The History of the Polish Emigration in Turkey*) (1935).

⁵ These schemes and their authors—high-minded, unbalanced, interested, or just trying to get rid of the Polish *émigrés*—vividly remind one of recent schemes for settling Jews in any Arctic or tropical Timbuktu, so that they should not be a nuisance in Western countries, nor press for a return to their own National Home.

war or a world revolution; that the July Monarchy, which was steadily moving to the Right, offered no base against the Powers of the Holy Alliance; and that a new revolution was needed, to mobilize popular forces in France and give the signal to Europe. They waited for 1848.

XI

Mickiewicz wrote: 'Poland will re-arise and free all nations of Europe from bondage. *Ibi patria, ubi male*; wherever in Europe liberty is suppressed and is fought for, there is the battle of your country.'¹ And he prayed: 'For the universal war for the freedom of nations, we beseech thee, O Lord!'²

But Lamartine, spokesman of the Second Republic in its early days, took a different view of the Polish cause and the French, and European, interest. 'France, no doubt, owed much to that brave and unhappy nation, but not the sacrifice of her policy and of world peace.'³ 'Tout leur est patrie pourvu qu'ils l'agitent.'⁴

The Poles are the ferment of Europe. Bold in battle and turbulent in the public arena, they are the revolutionary army of the Continent. They tried to raise Paris and threatened the Government. . . . For their sake to declare war on Prussia, Austria, and Russia, would have meant a crusade for the conquest of a sepulchre. Refuse it to them? This meant to expose oneself to unpopularity and revolts. . . . Lamartine, who watched carefully their proceedings, felt indignant at having more trouble in restraining these guests of France than in restraining France herself.⁵

In replying to a Polish deputation, he exclaimed: 'We love Poland, we love Italy, we love all the oppressed nations, but most of all we love France, and we bear the responsibility for her fate, and perhaps for that of Europe at this moment.'⁶ And in the parliamentary debate on Poland, on 23 May 1848, he argued that France must not try to act alone—the suggestion of 'a second campaign against Moscow . . . across a Germany violated in her territory, dignity, . . . in her national feelings', could only originate with people who have 'never looked at a map nor measured the distance from the Vistula to the Rhine'.⁷

¹ *Księgi narodu polskiego i pielgrzymstwa polskiego* (*The Books of the Polish Nation and of the Polish Pilgrims*) (1832), p. 81.

² *Ibid.*, p. 93.

³ *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848* (1849), vol. ii, p. 156.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 256–7.

⁶ *Trois mois au pouvoir* (1848), p. 133.

⁷ Cf. Sebastiani's speech in Parliament on 28 Jan. 1831: 'Que pouvons nous faire pour la Pologne? Ce sont les campagnes de Napoléon qu'on nous propose.'

Joint action by the Great Powers was required—'by France, England, and most of all, by a Germany interested as much as ourselves in the restoration of that great bulwark of Western civilization'. A year later he wrote: 'France could not reach Poland except through the intermediary of Germany, and in a general replanning (*remaniement*) of the Continent.'¹

By the Germans Poland was looked upon as 'a bulwark of civilization' so long as they considered war with Russia desirable or unavoidable; and not by Austrian Germans alone, who were already conscious of the inevitable clash between the Habsburg Monarchy and Russia,² but by Germans from the Rhine and Main,³ and even by Prussians. The forerunner of Pan-Germanism, Ernst Moritz Arndt, who in 1811-13 had found refuge in Russia, descanted in 1843, in his *Essay on Comparative History*, upon the danger of Russia advancing into Europe, and the need of re-creating Poland as an 'intermediary State' (*ein Mittelreich*) between East and West.⁴ In March 1848 the leading Liberal papers in Germany demanded war against Russia. On 25 March the *Kölnische Zeitung* wrote about 'emancipation' from St. Petersburg, and 'the flaming hatred of Russia' which filled the hearts of the Germans; and on the 26th the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* described the past Prussian policy of subservience to Russia as the main cause of the revolution. The historian Gervinus, who edited the Heidelberg *Allgemeine Deutsche Zeitung*, declared the restoration of Poland a matter of justice, and still more of political common sense, and claimed territory for her stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Similar demands appeared in other papers: the Russians were to be thrown back beyond the Dvina and the Dnieper, and a powerful Poland was to be established between those

¹ *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848*, vol. ii, p. 156.

² See, for instance, Schuselka's book on *Deutschland, Polen und Russland* (1846) or Anton Springer's essay in the *Jahrbücher der Gegenwart*, for Apr. 1848; also E. Müsebeck, *Anton Springer als nationaler Politiker des deutschen Liberalismus* (1932).

³ See, for instance, diary of a certain Dr. L. Ladenburg, a banker at Mannheim, under date of 25 Mar. 1848, in L. Mathy, *Aus dem Nachlass von Karl Mathy*, 1898 (p. 150): 'The restoration of Poland and the humiliation of Russia is desired by all Germans'—but 'shall we be able at the same time to build up our constitution (*uns konstituieren*) and wage war on Russia?'

⁴ *Versuch in vergleichender Völkergeschichte*, p. 323. He wrote about the Russians: '... the entire nation hates us Germans, and despises us' (p. 315); and further: '... thank God, that differences of outlook have opened so wide a chasm between the Russians and the Poles' (p. 325).

'barbarians' and Germany, 'more valuable to her than two discontented provinces'.¹

Here the *Realpolitik* of the German Liberals, which masqueraded as high idealism, committed its first miscalculation: it assumed that a Polish State in its pre-1772 frontiers was viable, and would be powerful. If in 1848 the national character of a country could still have been determined by the language and politics of the landowning class and the intelligentsia, these vast territories would have been Polish; but in treating them as such, the imaginative forgers (in both senses) of the world's destinies took no account of the peasants' hatred of the landlords, which even in the seventeenth century set the Ukraine ablaze and in 1812 produced peasant revolts in White Russia, or of the rising nationalisms which in 1848 made the Ruthenes in East Galicia turn violently against the Poles, and the subject nationalities of Hungary go to war against the Magyars. Such regard for social superiorities and disregard of the rights of the masses is comprehensible in middle-class intellectuals, but is comic when displayed by men who professed Socialist principles and preached class war: in reality they differed but little from their milieu—tendencies, venom, or colouring vary, but the basic misapprehensions and nonsense of contemporaries are remarkably alike. When on 15 May the Paris mob invaded the Chamber of Deputies shouting *Vive la Pologne!* Blanqui, a revolutionary who under five *régimes* spent some thirty-five years (almost half his life) in prison, summoned the Assembly 'to decree that France will not sheathe the sword till Poland is integrally reconstituted in her old frontiers of 1772'.² He said:

. . . let not the National Assembly fear the ill-humour of Europe; . . . if its will is firmly expressed and is sustained by a French army on the Rhine, any obstacles which diplomacy might raise will collapse of themselves, so that ancient Poland, the Poland of 1772 [the people here recalled the date], the Poland of 1772 [bravos and applause from the people] should re-arise within her frontiers.

And Armand Barbès, another perennial prison plant, having for an hour established his 'Government' at the Hôtel-de-Ville, issued the following proclamation:³

The Provisional Government, attentive to the wishes of the people, declares that it will immediately give to the Russian and German

¹ The above quotations from the German press are reproduced from Feldman, op. cit.

² According to the *Moniteur*, as quoted by Garnier-Pagès, *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848* (1869), vol. ix, pp. 186–7.

³ Ibid., pp. 254–5.

Governments an order to restore Poland, and that, should these Governments fail to obey the order, the Government of the Republic will immediately declare war on them.

The frontiers were not named, but he, too, thought of nothing less than those of 1772.

So did Marx and Engels who, on 19 August 1848, wrote in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*:¹

The establishment of a democratic Poland is a primary condition for the establishment of a democratic Germany . . . not of a sham Poland, but of a viable State. She must receive at least the frontiers of 1772, and . . . a considerable stretch of coast at least on the Baltic. . . —the second ‘at least’ implying as admissible another stretch on the Black Sea! Four years later, even the stretch on the Baltic was to be at the expense of Russia: ‘The Poles’, wrote Engels in February 1852, ‘by receiving extended territories in the east, would have become more tractable and reasonable in the west; and Riga and Mitau would have been deemed, after all, quite as important to them as Danzig and Elbing.’²

Were Marx and Engels under any misapprehension concerning the national character of those ‘extended territories in the east’? ‘If people say that to demand the restoration of Poland is to appeal to the principle of nationality’, wrote Engels in *The Commonwealth*³ in 1866, ‘. . . they do not know what they are talking about, for the restoration of Poland means the re-establishment of a State composed of at least four different nationalities’ (Poles, Lithuanians, White and Little Russians). He draws a distinction between the ‘principle of nationalities’, inscribed by Napoleon III on his banner, and ‘the right of the great European nations to separate and independent national existence’, and contemptuously brushes aside any claims to such an existence on the part of ‘those numerous small relics of peoples which, after having figured for a longer or shorter period on the stage of history, were finally absorbed as integral portions into one or the other of those more powerful nations . . .’. ‘The principle of nationalities’ is ‘nothing but a Russian invention concocted to destroy Poland’,⁴ just as Pan-Slavism is

¹ See F. Mehring, *Gesammelte Schriften von Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* 1841–50, vol. iii (1902), pp. 149–50.

² See in *Revolution and Counter-Revolution, or Germany in 1848*, chapter on ‘Poles, Czechs, and Germans’.

³ Reprinted in an Appendix to N. Rjasanoff’s essay on ‘Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels über die Polenfrage’, in the *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, vol. vi (1916).

⁴ Engels even reproaches Russia with having adhered to that principle:

its application by Russia 'to the Serbians, Croats, Ruthenes, Czechs, and other remnants of by-gone Slavonian peoples in Turkey, Hungary, and Germany'. In short, Engels seems to have realized the community of interest which existed with regard to the 'subject races' between the Germans, Magyars, Poles, and even the Turks, and either to have overlooked, or deliberately ignored, the fact that the dominion of those *Herrenvölker* was based on social superiority. The idea that the new Poland was to be 'democratic' and arise through a peasant revolution within frontiers drawn on the basis of Polish *latifundia*, points to a high degree of mental incoherence: for the one thing which that Greater Poland could not have survived would have been a Russian peasant revolution.¹ Nor was there any deep love of the Poles, or appreciation of them, which moved that hearty, honest Teuton, Engels. In between his pro-Polish effusions of 1848 and of 1866, he wrote to Marx from Manchester on 23 May 1851:²

The more I think about this business, the clearer it is to me that the Poles are *une nation foutue*, a serviceable instrument only till Russia herself is swept into the agrarian revolution. From that moment Poland loses all *raison d'être*. The Poles have never done anything in history except engage in brave, blatant foolery (*tapfere, krakeelsüchtige Dummheit gespielt*). . . . 'Immortal' about the Poles is only their baseless

'The first and foremost ambition of Russia is the union of all Russian tribes under the Tsar . . . and among these she includes White and Little Russia. And in order to prove that her ambition went no further, she took very good care, during the three partitions, to annex none but White and Little Russian provinces, leaving the country inhabited by Poles, and even a portion of Little Russia (Eastern Galicia) to her accomplices' (*Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, vol. vi (1916), p. 217).

¹ The Poles themselves were conscious of it, especially since 1846. In 1863 the Russian revolutionary Bakunin went to Stockholm, planning to go to Russia with a view to raising a peasant revolution in support of the Polish national rising. On 1 Aug. he wrote to Herzen and Ogarev, after a talk with one of the Polish revolutionaries: 'Do you know what Demontowicz finally said to me? That so far from desiring a Russian revolution, he fears it as a dreadful evil, and that if he had to choose between a new victory of Tsarism and Poland being saved through a Russian revolution, he would prefer Tsarism to be victorious for the time being, because sooner or later it will be possible to shake off Tsarism, while a Russian social revolution, by opening the sluices of Polish barbarism, would irrevocably drown Polish civilisation' (see *Pisma M. A. Bakunina k A. I. Herzensu i N. P. Ogarevu*, edited by M. P. Dragomanov (1896), pp. 124-5).

² See *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Briefwechsel*, edited by D. Rjazanov (1929), part iii, vol. i, pp. 206-7; the letter is included in the English selection, *K. Marx and F. Engels, Correspondence, 1846-1895* (1934).

hullabaloo. . . . One-fourth of Poland speaks Lithuanian, one-fourth Ruthene, a small part semi-Russian, and of Poland proper fully a third is Germanised.

Fortunately in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* we have assumed no commitments towards Poland except the unavoidable concerning restoration with a suitable frontier—and even this on condition that there is an agrarian revolution. I am sure that this revolution will materialize in Russia before it does in Poland. . . .

Conclusion: Take away from the Poles in the West as much as possible; under pretext of defence, garrison their fortresses with Germans, let them make a mess of things for themselves, send them into the fire, eat up their land, palm them off with mirages of Riga and Odessa, and if the Russians can be got to move, form an alliance with them, and force the Poles to give in. Every inch ceded between Memel and Cracow completely ruins an anyhow miserably weak frontier. . . .

Besides, I am convinced that in the next brawl, the whole Polish insurrection will be limited to the Posenian and Galician gentry, with a few stragglers from Russian Poland. . . . A nation which can at best muster 20,000–30,000 men, has no voice. . . .

In short, the difference between the apostles of German Social Democracy, the exponents of German Liberalism in the Frankfort Parliament, and the Prussian *Junkers*, concerned merely the point in time when they reached the acme of *Realpolitik*, the degree of sincerity with which they admitted it in public, and the means they had of translating their views into practice.

XII

If any one family could be named as representative of the 'Third Germany' (of the smaller States in contradistinction to Austria and Prussia), and of the nationalism of the German Liberals in 1848, it is that of the old *Reichsfreiherr* Hans von Gagern, which until 1801 had been *reichsunmittelbar* (i.e. had owed allegiance only to the Empire). Of his sons, the eldest, Friedrich, was a General in the Dutch service, but in 1848 returned to Germany, and was killed on 20 April, fighting the Republicans in Baden; the third, Heinrich, became in March 1848 Prime Minister of Hesse-Darmstadt, was from May to December 1848 President of the German National Assembly, and from December 1848 till May 1849 Prime Minister of the shadow-Germany at Frankfort; and the youngest, Max, was in the Nassau diplomatic service, and a member of the Frankfort Assembly. The three brothers were among the foremost exponents of a German Empire under the King of Prussia, but German, and not 'specifically Prussian', in character. Their

correspondence, papers, and writings illustrate the German attitude towards Russia and the Poles in the early stages of the revolution.¹

'War, and perhaps war on two fronts, seems to me unavoidable', wrote Friedrich to Heinrich from The Hague, on 1 April 1848. And further: 'War between Germany and Russia is considered probable . . . *our* inclinations are for it.'² Early in March 1848 Max von Gagern persuaded the Duke of Nassau to send him on a mission to other German Princes in order to persuade them to take the lead in the German national movement, and thus give it a monarchical character.³ He was successful in Hesse-Darmstadt, Baden, Württemberg, less so in Bavaria; but when, on 21 March, he arrived in Berlin, via Dresden, he found the town *en pleine révolution*. On 21 and 22 March he saw the new Prussian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Baron Heinrich von Arnim, expounded to him the scheme of German Union under Prussia after she had merged into Germany (she was to have no Diet of her own, but dissolve into her eight provinces, each about the size of a middle-sized German State), and then said: 'What your King has promised the Poles, implies war against Russia.' 'Gagern', writes his biographer, 'advised to start that war, for the highly excited nation should be supplied with an object for its hostility: thus alone would unification be possible.'⁴ On 22 March Max von Gagern, on his way back to Dresden, scribbled in the train a note to Heinrich: '. . . I see only one means of salvation: we must force the King of Prussia, now German King, to liberate, to restore Poland, perhaps be her elected King. Therefore war with Russia. In any case, I return to Berlin, and shall show the King himself where his last chance lies. . . .' The next day, Gagern, accompanied by Count Lehrbach and Herr von Sternenfels, representing Hesse and

¹ See especially Heinrich von Gagern, *Das Leben des Generals Friedrich von Gagern* (1857), and L. von Pastor, *Leben des Freiherrn Max von Gagern, 1810-1889* (1912).

² See H. von Gagern, *op. cit.*, pp. 669-70. In the early days of the revolution, there were even Conservatives who, for different reasons, favoured war with Russia. Thus, e.g., Major von Randow wrote from Berlin to General von Colomb, G.C.O. Poznań, on 31 Mar.: 'Many people think that war with Russia is the only means of saving the Fatherland, by throwing the scum against the bullets of the enemy' ('damit man die Hefe gegen die feindlichen Kugeln werfe'); see Otto Hoetzsch, 'Die Stellung des Generals von Colomb zur Revolution in Posen und zu Willisen', in the *Zeitschrift für Osteuropäische Geschichte*, vol. iv (1914), p. 364.

³ Pastor, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

Württemberg, was received by the King in the presence of Arnim. After Gagern had spoken about the position in Germany, the King, moved to tears, asked his advice, for, he said, 'I recognise that Germany is in full dissolution'—so Gagern reported to his Duke on 23 March; and he continued:¹

Thereupon I said these words, attested by Count Lehrbach and Herr von Sternenfels: 'Your Majesty will permit me in this solemn hour to touch upon matters completely outside my official instructions. What your Majesty has done and announced in the last few days to save Germany from imminent danger would, *before* March 18, have united us all and secured us . . . against any movement, from outside or inside . . . now only a new, and still bolder, decision—to wage foreign war—can save us from anarchy and dissolution. But not as your Majesty has hinted, a war against France, which at present would not be acceptable, but a war against Russia.'

The King: 'What? Aggression against Russia?'

Me: 'Freeing the Poles will entail war with Russia.'

The King: 'But Poland will never re-arise. She is at peace and the strongest measures have been taken.'

Me: 'Seeing the magic influence which the idea of nationality now exercises, how can we hope to strengthen the unity of our own nation, and to assert our own nationality, if we oppress and flout that of others? Only a liberation of Poland can save your Majesty and us all.'

The King: 'By God, never, never shall I draw the sword against Russia.'

Me: 'Then I look upon Germany as lost.'

Max von Gagern, who was a convert to Rome, may have felt more strongly about Poland than the average German. But he wrote this report for his prince, a Protestant; and the analysis of the situation, published by Heinrich in 1857,² though cleverly retouched on one vital point, reproduces the atmosphere and arguments of those days. In the light of subsequent events, Heinrich von Gagern retrospectively reserves in the first sentence Germany's claim to any late Polish territories which had been (or were alleged to have been) 'successfully Germanised' (and the sentence is so exceptionally tortuous that no other language but German can do justice to its peculiar quality):

There must have been few among those taking an active part in the German movement who would not have considered it a matter of justice, indeed of political wisdom, to restore Poland within such frontiers as were drawn by the numerical superiority already achieved by a population of German nationality on soil which had previously

¹ Ibid., p. 234.

² Op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 775-6.

been Polish.¹ . . . To the great and permanent interest which Germany has in the restoration of an independent Poland, another was added of a specific and temporary nature. Sooner or later, war with Russia had to come, over the Baltic Sea and the Baltic Provinces, over Poland, over the Danube and the Eastern Question, lastly over Slesvig-Holstein; and it seemed advisable to hasten it. A new united Germany had 'to enter history not with freedoms only, but with deeds'. War against Russia would have been the most popular war throughout Germany; it offered the most wholesome remedy for reducing the existing ferment, and the most effective for countering the dislike of a standing army which thirty years of peace had fostered in the nation. . . .

In short, the Gagern family favoured war against Russia, and among their reasons were some not dissimilar to those which inspired, and were proved valid by, that against France in 1870: the war was considered unavoidable, it would have healed internal divisions and furthered the work of unification, and it would have rendered the army popular in Germany. Forerunners of the modern Pan-German Imperialists, the Gagerns envisaged as inevitable a conflict with Russia over the problem of 1914 ('the Danube and the Eastern Question') and over territory claimed in 1918 (the Baltic Provinces), neither of which Bismarck, in his self-restraint of a true statesman,² would ever agree, even at the height of his power, to include in the ambit of German interests and aims. And naturally men who thought of the Baltic Provinces as German, because of the language spoken by a thin stratum of their landowning class and intelligentsia, could also contemplate the possibility of a Poland within the frontiers of the old 'Gentry Republic'. On the other hand, the gravity of the inevitable conflict between the Poles and the Germans in 'previously Polish' territories, did not dawn as yet on the leaders of the German national movement in the south and west, or even in Berlin: and this was the second miscalculation of Liberal *Realpolitik* in March 1848. Posnania and the Polish question, as well as Bohemia, were, in the short span of a few months, to show up German 'National Liberalism'. During the subsequent years of reaction, these facts were over-

¹ Here is the sentence in the original: 'Wenige von denen, die in die Deutsche Bewegung thätig eintraten, mögen gewesen sein, die nicht die Herstellung Polens, innerhalb solcher Grenzen wie sie durch das bereits errungene Uebergewicht der Bevölkerung Deutscher Nationalität auf vormals Polnischem Boden gezogen wurden, für eine Sache der Gerechtigkeit, ja der politischen Weisheit, erachtet haben würden.'

² To him truly applies Goethe's *dictum*: 'In der Begrenzung zeigt sich der Meister.'

looked and the conclusions neglected, but the debility of German liberalism can be clearly discerned in those early months of the 'glorious revolution' of 1848, when the professorial lambs at Frankfort, bitten by the Pan-German dog, caught rabies.

XIII

In the *Polenprozess* of August–December 1847, 254 Poles were tried in connexion with the revolutionary plot of the previous year, and over 100 were found guilty.¹ On 20 March the revolution released the prisoners from Moabit gaol, and they were led through the streets in a triumphal procession headed by Mierosławski and Libelt. In a carriage drawn by the cheering crowd they were taken before the Royal Palace, and the King had to come out and salute them; thence the *Polenzug* proceeded to the University where Mierosławski, waving a Polish and a German flag, harangued the crowd (in French) on the eternal friendship which the two nations should vow to each other, and on their alliance against the common enemy, Russian absolutism. The next day a proclamation by Libelt was posted on the walls of Berlin: 'You feel that the time has come to expiate the fatal deed of Poland's partition, and to safeguard a free Germany by raising the bulwark of an independent Poland against the onset of the Asiatics. . . .'² Even at Poznań the Germans at first responded, and on 22 March one of their leaders declared in a speech, subsequently printed as a proclamation to the Poles: ' . . . the German nation has spurned the alliance of its Princes with Asiaticism, and is ready to carry its flag of Black-Red-Gold, together with yours, into the battle of light against darkness.'³

But there was another aspect of the Polish question brought out by the revolution. The Polish National Committee at Poznań announced on 20 March: ' . . . the unification of Germany has been proclaimed. . . . We as Poles, a nation apart, cannot agree to being included in it. . . .'⁴ And on the 23rd a deputation from Posnania, headed by the Archbishop, presented

¹ See Kieniewicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 78–9.

² See Rakowski, *op. cit.*, p. 76, and Hans Schmidt, *Die polnische Revolution des Jahres 1848 im Grossherzogtum Posen* (1912), p. 65. A copy of the poster, 'Dank-Adresse der von Sr. Majestät dem Könige amnestierten Polen an das Berliner Volk', is in P.R.O., F.O. 64/285, No. 73, enclosure in Lord Westmorland's dispatch of 22 Mar. In a proclamation sent by Libelt from Berlin to Poznań, he wrote: 'Here the entire nation has but one desire: that Poland should re-arise as an independent State and form a bulwark against the East' (Rakowski, *op. cit.*, Appendix, pp. 9–10).

³ *Ibid.*, Appendix, p. 13.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Appendix, pp. 10–11.

a petition to the King which declared that when the Germans were about to unite in 'a single State based on the principle of nationality', Posnania was convinced that this was also 'the hour of Poland's resurrection'; they asked for 'a national re-organisation' to be carried through by a local Committee co-operating with a Royal Commissary.¹ The demand was conceded in principle by a 'Cabinet-Order' of 24 March, signed by the King: but both nationalities were to be represented on the Committee, and order and legality were to be maintained in the meantime.²

The Poles did not wait. Their National Committee assumed governmental powers, local committees were formed in towns and rural districts, unpopular officials were removed,³ army camps were started, taxes were levied, volunteers were raised and trained (with the connivance of the Prussian military, who were themselves convinced that war with Russia was imminent).⁴ *Emigrés* were arriving from the west, having been given free passage, or even free transport, across Germany.⁵ In places anti-German and anti-Jewish riots broke out, deprecated by the

¹ For the text of the petition, see Rakowski, *op. cit.*, App., pp. 15-16. The immediate task suggested for the Commission was to replace the troops stationed in Posnania by local forces, and imported German officials by residents of the province.

² Hepke, *op. cit.*, p. 48. The Cabinet-Order did not enter into the specific demands of the Polish petition; the reply was a compromise arrived at by a Cabinet meeting held during the night of 23-4 Mar., at which the War Minister, von Rohr, demanded the partition of Posnania between Germans and Poles, on the basis of a plebiscite, while Baron von Arnim developed his scheme of using the Poles against Russia (see Kieniewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 108). See also the Ministerial Declaration of 26 Mar., limiting membership of the Commission to natives of Posnania—a further concession to the Poles (Hepke, *op. cit.*, p. 48).

³ In some places, the officials, supported by the German population, offered successful resistance; for instance, Juncker von Ober-Cornreuth, the Landrat of Czarnikau—see his memoirs, *Im Polen-Aufbruch, 1846-48*.

⁴ See, for instance, Łukomski's *Diary*, published by K. Rakowski, *Dwa pamiętniki z 48 roku (Two Diaries of 1848)* (1906); he describes how on 25 Mar., at Sulmierzyce, Lipski, a neighbouring squire, announced that the Germans were fraternizing with the Poles in Berlin, and would let them build up a Polish Army 'in order jointly to conquer Poland's independence'. Some 300 volunteers went into training. One day Prussian troops arrived because of a rumour of anti-German disturbances. The German Colonel, Bonin (afterwards a notorious anti-Pole) thus concluded his address to the Polish volunteers: 'Wir werden vereint gegen den östlichen Feind ziehen' ('We shall march together against the enemy in the East').

⁵ The Pre-Parliament passed a resolution expressing the wish 'that the German Governments should grant a free passage, and if necessary support, to Poles returning home without arms'.

Polish leaders, vastly exaggerated by rumour and by German propaganda,¹ and minimized by Polish apologists who had, however, to admit that some such incidents did occur: a bad beginning for the 'fraternal union' of the two nations.

Adolphe de Circourt (not in sympathy either with the Poles or with revolution) reported from Berlin on 29 March 1848:²

A week ago, the emancipation of Prussian Poland occurred in fact, and almost in law. Its German population is now a mere accessory, and follows trembling the direction forced on it by the Slav population. The German troops hold a position intermediary between that of hostages and of a foreign Army of Occupation. . . . The Polish Committees formed spontaneously between March 21 and 24, control the administration of the country, and work on reorganising it completely in an exclusively Polish sense. . . . This strange condition of a great province of the Prussian State is, moreover, only the beginning. The Committees have told the King, the Cabinet, the Clubs, and, through the Press, all the inhabitants of the Kingdom that it is their aim to re-establish the Kingdom of Poland. They will transform Posnania into a recruiting centre, a training ground, an arsenal, a supply base. From here they will invade Russian Poland. They expect help from Galicia, and also the co-operation of Germany, where their influence is considerable among the students and literary men; part of the Press preaches war against Russia. The King told the Poles that he had done for them all that was in his power, but that he could not help them against Russia. Arnim, the Foreign Minister,³ went farther, and told Circourt that Prussia would do nothing to prevent volunteers, German or foreign,

¹ How successful German 'atrocities propaganda' was even in this country can be seen from the following passage in Theodore Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort* (vol. ii, pp. 70-1): 'Early in April the Poles in Posen rose in revolt, and fell upon their German fellow-subjects with a savage fury which spared neither age nor sex, and vented itself in every species of cruelty and brutal outrage. The customary horrors of war were aggravated by whatever the fiercest passions could suggest.' But Charles Didier (who was friendly to the Poles) wrote to Circourt from Poznań on 10 Apr.: 'Do not believe the news sent from here by the Germans; they detest the Poles, and exaggerate anything which may discredit them. All these murders, all these fires which cause so much noise in Berlin, are pure invention. I have investigated those stories, and found them baseless.'

² *Souvenirs d'une mission à Berlin en 1848* (1908), vol. i, pp. 305-10.

³ It is necessary to distinguish three Arnims: Count von Arnim-Boytzenburg, Prussian Prime Minister, 19-29 Mar. 1848; Baron von Arnim-Suckow, Prussian Ambassador in Paris, 1846-8, and Foreign Minister, 21 Mar.-17 June 1848; and Count von Arnim-Heinrichsdorf, Prussian Ambassador in Vienna, 1845-8 and 1851-8, and Foreign Minister, Feb.-May 1849.

from joining the Poles, though these must not cross Prussia in armed, organized bands: '... the principle of the restoration of independent nations for which they will fight, is a just principle'—it is 'our own principle'. It may result in war between Prussia and Russia. The Poles, intimated Arnim, count also on French help. But Circourt in his report expressed doubts whether good relations could long be preserved between the Germans and Poles: whatever the theoretical sympathies of German Liberals, the people felt an invincible dislike of the Poles.

Meyendorff, a most careful observer, wrote on 19 March to Nesselrode about 'the blind hatred unleashed in Germany against Russia';¹ and on the 25th, to Prince Paskevich, Governor-General of Russian Poland:²

The sympathies of the Republican Party for the Polish cause are such that if it prevails . . . war against Russia for the restoration of Poland will follow immediately. If monarchy is saved, it will be surrounded by so many Republican elements that the danger will remain.

But in a letter of the same day to Nesselrode he recommended extreme restraint:

Surely we do not want to provoke Prussia, nor hurt German feelings; we shall not undertake any hostile act or serious demonstration, but we shall preserve a strictly defensive attitude and leave to our enemies the guilt of aggression.³

On 29 March he reports the arrival of numerous Polish *émigrés* from Paris and Brussels.⁴ The Prussian Government, fearing their presence in Berlin, wishes them to proceed to Posnania, where

they will not find the facilities they expect. They will not be able to seize the fortress of Poznań, nor the arms of the *Landwehr*, and the German population of the Grand-Duchy is not favourably disposed to them. These Germans arm against the Poles, and demand aid and protection from the Government . . .

. . . the Government may possibly regain some force and consistence, and then there will be no war of Prussia against us . . .

. . . Polish refugees are gathering, and will gather, on our frontier, revolution will be prepared over there, and next, war against us . . . a sort of National Government will be set up, and volunteers will collect from all over the world. People of every class in Posnania will range themselves under that flag: all this would entitle us to declare war on a Government which tolerates such doings, and me, to demand

¹ See *Briefwechsel*, vol. ii, p. 49.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 52–3.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 50–1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 56–8.

my passports, but . . . we must not hasten the break; what I desire most is that we should have to deal with the Poles alone, and not with Prussia, which would drag in Germany against us, and in the end France.

A wise dispatch. Two days later (31 March) Circourt reported to Lamartine¹ that Baron von Arnim had put to him a question which called for a speedy reply: Prussia has let the Poles organize in Posnania; she will not attack Russia; but if the Poles attack, and the Russians occupy Posnania, what will France and England do?

The Prussian Government think that the time has come to ask this question, in a confidential but formal manner, and it is through me [reported Circourt] that they do so to-day. Their decision may, to a high degree, depend on your reply. What do they expect, or rather hope, from you?

Two things: first, a solemn declaration of alliance and political solidarity in matters pertaining to the restoration of Poland; this would give them moral support of appreciable value. Secondly, the despatch, if asked for, of a French squadron to the Baltic.² . . . Von Arnim implores you to give weight to the above consideration, and . . . to attach your name to the great and sacred work of Poland's resurrection. If the French, British, and German nations unite in this enterprise, 'legitimate in its aims, and feasible seeing the formidable strength of such a combination', the fear of war in western and central Europe will disappear—Arnim obviously thought that he was furthering a cause near and dear to the hearts of the French.

On 2 April Lamartine brought the matter before the Provisional Government, and on the 4th his secretary, Comte de Champeaux, informed Circourt that he would 'probably receive no new instructions. . . . It would be rash to build on shifting sand.' But Champeaux had obtained for him the following reply:

'If Russia attacked Prussia and invaded her territory seizing Posnania, France would give Prussia armed support.' You may use this phrase confidentially and in conversation, but you must go no further. This in reply to Arnim's request for 'a solemn declaration of alliance and political solidarity in matters pertaining to the restoration of Poland'! On 23 May Lamartine, who in the

¹ Op. cit., vol. i, pp. 325-8.

² Prussia asked for support by sea as they would not have French troops, even as allies, cross Germany—an attitude which resembles that of the Poles towards Russia during the negotiations of Mar.-Aug. 1939.

meantime had left the Foreign Office, defending in Parliament his past policy towards Poland, exclaimed:

Ought we to have forgotten all other relations of France for the sake of that single one, the most sacred, I admit, for it is the most unhappy, but also the most distant, and, under some aspects, the most impossible? . . . Ought we to have forgotten our own frontiers? . . . our own internal difficulties?

Lamartine's Polish policy was sensible, but hardly frank.¹ He had a sound regard for French interests and, it seems, an equally sound distrust of the stability of the new Prussian Government and of its power to carry through a policy of its own. Lastly, he must have soon realized that Great Britain had set her face against any war.

Sir Stratford Canning, on his return journey to Constantinople, was sent by Palmerston to tour the courts of central Europe. On 30 March he had at Potsdam a private interview with Frederick William IV, who confided to him 'the painful anxiety' he experienced with respect to Posnania which was 'but too likely to become the subject of a serious quarrel between this country and Russia'. After that he saw Arnim, and in a confidential dispatch to Palmerston reported on the two talks:²

The object of the King in speaking to me about the Grand Duchy of Posen, was to induce me to dissuade Baron d'Arnim, and through him the Cabinet, from persisting in the idea of granting a national army to that Province. The object of Baron d'Arnim in addressing himself to me on the same subject, was to learn what part Her Majesty's Government would probably take if Russia were to occupy or invade the Grand Duchy in consequence of any aggressive proceedings from its inhabitants. . . .

His Majesty's conviction is, that to concede the point in question, would be to ensure the certainty of a War with the Emperor of Russia, who would occupy Posen, and crush the Poles by the mere weight of his immensely superior army.

He is persuaded on the other hand, that if the Polish inhabitants of Posen, on being refused the privilege of a national army, were by means of emissaries or free companies to menace the Russian districts of Poland, his own troops would be sufficient to restrain them.

¹ Paul Henry, in an article, 'Le Gouvernement Provisoire et la Question Polonaise en 1848' (*Revue Historique*, vol. clxxviii, Sept.-Oct. 1936), attempts a defence of its Polish policy. Writing while France still professed to have an active interest and policy in Poland, he could not avow Lamartine's true thought: that France could afford neither. His defence is therefore lame and unconvincing.

² Stratford Canning to Palmerston, 30 Mar. 1848: P.R.O., F.O., 30/117, No. 7.

Baron d'Arnim and his colleagues appear to overlook every consideration but that of favoring the Poles of the Grand Duchy in their enterprize for the rescue of Poland from the dominion of Russia. They are ready to incur the risk of a War with Russia for this object. They hope eventually to obtain the countenance and support of England. They reckon with confidence upon having that of France.

The Poles in their present excitement and activity, will, no doubt, under any circumstances do their best to embroil Prussia with her Northern neighbour, and arouse their countrymen to a state of insurrection.

In listening to these communications, I have abstained from expressing an opinion, and I have distinctly stated that I can only receive them unofficially.

I conceive however . . . that the danger may prove on further communication so urgent as to justify me, when I see Baron d'Arnim again, in endeavouring to divert him from a course of policy, which is opposed to the King's opinion and shocks his conscience. However agreeable the proposed plan may be to an active and troublesome Party here, it appears to be fraught with peril to that system of general peace which, it is well known, is the constant and anxious desire of Her Majesty's Government to maintain as long as possible in Europe.

On 3 April Canning, in a second private talk with the King, seems to have dropped his previous restraint, and remarked on 'the inexpediency and danger . . . of including the grant of a national armament in the separate organisation promised to the Poles'—nor did he 'neglect the opportunity of confirming His Majesty in every pacific sentiment'.¹ But he added that he had no official instructions concerning the Polish question, and that Lord Westmorland (the British Ambassador in Berlin) was 'exclusively the official channel of communication' between the two Governments. As for Westmorland, Arnim seems never to have approached him with a question which he had put with so much feeling to Circourt, and so much restraint to Stratford Canning; and in Westmorland's dispatches Arnim appears merely as 'very much perplexed' by the condition of Posnania,² but assuring the Ambassador of the determination of the Prussian Government to see both order and peace preserved.³

Palmerston's reply to Arnim's question about Poland was brief and explicit—he wrote to Stratford Canning on 6 April instructing him⁴

earnestly to recommend the Prussian Government to abstain from any

¹ Ibid., No. 10.

² Westmorland to Palmerston, Berlin, 30 Mar. 1848; F.O., 64/285, No. 92.

³ Same to same, 1 and 6 Apr.; F.O., 64/286, Nos. 97 and 112.

⁴ F.O., 30/117, No. 2.

proceeding which could justly be considered by Russia as aggressive, and to avoid as far as possible any measures which might in their consequences lead to aggression on the Russian territory.

Indeed, at no time seems there to have been any doubt as to the British attitude on this point—Meyendorff wrote to Nesselrode on 12 April: 'British diplomacy does all it can to engage the Prussian Government not to give us umbrage, and not to let themselves be driven by Polish clamour.'¹ And on the 8th: 'Sir Stratford Canning is still here and, I believe, gives none but good advice. He is delighted with our moderation and preaches peace to everybody.'²

Frederick William IV, though bitterly opposed to the policy of his new Government, did not dare at first openly to work against it, and merely expressed his violent displeasure by sulky withdrawal from business, by fivefold underlinings in his vulgar and incoherent letters, and by double-dealing. On 10 March, fearing an outbreak in Posnania, he had begged the Tsar to move Russian troops closer to the frontier;³ but on the 23rd he assured the Poles that he had 'implored the Emperor of Russia in no case to intervene'.⁴ On 21 April he told von Gerlach 'how he had opposed the formation of the Polish Corps in Posnania . . . and how the Ministers were perfectly crazy on this point'⁵—yet he had agreed; and the same night he wrote to his sister, the Tsaritsa (in a style which with Germans may pass as *bieder* or *treuherzig*): 'I wish lots of rebels crossed into [Russian] Poland. I would trust Prince Paskevich to hang them all within three days.' ('. . . why should Paskevich hang your rebels?' replied the Tsaritsa. 'Do the job yourself, and do not send us any un-

¹ *Briefwechsel*, vol. ii, p. 62.

² *Ibid.*, p. 67.

³ Frederick William wrote to Radowitz on 10 Mar. 1848—see P. Hassel, *Joseph Maria von Radowitz* (1905), p. 494: 'In a personal letter I have asked the Emperor Nicholas to let some of his troops move closer to the frontier of Posnania so as to cool a bit their over-heated heads.' And the Tsar wrote to Paskevich, from St. Petersburg, 2/14 Mar. 1848—see Prince Shcherbatov, *General-Feldmarshal Kniaz Paskevich*, vol. vi (1899), pp. 98–9: 'Dear Father-Commander, I have just received a letter from the King of Prussia. . . . He concludes by mentioning rumours . . . that a massacre of all Germans is being prepared in Posnania . . . and asks me to move our troops closer to the frontier; this, he hopes, will immediately sober the people. I cannot refuse his request. . . . But the frontier must not be crossed without my permission.' (Of the 95 letters from the Tsar to Paskevich, published in vol. vi, none is reproduced in the French edition of the work.)

⁴ See *Im Polen-Aufuhr, 1846–1848*, Appendix.

⁵ *Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Leben Leopold von Gerlachs*, vol. i, pp. 152–3.

wanted guests').¹ When on 18 May the Ministers were pressing on Frederick William a measure which he thought calculated to provoke Russia, he wrote to the Prime Minister, Camphausen:²

. . . *I shall never go with France against Russia*; not merely because this would be lunacy, but *also because it is wrong*. If I cannot emerge from this pickle (into which I am being brought, God be my witness, *through no fault of MINE*) *I shall abdicate*—sure and true. I have spoken.

But as early as 8 April Meyendorff had thus summed up the situation in a report to Nesselrode: ' . . . the Polish question is no longer a *menace*, though it remains for us a source of *annoyances*, intolerable in the long run.'³ And on the 16th: 'Posnanian should not raise in us *fear*, for I know it raises no *hope* in the Poles.'⁴ The sharp conflict which had broken out between them and the Germans was working a change in public opinion all over Germany, in the west and south even more rapidly than in Berlin.

Baron von Arnim, because of his seemingly bold initiative, has of recent years been treated by some historians as a man of ideas and character. But his ideas were based on a misconception of German interests and of public opinion in Germany and western Europe;⁵ while his conduct was 'disingenuous, shuffling and tricky':⁶ he who in March had described the Polish cause as 'just' and 'legitimate', and had tried to draw the western Powers into action likely to result in war with Russia, three or four months later, in a pamphlet, *Frankfurt und Berlin*,⁷ recounted how Prussia had had 'to labour *unaided* in combating . . . the perfidious Polish onset against the maintenance of peace in Europe'.⁸

¹ See Haenchen, *Revolutionsbriefe*, 1848, pp. 82 and 92.

² E. Brandenburg, op. cit., pp. 97–9.

³ Op. cit., p. 65.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 70–1.

⁵ One motive behind Arnim's Polish policy undoubtedly was the wish to acquire popularity for Prussia in Germany and in the west: with the help of popularity and war he meant to merge Germany into Prussia. He did not differ much from Bismarck in his aims, only in ability and common sense.

⁶ This description of Arnim's conduct over Slesvig-Holstein was given by Palmerston in a dispatch to Lord Bloomfield, on 28 May 1848: see H. C. F. Bell, *Lord Palmerston*, vol. ii, p. 10.

⁷ The introduction to the first edition is dated 4 Aug., and to the second, from which I quote, 30 Oct. 1848. The pamphlet was published anonymously, but there seems to be no doubt concerning its authorship.

⁸ In the original (p. 19): 'Es musste . . . *allein* den perfiden polnischen Anlauf gegen die Erhaltung des Friedens von Europa . . . mühsam bekämpfen.'

XIV

On 5 March 1848 a meeting of German notables at Heidelberg¹ decided to convene a larger and more representative gathering from all German lands which should arrange for elections to a National Assembly; and they chose a Committee of Seven to prepare the agenda of the so-called Pre-Parliament (*Vorparlament*) and to issue invitations: those were to be addressed to all members of German Estates or Legislatures, and to a number of distinguished men individually. But this raised the question what lands constituted the body politic of Germany? The German Confederation offered the obvious *prima facie* territorial base for a German Constituent Assembly; still, important readjustments were required to make its frontiers conform with the postulates of the 'national awakening' of 1848, the year in which men set out to re-create the world and thought that they could cast off the fetters of history—and indeed should do so, if these impeded the growth of their own nation. When once, during the next creative bout in 1919, a Polish diplomat expounded to me the very extensive (and mutually contradictory) territorial claims of his country, and I inquired on what principle they were based, he replied with rare frankness: 'On the historical principle, corrected by the linguistic wherever it works in our favour.' This was also the canon of the demiurges of 1848.

Of the Habsburg Monarchy only western Austria was included in the German Confederation—Hungary, Transylvania, and Croatia, Lombardy and Venetia, Dalmatia and eastern Istria, Galicia and the Bukovina, were not; but even in western Austria about half the population was non-German: it comprised the Czechs and the Slovenes on the two flanks of the Inner Austrian provinces, and some Italians and Poles on the fringes. Holstein was included in Germany, but not Slesvig, though the two were historically and constitutionally united with each other and with the Danish Crown. Of Prussia's eight provinces, two—East and West Prussia² and Posnania—were

¹ They were mostly from the south and west: from Baden 21, Württemberg 9, Hesse 7, Bavaria 5, the Prussian Rhineland 4, Nassau 2, Frankfort 2, and from Austria 1—together 51. A short account of the Heidelberg Conference, together with the proceedings of the Pre-Parliament, is given in the (rather misleadingly entitled) *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Parlaments*. Offizielle Ausgabe. Erste Lieferung (1848). It is often quoted, for short, by the name of its editor, Dr. Jucho.

² East and West Prussia, at that time, formed one province.

outside the Confederation, an arrangement which supplied her with a European position, parallel to that of Austria: this was convenient while she had, as a Great Power, to act independently of the German Confederation,¹ but not when by 'merging into Germany' she aimed at carrying the maximum weight within it.² When on 12 March the invitations to the Pre-Parliament were issued, the inclusion of Slesvig and East and West Prussia was taken for granted; but no invitations were sent to Posnania. Never before 1793 had it been part of a German State, it was lost by Prussia in 1807, and its recovery in 1815 was trimmed with vague reservations in favour of the Poles and their nationality; the peculiar character of the province was, in fact, acknowledged by the King of Prussia in his 'Occupation-Manifesto' of 15 May 1815. Posnania was to the average German a Polish province, but West Prussia was not.

Posnania had in 1848 a population of about 1,335,000. The official census of December 1843, which can be assumed to favour the Germans (and the presence of 'bilinguals' among the Poles gave scope for statistical manipulations) is usually quoted³ as having enumerated 790,000 Poles, 420,000 Germans, and 80,000 Jews (mostly Germanized). Kohte⁴ gives for 1848 the figures of 804,000 Poles, 453,000 Germans, and 81,000 Jews, which show a disproportionate increase of Germans since 1843. Valentin, without quoting his source or calculations, produces the figures of 847,670 Poles, 409,286 Germans, and 76,759 Jews.⁵ Hans Schmidt, a Russian German, who tries to keep so straight

¹ The arrangement was therefore revived in 1851.

² The population of the territories originally included in the German Confederation would have given Austria 190 seats in the Frankfort Parliament, and Prussia only 150. But because of the refusal of Slav, more especially of Czech, constituencies to return members to the German National Assembly, Austria had a representation of only 120 (see W. Schüssler, *Die nationale Politik der österreichischen Abgeordneten im Frankfurter Parlament*, 1913, p. 17); while Prussia, because of the additional territories included in the Federation, finished by returning 198 members (see G. Küntzel, *Briefwechsel zwischen König Friedrich Wilhelm IV und dem Reichsverweser Erzherzog Johann von Oesterreich (1848-50)*, letter from von Boddian to the King, Frankfort, 27 Nov. 1848: 'The Assembly includes 198 Prussians, of whom 50 belong to the Left'). The apportioning of seats was based, in the absence of more recent estimates, on the *Matrikel des deutschen Bundes* of 1819.

³ See, for instance, report on Posnania submitted by the Committee for Foreign Affairs to the National Assembly on 24 July 1848: *Stenographischer Bericht über die Verhandlungen der deutschen constituierenden Nationalversammlung zu Frankfurt am Main*, vol. ii, p. 1124.

⁴ Op. cit., p. 4.

⁵ Op. cit., vol. ii, p. 124.

that he sometimes finishes by leaning backwards, thus redistributes the population of 1843: 840,000 Poles, 370,000 Germans, and 80,000 Jews.¹ It seems therefore safe to conclude that in 1848 there were in Posnania considerably more than 800,000 Poles, and certainly less than 500,000 Germans.

The Posnanian Germans were mostly prosperous peasants or of the lower middle class, with a sprinkling of big landowners—the local German intelligentsia was weak, and the German officials were largely recruited from outside. The urban population was still predominantly German² or Jewish, but the towns were small: Poznań had in 1838 less than 33,000 inhabitants, and no other town as much as 10,000. Only in the northern and western districts, round Bromberg and Meseritz, and to a less extent in the south, did the Germans form solid majorities. There, on the periphery, the 're-organization' order of 24 March unleashed a veritable storm of 'addresses' demanding separation from the province about to be handed over to the Poles, and inclusion in West Prussia, Brandenburg, or Silesia. 'The day of national freedom is come for all Germany', declared one such manifesto, 'but for us, German inhabitants of Posnania, it is to be a day of enslavement. . . . This is a season for nations to unite, and whoever tries to split them up . . . mistakes his time and its tendencies. . . .'³ But the Germans of Poznań, who as yet did not suppose that their town could be taken out of the Polish zone, and others similarly situated, were against partitioning the province: concessions (whose range was shrinking rapidly) were to be made to the Poles, but Posnania was to remain part of Prussia. The Posnanian Germans bitterly resented not being invited to Frankfurt; they were therefore promptly assured that there was no intention to exclude them from Germany: and their representatives appeared in the Pre-Parliament. Then the Poles protested, calling it presumption to invite them to a German Congress.

The question what territories should send members to the German National Assembly naturally came up immediately when the Pre-Parliament met on 31 March. Conceptions were

¹ Op. cit., p. 79.

² Many spurious German claims in 1848, and since, were based on this or that town representing German culture, *deutschen Fleiss und deutsche Arbeit*: they anticipated the hysterical Polish propaganda over Lvov, where a small Polish majority, including imported officials and baptized Jews, was to justify annexing territory with a ten times greater number of autochthonous Ukrainian peasants.

³ Kohte, op. cit., p. 32.

still crude and doctrinaire, ideas fluid and confused—there had not been time to cover up contradictions with a veneer of plausibility; nor had the first flush of revolutionary enthusiasm and a naively optimistic idealism worn off: none the less, even at this early stage, an aggressive German nationalism began to emerge, as often in speeches by Radicals and Republicans tinged with the *völkisch* element, as by men from the *Ostmarken*, forerunners of 'Prussianism'.

Slesvig was discussed first; its spokesman admitted that there was 'also a Danish population' who looked to Denmark, as much as the Germans to Germany:

. . . but Slesvig has for centuries been inseparably united with Holstein, and through Holstein with Germany . . . and I trust that this Assembly will loudly and firmly declare that Slesvig . . . should be forthwith received into the German Confederation, and should be represented in the Constituent Assembly by freely chosen deputies.

They did so by all votes but one against.

Next, the inclusion of East and West Prussia was moved. Raveaux, of Cologne, assured the House that there was nothing these two provinces 'more ardently desired than to become part of the German nation'. The proposal was carried without the Poles, more than half the population of West Prussia, having been mentioned.¹ The subject of Posnania was opened up by Junghans (who claimed to be the only representative of '500,000 Germans').² 'The Sarmatian knocks at our door, the Russian stands armed at our frontier.' He read out his 'mandate'³ and concluded: 'If we had not Posnania, we should have to conquer it.' Then a West Prussian gave a display of accuracy, logic, and statesmanship: first, hardly anyone in Posnania desires change (the peasants and agricultural labourers fear the tyranny of the

¹ In the subsequent debate on Posnania their existence was incidentally acknowledged by Welcker, when he pleaded for self-determination; and in the last sitting of the Pre-Parliament, Truskoski, from West Prussia, spoke about them in a hesitant and oblique manner, and drew a sharp reply from a West-Prussian German.

² But in the list of the Pre-Parliament, there appear other Germans from Posnania: Eckert and Roquette (member and deputy member for Bromberg—Wirsitz in the Frankfurt Parliament), and Dr. Fürst, a native of Poznań, resident in Leipzig. They may have arrived after the opening of the session.

³ Its terms are not given either in Jucho, or Kohte, or Hepke, or in Bleck, 'Die Posener Frage auf den National-Versammlungen in den Jahren 1848 und 1849 (*Zeitschrift der Historischen Gesellschaft für die Provinz Posen*, vol. xxix).

Polish gentry, and 'the landowners and towns are completely German'); secondly, a demarcation line between the Poles and Germans can be drawn, which the Poles should in fairness accept; but thirdly, the German frontier should not be fixed, as war with Russia is likely and, if victorious, the Germans may in a few weeks reach a line from Lake Peipus to the Black Sea. 'Our frontiers were drawn by the sword—leave them also for the future to the sword.' And Gustav von Struve, of Mannheim, one of the 'Reds' of 1848, argued thus:

. . . we cannot abandon the 700,000 Germans of Posnania. This would be betraying our German brethren. . . . We summon the German inhabitants of Posnania to the German Constituent Assembly. While doing so, we must express what the Germans feel about the unholy dismemberment of Poland. We declare it our sacred duty to repair the wrong, as far as this can be done without injustice to those Germans.

Two speakers were staunchly idealistic—first, Leisler from Nassau:

Those who desire to be free, must . . . be just. . . . They who have committed a tort must repay the debt in full, and retain no profit. . . . Gentlemen, when did we first rob Poland? In 1772. Therefore Poland must be reconstituted in the frontiers of 1772. . . . This will obviously create a difficult position for the German inhabitants [of Posnania]. . . . They have to be compensated by the German nation.

And next, Hensel from Saxony:

It has been pointed out that there are 500,000 Germans in Posnania. Admitted: and even were there yet another 500,000, I should still say that justice must prevail rather than prudence. . . .

(But neither speaker noticed that the frontiers of 1772 comprised also West Prussia which, no less than Posnania, raised a problem both of restitution and of national justice.)

Welcker, a learned and high-minded Liberal from Baden, appealed to 'the great principles of nationality and liberty', and pleaded for self-determination.

We do not want to apportion countries like acres. . . . I want Poland to be restored. But we ourselves have lost Alsace and Lorraine. We shall not rashly give away everything. Or we, too, shall have to reclaim what we have lost.

Venedey, of Cologne, supplied a Radical brand of *Realpolitik*:

It would be unjust and unwise to encroach on Poland. Is Poland to be with us or against us? If a single Pole doubts our sympathy, they will be against us. . . . Russia's vanguard. . . . We do not want Posnanian deputies in our Assembly.

In the end the Pre-Parliament recognized that in its lopsided,

haphazard composition¹ it had, if possible, to avoid pronouncing judgement on vital issues acknowledged as controversial: it was decided to summon members from the territories included in the German Confederation, and from Slesvig and East and West Prussia, while leaving the question of Posnanian to the National Assembly; but a resolution was carried declaring the dismemberment of Poland a 'shameful wrong', and her restoration 'a sacred duty of the German nation'. Before the Pre-Parliament adjourned on 3 April, the admission of Posnanian Germans to the National Assembly was demanded once more. Roquette, from Bromberg, spoke with ominous passion: 'We are Germans, and want to remain Germans . . . we love the Poles as neighbours, not as brothers . . . we are not Poles, but Germans, and you cannot, and must not, abandon us.'

The Radicals wished the Pre-Parliament to continue till the National Assembly had met, but the majority decided to set up a Committee of Fifty (*Fünfziger-Ausschuss*) to carry on together with the Federal Diet, now representing Governments refurbished by revolution.

On 6 April the Prussian Provincial Estates met for a last session. Those of Posnanian, after a heated debate, rejected inclusion in Germany by 26 Polish against 17 German votes; whereupon the German minority, acting independently, elected five members to represent the northern and western districts in the Frankfort Parliament. But on the 7th the Federal Diet, endorsing a resolution of the Pre-Parliament, declared for elections by constituencies, which were bound to produce even sharper conflicts where resisted by a non-German population.

XV

In March far-reaching concessions and promises were made to the Poles by the King and the Prussian Government, who, stunned by what was happening in the streets of Berlin, had for

¹ Even in the Pre-Parliament the south-west and west were greatly over-represented: from Hesse-Darmstadt there were 84 representatives, from the other three Hessian States 54; from Baden 72; from Württemberg 52; and from Frankfort 12—together 274 in a total of 521 (in the Frankfort Parliament these States had 79 in a total of about 600 members). Further, of 141 Prussians at least 100 were from the Rhineland and the adjoining districts of Westphalia, and of 44 Bavarians, at least 13 were from the Rhenish Palatinate. Thus more than three-fourths of the Pre-Parliament were from western or south-western Germany, from the Rhine or the Lower Main, regions which the legend of 1848 credits with a most touching 'liberal' idealism. There were only two Austrians in the Pre-Parliament.

a while lost touch with political realities outside the heaving, convulsed centres of revolution: gliding into the void, they obeyed naive, irrelevant behests with regard to Poland which reached them from the void. Had the revolutionary forces been powerful and enduring, they might have created a new reality and evolved a coherent policy of their own, of which an attempt to solve the Polish question would have been part and parcel: being local, transient, and divided, they merely burdened the remote and complex problem of Posnania with a heritage of contradictions and confusion. The administration was to be Polonized, and Polish armed forces were being formed: but unless the movement found vent in a revolutionary war against Russia, it was bound, confined to Posnania, to unload itself in a local conflict between the Poles and Germans, which in turn was bound to destroy any incipient German-Polish alinement in international affairs. At first Germans and Poles alike had viewed Posnanian developments from the angle of imminent war in the east—what sense would there otherwise have been in admitting Russian-Polish *émigrés* to the armed camps in Posnania, and, indeed, in facilitating their journey across Germany? But the forces in Great Britain and France, and also in Russia, which had prevented the February Revolution from ushering in a European war, were at work once more to immunize the March Revolution in international relations. The Poles, who as a nation had nothing to lose and everything to gain in a revolutionary European war, were playing a pathetically hopeless game against the western Powers which, from a determination to preserve the peace of Europe, had turned anti-revolutionary. The course of international politics quickly circumscribed the Posnanian movement within its provincial borders, and the subsequent developments gave a powerful impulse to counter-revolutionary nationalism in Germany.

In Posnania the Prussian military were counter-revolutionary and anti-Polish, and so were most of the officials, while even the revolutionary ferment among its German population was assuming an aggressively nationalist, anti-Polish character: they felt indignant at the Government promises to the Poles given 'without consulting the province'.¹ 'We shall defend our German national character with the same courage which Berlin has shown', wrote on 4 April S. G. Kerst, a secondary school-teacher at Meseritz (and its representative at Frankfort where he joined the Left Centre). And on the 2nd: '... the attitude

¹ Kerst in the Frankfort Parliament, 26 July 1848.

(*Stimmung*) of the public in towns and villages exceeds by far all our expectations.'¹ Round Bydgoszcz (Bromberg) the Germans started organizing a *Freicorps*.² 'A powerful *Volksgeist* had been awakened', wrote in retrospect Hepke, another German schoolmaster from Posnania; 'everywhere Citizens' Committees were formed. . . . The German cause was at stake.'³ The *Volksgeist* of mass-movements replaced the *Zeitgeist* of the intellectuals, and came to be worshipped by the modern *clerics*.⁴ '*Deutsche Männer und Freunde!*'⁵ thundered Professor Mittermaier of Heidelberg, President of the Pre-Parliament, in his opening speech, '... The giant is awakening. The *Volksgeist* is that giant. He is awake.'

On the Polish side, too, the masses were stirring, and the Polish National Commission 'suddenly found itself at the head of a movement which it could not control'.⁶ The outlook, aims, and reactions of those masses were narrowly provincial, and while the leaders and the upper classes were thinking foremost of the wider aspects of the Polish question and of Poland's integral restoration, armed Posnanian peasants or *petit bourgeois* were turning against the local Germans, against the officials at whose hands they had suffered a good deal, and against the Jews: rumours circulated that 'the Holy Father has given permission to kill the Prussians', and that 'the time has come to pilfer the Jews'. In fact the movement might ultimately have assumed even a socially radical character. Count Działyński wrote on 27 March to Herr von Minutoli, President of Police in Berlin:⁷

The troops will succeed wherever they go, but their successes will cost the lives of the German inhabitants, next those of the Jews, and in the end of all the gentry. The only way of saving the situation is by forming Polish regiments under General von Willisen: the disorder has to be organised.

Wilhelm von Willisen, a staff officer of high standing and great erudition and repute, had spent nine years in Posnania, 1832-41, was a trusted friend of the Poles, and in the early days of the revolution discussed with Mierosławski plans for war against Russia. The Poles desired to see him placed in charge of 'national reorganization', and, after an initial refusal, the

¹ Kohte, op. cit., p. 37.

² Rakowski, op. cit., App., p. 67.

³ Hepke, op. cit., p. 17.

⁴ For these see Julien Benda's brilliant book, *La Trahison des clercs* (1927).

⁵ Those who know the Germans squirm at such heartiness—*deutsche Biederkeit*—which the novelist, Arthur Schnitzler, a Vienna Jew, has correctly defined as *ein Gemisch von Stumpf sinn und Tücke* ('a compound of obtuseness and treachery').

⁶ Rakowski, op. cit., p. 107.

⁷ Kohte, op. cit., p. 52.

Government decided to send him as Royal Commissary to Posnania: he was to start work on Polonizing the province while safeguarding Prussia's sovereignty, and to try to induce the Polish National Committee to keep their hands off the German districts;¹ and, last but not least, he was to seek, through voluntary disbanding, a settlement of (what now would be called) the Polish 'private army'.

This army was concentrated in four camps, and by the beginning of April was approaching 10,000;² primarily raised for war against Russia, they also 'burnt with a desire to fight the Prussians'.³ Against them, the Prussian Army Command, by summoning troops and *Landwehr* from the neighbouring provinces, had gathered forces much superior in number and armament, and burning with a single-minded hatred of the Poles:⁴ by the beginning of April General von Colomb, G.O.C. Poznań, had over 20,000 men at his disposal. He longed to take strong action against the Poles—wherein he was encouraged by the King but restrained by the Government. On 1 April he was told by order from the War Minister that 'the revolutionaries, not only everywhere in Germany, but throughout the world, are interested in the restoration of Poland', and that he must therefore avoid stern action which would cost Prussia 'all sympathies'.⁵ But two days later the King, through his A.D.C., instructed Colomb to use all means at his disposal for the restoration of 'order and obedience in the province'; to which the significant remark was added that 'scenes such as happened in Galicia, should not occur'.⁶

¹ See Ministerial Memorandum of 30 Mar., in Willisen, *Akten und Bemerkungen über meine Sendung nach dem Grossherzogtum Posen im Frühjahr 1848* (1850), p. 15.

² Willisen quotes higher figures, but according to Rakowski, the Poles, to impress him with their strength, had exaggerated to him their numbers.

³ Rakowski, op. cit., p. 123.

⁴ See *ibid.*, App., p. 33, for anti-Polish song of the Prussian *Landwehr*—their anger, like that of the Paris National Guard before the June Days, was exacerbated by their having to give up their ordinary occupations, with great inconvenience to themselves. The last stanza of that doggerel ran thus:

'Drum Pollakei, fass dich jetzt kurz,
Mach' dich gefasst auf ew'gen Sturz;
Denn Polen darf nicht frei mehr sein,
Wenn wir uns woll'n der Ruh' erfreu'n.'

⁵ See O. Hoetzsch, 'Die Stellung des Generals von Colomb zur Revolution in Posen und zu Willisen', in the *Zeitschrift für Osteuropäische Geschichte* (1914), p. 366.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 343. Apparently the King did expect Colomb to use the

The orders with which Willisen started on his mission were similarly contradictory and ambiguous, and those subsequently sent to him from Berlin were no less vague: which perhaps did not trouble him at first, as it left him greater latitude. Nor did he, in his eagerness to succeed, hold the same language to the various parties: he would interpret the same transaction to each in the way which he expected to render it acceptable. In the nature of things, his mission was foredoomed to failure: the basis of the new policy had vanished before he ever set out. But exaggerated hopes had been raised among the Poles, and exaggerated fears among the Posnanian Germans, who received Willisen with hostility and distrust; from the very outset, he had been denied control of the military, and he was sabotaged by the civil administration, who sometimes went the length of openly defying his orders. 'It is not clear', writes a German historian, 'whether the authorities had secret directions to work against him, or whether they did so spontaneously, while pursuing their official routine.'¹

He arrived in Poznań on 5 April, having crossed a countryside as still and tense as if it had been no-man's land between hostile armies. The next day he issued an address to Poles and Germans, which satisfied neither; moreover, he did so before having met Colomb. When he called on the General,² he found that Colomb was about to attack the Polish camps; and Willisen had the utmost difficulty to obtain a few days' respite in which to attempt an understanding. On the 6th, at night, Willisen wrote to the Minister of the Interior, von Auerswald: 'Conditions here have become completely anarchical; Government authority reaches no further than the military can enforce it. . . . The military are set on using force.' Unless otherwise instructed from Berlin, Colomb will attack the Poles on 10 April.³ Willisen proposed (to use Działyński's expression) to organize disorder by forming the Polish forces, much reduced in number, into a distinct Polish unit within the Prussian army.

peasants against the gentry, but avoid a *jacquerie*: the remark which he made to the Polish deputation on 23 Mar., claiming for the Prussian administration the merit of having prevented a repetition of the Galician 'scenes' in Posnania, suggests that the *faux bonhomme* was playing with the idea.

¹ See R. Bartolomaeus, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.

² From Willisen's papers it would appear that he called on Colomb on the 6th; Colomb gives the date of the 7th. There seems to have been an initial *contretemps* complicated by punctilios of etiquette; there certainly was mutual dislike and distrust.

³ See Willisen, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-2.

His suggestion was disallowed from Berlin (the King subsequently told Colomb that from the very outset he had 'clearly ordered' Willisen not to leave the Poles 'a single armed man').¹ But on 8 April Colomb was told by the Minister for War to give, if necessary, military support to Willisen 'who is instructed to start work on Polish national reorganisation' (as if this could have been done before the problem of the camps was settled); and further that 'it would be highly embarrassing for the Government' if Willisen 'found himself compelled to relinquish his task'. The same day, the King wrote to Colomb regretting that his operations should have suffered delay, and telling him to act should Willisen fail to disarm the Poles.²

It was under such conditions that the negotiations were conducted. The Polish leaders realized that a collision with the Prussian troops would spell disaster for their forces and for any political hopes they might still entertain. They therefore concluded with Willisen on 11 April the so-called Jarosławiec Agreement: the Polish forces, reduced to less than 3,000, were to be formed into a Posnanian division, with the Polish flag and colours and language of command; the rest were to be disbanded, deserters from the Prussian forces to be pardoned, while foreigners (mostly Russian Poles) were to be removed, but not to be delivered to their Governments. By now it was not so much Poland as 'order' which was being restored. But as a corollary to it, 'national reorganization' was promised once more: the Polish language in schools, offices, and law-courts, and Polish officials in control of the administration; and Willisen, claiming to have re-established order, now meant to proceed with the task. The Posnanian Germans howled with anger and indignation.

The imminent 'reorganization' forced the issue of partition, and on 14 April a Cabinet Order was published that it 'must not extend to parts in which the German population predominates'. A line was drawn cutting off the northern and western districts with 593,900 inhabitants: over 100,000 more than the total German population of the province. While the most reasonable among the Poles would have been prepared to cede a few genuinely German districts if at that price they could have retained the friendship of the German national movement, against such a partition the Polish National Committee was bound to protest, and protest in earnest. But when on 22 April

¹ Hoetzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 344. But the King was notoriously untruthful.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 344-5.

the Prussian representative moved in the Federal Diet that these districts 'bordering on federal territory . . . should, in accordance with the wishes of their inhabitants, be received into the German Confederation', the resolution was carried unanimously, most of the other Governments, more advanced in German nationalism than Prussia, merely regretting that the town and fortress of Poznań was not included in the German zone.¹ When on the night of 19 April Willisen returned to Poznań, at the city gate, by order from Colomb, he was refused admission on the ground that his presence in the town might produce a breach of the peace: the G.O.C. professed himself unable to guarantee the safety of the Royal Commissary against the anger of the German population! Willisen immediately left Posnania. Looking back the enlightened Prussian nobleman wrote in 1850: 'The manner in which the violent opposition of the Germans developed against what they understood by "national reorganization", for the first time placed before my eyes a picture of passionate excitement among the masses incapable of wider political conceptions.'²

The day before the Jarosławiec Agreement was signed, Prussian troops attacked a Polish detachment near Tremeszna; other encounters followed. In granting the Poles an army unit of their own, Willisen had exceeded his authority; and neither the Prussian military nor the Polish commander, Mierosławski, who had evaded appending his signature to the agreement, meant to honour it. The Polish forces were scattering, disappointed and discontented, and even where they did not cause trouble, their presence supplied the Germans with a welcome excuse. 'I ordered the mobile columns to attack the insurgents at all points', writes Colomb in his 'Memorandum' on 1848.³ Starting with 19 April a series of pitched battles was fought, in two of which, on 30 April and 2 May, the Germans were routed. Willisen's successor, General von Pfuell, a pro-Russian agreeable to the King and the Army Command, wrote from Poznań on 4 May: 'The province is in complete uproar . . . this is an armed national rising.'⁴ But it was bound to collapse—and Mierosławski resigned his command in time for his successor to sign the Polish capitulation (9 May).

¹ See Kohte, *op. cit.*, p. 72; further Meyendorff's letter to Nesselrode of 25 Apr.: 'According to what Arnim has just told me, the Diet insists on the town and fortress of Poznań remaining German'; *Briefwechsel*, vol. ii, p. 80.

² Willisen, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

³ Hoetzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

⁴ Kohte, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

XVI

On 26 April Posnania came up for discussion in the Committee of Fifty,¹ in an atmosphere very different from that of 31 March. Ideas had lost their revolutionary fluidity; conditions and developments were examined with growing realism and prudence. Declarations of sympathy with Poland, being part of the revolutionary routine, were repeated, but with waning warmth and conviction, and with a touch of weariness. A national egotism, sometimes naive and sometimes cynical, was rising to the surface. Russia was still the enemy, but an attack by her was no longer thought imminent, nor war with her unavoidable. On the other hand fighting had broken out between the Germans and Poles, and there was the *fait accompli* of the partition: of eighteen speakers in the debate, only four spoke directly or by implication against it, objecting not so much to the claims of the Posnanian Germans as to the time and method chosen for gratifying them.

The tone of the debate was set by the *rapporteur* of the sub-committee for Foreign Affairs, Pagenstecher (Rhine-Province). The Polish question, difficult and complex, was 'a heritage of the perfidious politics of past centuries'. The Pre-Parliament 'had dwelt exclusively on Germany's guilt'—but the Poles were not without blame. None the less, Germany wished them to recover their country and independence. But were Prussian Poland set free now, it would succumb to Russia,² while Germany, preoccupied with her own reorganization, could not, for the sake of Poland, risk war. Moreover, the Posnanian Germans 'have as good a claim to our sympathy as the Poles'. It is not a question whether Poland is to be restored, but when and how? The problem must be left to the German National Assembly. He warned the Poles not to fan civil war in Posnania.

Of the pro-Poles, Reh (Darmstadt) and Venedey repeated that justice rather than prudence should prevail, but in this case (luckily) the two coincided (judgement seems even more pliable than morals). Schuselka, a Bohemian German (who by setting free the Poles wished to detach them from the Czechs and to

¹ *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Parlaments*. Zweite Lieferung (1848), pp. 372–401.

² This argument was not devoid of foundation; thus, for instance, Meyendorff wrote to Nesselrode on 8 Apr.: 'It is not impossible that Prussia may declare the independence of the Polish part of Posnania, and then we could occupy it without war with Prussia or Germany' (op. cit., vol. ii, p. 66). See also below, p. 89, n. 3.

lighten 'the Slav burden of Austria'¹) deplored that a few weeks after the Pre-Parliament had stigmatized the dismemberment of Poland, a new partition should have been effected: frontier rectifications should not be made till the two nations 'faced each other, great and free'. Similarly, Robert Blum (Leipzig), a man of rare sincerity and frankness, argued that it requires free nations to negotiate: the enslaved can only be despoiled. 'It pains me that the young days of our national ascent and the spring-time of our liberty should add such a page to history.' But the argument about 'a nation in fetters', however impressive, was hardly practical politics: the German districts of Posnania could not be expected, for the sake of spiritual elegance, to submit to Polish national reorganization; what could have been expected was some measure of fairness in drawing the demarcation line—and of this there was no longer a chance.

The point reached by German public opinion was thus summed up by Jacoby (Koenigsberg): '... all seem agreed that, with the most careful regard for German interests, an independent Poland should be restored.' 'German interests' were rapidly becoming the major premise, offering considerable scope for further developments and embroidery. The conflict in Posnania now engrossed attention, and war with Russia, especially over Poland, was no longer considered in the German interest. There was enough trouble in the north, west, and south, argued Schleiden (Slesvig)—war with Denmark, danger from France, a republican rising in Baden—'is this a time to provoke a new enemy?' The Pre-Parliament had shown 'supreme tact', when it carefully limited itself to proclaiming 'our sympathy which in time will bear fruit'. Von Closen (Munich):

¹ In a pamphlet published in 1846, *Deutschland, Polen und Russland*, he wrote (p. 141): 'Without Galicia there would be in Austria 10 million Slavs against 7 or 8 million Germans. Seeing the difference in their cultural level, the position would be decidedly favourable to the Germans, and for that reason alone Austria should have refrained from robbing Poland.' A year later, in his *Oesterreichische Vor- und Rückschritte*, he urged giving up Galicia, and, having declared that for the Czechs it was 'a historic, political, and spiritual necessity to remain connected with Germany, and probably to dissolve completely in the German element', launched out into a violent diatribe against them (see pp. 272–95). He continued preaching his doctrines in 1848. Smolka, in a letter to his wife, dated 20 June 1848, reports a speech by Schuselka describing the inclusion of Galicia in the Austrian Empire as a great mistake, because it created a Slav majority; a position analogous to that of Hungary should be conceded to Galicia, and, at a suitable moment, the province should be handed over to a united, independent Poland, allied to Austria and Germany (*Dziennik*, p. 288).

'We are here to transact German business'; declarations about Poland are philanthropy, and international complications should be avoided. Kierluff (Mecklenburg): 'I wish the German people would for once voice sympathy for German interests, after having so long voiced its enthusiasm for Poland.' Wiesner (Vienna): 'Moderate your noble zeal for Poland!' Jürgens (a Lutheran pastor from Brunswick): '... sympathy for a foreign nation, however well-founded and deserved, must not turn into sottishness (*Blödsinn*), which it would be if it went the length of injustice to one's own country and nation.' And Heckscher (Hamburg) wished for a free Poland, but one which would not encroach on German territory or rights; nor should the slavery of a gentry régime be re-created, nor a Galician massacre be repeated. While Polish claims to the whole of Posnania and to West Prussia, or even protests against the unfairness of the demarcation line of 14 April, were rejected as scandalous, new German territorial claims were raised. Abegg (Breslau), Biedermann (Leipzig), and Buhl (Baden) contended that Poznań, because of its strategic importance, should, for the time being, be retained by Prussia; Kierluff protested against the arrangement being treated as temporary: 'the fortress of Poznań is the key to the heart of Germany.' Wedemeyer (Brandenburg) supplied his own version of 'justice': 'Poznań's population is predominantly German, and it must therefore remain with Prussia'; Poland has arisen and has perished by conquest, and what she receives is due to German 'magnanimity': 'the Poles should gratefully accept whatever we give them.'

The Committee of Fifty finished by restating the resolutions of the Pre-Parliament which, while leaving the settlement of Posnania to the National Assembly, condemned the dismemberment of Poland and demanded her restoration as an independent State; but a significant rider was added which, in contorted yet emphatic language, declared that the resolutions of the Pre-Parliament in favour of Poland must not be taken to imply anything which might jeopardize German interests.

While the Fifty talked, the question of Poznań was being settled. On 25 April Meyendorff reports to Nesselrode having been shown a new partition line which assigned the town to Germany: 'The Poles will be left to shout, a resolution will be obtained from the Fifty, after that from the Diet, and then there will be nothing more to worry about.'¹ The next day the new line was published in Berlin, and on 2 May was confirmed by

¹ Op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 79-80.

the Federal Diet: 'On the motion of Prussia, the town and fortress of Poznań, with a district which secures its connexion with Germany, and a population of 273,000, is received into the Germanic Federation.' Thus for a population of less than 500,000, Germany assigned to herself territory with 867,000 inhabitants, while leaving to the Poles, for a population of considerably more than 800,000, territory with 468,000 inhabitants (German 'magnanimity' expressed itself in inverting proportions).¹ But a new promise was added that national reorganization was to start immediately in the part assigned to the Poles. Robert Blum compared the procedure to 'cutting out the heart and then saying: "Now live" '.

Even the line of 2 May did not fully satisfy the Posnanian Germans. On 29 April the Committee called on all communes wishing to appeal against the demarcation line, to supply data, and on the others to specify what safeguards were deemed necessary under Polish reorganization. The years 1918-20 could hardly improve on the variety of arguments now advanced to bolster up further territorial demands: historic rights and 'cultural' claims, economic or strategic considerations, the alleged wishes of a mixed population, the national character of this or that (passionately cherished) town or of the big landed estates, the need to preserve intact the system of roads and railways, &c. On 12 May General von Pfiel drew a third demarcation line, and on 4 June a fourth, each more disadvantageous to the Poles; and he offered to facilitate, by sale or exchange, transfers of landowners between the German and the Polish zones—population transfer in terms of an agrarian community.

On 30 April the Polish National Committee at Poznań announced its own dissolution in a pathetic, but halting and badly written, Manifesto:²

When the voice of freedom which inspired the nations of Europe reached our frontiers, the Poles of the Grand Duchy of Poznań thought that for them too the hour of freedom and independence had struck . . . the sympathies of the free nations had aroused the greatest enthusiasm among the Poles. . . . It was in the midst of such enthusiasm that the National Committee was elected.

Fraternal feelings and sympathies being shown by other nations, more especially by the Germans, and even by those who live among

¹ Seeing that half of 867,000 is 433,500, and that certainly more than 50,000 Germans lived in the districts left to the Poles, there must have been a Polish majority within the territory assigned to Germany by the demarcation line of 2 May.

² Published in Rakowski, *op. cit.*, App., pp. 57-8.

us, the National Committee did not, and could not, desire war with Germany . . . , but alliance and friendship. . . .

After the last hope has vanished of truth and justice prevailing against calumny and violence, the National Committee recognises that it cannot, without treason against its countrymen and history, continue negotiating with the Government, for they will do nothing for the cause of Poland. . . .

The National Committee dissolves, but hopes that the promises given to the people will be kept, and that the [Re-organisation] Committee, entrusted with the work, will continue to function.

The Committee protests solemnly to all Europe against the acts of violence which have been perpetrated, and lays down its mandate, which was to promote our cause by justice and not by violence. Force has destroyed our mandate.

Here was the end of the dream, of the vision, and of the *Polen-rausch* (the pro-Polish 'intoxication'). When on 4 May the Committee of Fifty for the last time discussed Polish affairs, Venedey declared: 'Our Committee is no longer the same: at least, for some time past, it has not acted in the spirit of the Pre-Parliament.' But Jürgens argued: 'The position has changed; previous premises no longer hold good, conditions in Posnania are different, the Poles have not behaved as was expected.'

The game was up. Some of the chief leaders left Posnania. The centre of Polish endeavours once more shifted to Paris. There, in a void, *émigrés* continued to talk and to scheme. Under date of 15 May, Senior recounts¹ a typical conversation with a Pole, the wife of Léon Faucher (subsequently Minister of the Interior under Louis-Napoleon), and sister of Wołowski, a refugee of 1831, naturalized in France, and in 1848 a prominent member of the French Parliament:

She talked politics after the fashion of the Poles—demanding English and French intervention to drive the Russians out of Poland. Prussia and Austria, she said, would willingly give up their own shares, and the old kingdom might be reconstructed as a barrier to Russia. . . . I admitted that if any country was ever justified in rising against its existing Governments, Poland is the one; . . . but that I could not believe that it was in the interest of England or of France to make war on Russia in order to assist her. On which she was very angry with my egoism.

Under pressure from the Left and the pro-Poles, Lamartine had to feign diplomatic activity. On 7 May Circourt was instructed to complain of the obstacles offered to the return of

¹ *Journals in France and Italy, 1848-1852*, vol. i, pp. 94-5.

Polish *émigrés* (of whom France wished to be rid), and of the disappointing developments in Posnania—after a beginning had been made with the restoration of Polish nationality ‘which events would have helped to grow and develop in a manner advantageous to Germany, and offensive to no one’ (*‘sans caractère offensif pour personne’*).¹ Arnim, not troubled about what he had said six weeks earlier,² replied that it had never been intended ‘to let the entire Polish emigration establish itself in the Grand-Duchy of Posen, but only natives of the province’, for such a gathering would have involved Prussia in war with Russia. ‘It was never her intention to engage in such a war’, of which, ‘were it to break out, Poland would most certainly and most irrevocably be the victim.’ At home Prussia is engaged in carrying out her undertakings in whatever genuinely Polish territory she holds, but ‘she recognises neither an obligation nor a right to interfere beyond her own frontiers’. Lastly, she has obligations towards the German population of Posnania and of the adjoining provinces, towards Prussia as a whole, and towards the German Confederation, by whose decisions she is bound with regard to delimitations of federal territory.

Prussia passed the buck, and the German National Assembly at Frankfort (*wehmütig* remembered by the ‘good Germans’ and their foreign friends for nearly a century) disposed of the matter in the *Polendebatte* of July 1848.

XVII

The position of the twelve members from Posnania came up in the National Assembly during the examination of returns; the two resolutions of the Federal Diet of 22 April and 2 May adjudicating upon a matter which the Pre-Parliament had reserved for the decision of the National Assembly, formed the basis of their election; and their full reception into the Assembly would imply the inclusion of their constituencies in the German Confederation. On 5 June the Assembly decided to admit them provisionally to its deliberations, while referring the problem of Posnania to the Committee for Foreign Affairs. This reported on 24 July, the debate occupied the sessions of the 24th, 25th, and 26th, and the voting, with some additional discussions, took place on the 27th. A long distance had been

¹ See Lamartine, *Trois mois au pouvoir*, pp. 247–9.

² Cf. above, pp. 219–21.

covered since the debate in the Pre-Parliament on 31 March, and even in the Committee of Fifty on 26 April. The Polish armed movement had been beaten down, and the idea of going to war with Russia over Poland had completely vanished. German public opinion, by and large, had turned against the Poles, while in France the revolutionary forces, which had inscribed Poland on their banners, had been crushed. Counter-revolution was advancing, both in Germany and all round her. The national reorganization of Posnania, proclaimed in the fervour of the March revolution, and meant as the first step towards an integral restoration of Poland, had territorially been whittled down to a diminutive 'Duchy of Gnesen' and was to be paid for by the inclusion of almost two-thirds of Posnania in Germany: that is, by a disruption, and a virtual destruction, of Prussian Poland. The endeavours of Poles and pro-Poles were now concentrated on preserving an undivided Posnania within the framework of Prussia; they were fighting a delaying action. Still, the outcome was a foregone conclusion: the *fait accompli* of the partition, the inclusion and the consequent elections, could hardly be undone in an atmosphere of rising nationalism, and the interest of the debate is psychological rather than pragmatic. It is a milestone on the road traversed by the German revolution of 1848.

The Report of the Committee, adopted by all votes against one (Schuselka's), assumes the garb of scholarship; among its authors were historians of rank, such as Gervinus,¹ von Raumer,

¹ Gervinus, in March a strong pro-Pole, began to veer round early in April, and openly recanted his previous views in a leading article in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, on 19 Apr.: the Poles were to be taught that 'it was not fear but magnanimity which had actuated' the Germans in their offers (see Feldman, op. cit., pp. 172-3). E. M. Arndt, another member of the Committee for Foreign Affairs (whom the Radical of 1848, Venedey, describes as 'the good, old German conscience', and the neo-Liberal Veit Valentin, as '*diese prächtig-wunderliche Persönlichkeit*'—see op. cit., vol. ii, p. 13) was less frank but even more forcible in his language. He who in 1843 had advocated the creation of a Polish *Mittelreich* between Germany and Russia (see above, p. 207), now in a leaflet *Polenlärm und Polenbegeisterung* (*Noise and Enthusiasm about the Poles*), talked about the *Polennarren* (pro-Polish sots), and classified them under the three headings of 'blockheads', 'fools', and 'scoundrels'. He declared: 'Never and nowhere have I held out high and splendid hopes for the Poles or for a great Poland', and he denied the Slavs creative political or intellectual abilities—'the Russians form an honourable exception . . . they have an admixture of the Germanic Scandinavians . . .', and also the Czechs who have much *urdeutsches*. Clearly the distance between these '48-ers' and the modern German 'racialists' is not overgreat.

and Stenzel, and several distinguished jurists. Having analysed the history of Posnania, especially since 1815, and the position created by the revolution, it proceeds to contrast the national with the territorial principle. 'The Germans in the Grand-Duchy thought about the Poles, not about the land.' They wished to do justice to the Polish nationality, but not to be themselves separated from Germany 'at a time when the German national feeling is running stronger than ever before'. 'The Germans say: "the soil is neither Polish nor German, only the inhabitants determine its national character." They are German to the core, want to remain it, and to belong to Germany. They ask to be received into the German Confederation.' 'Germans could not force other Germans at the point of the bayonet to submit to a Polish régime.' So far the argument of the Report was a plea for partitioning Posnania in accordance with nationality and without regard to historic frontiers. But having established the principle, its authors set out to justify a division which, in their own words, resulted in an 'obvious disproportion'—'the Polish majority received the smaller, and the German minority the larger part of the province'. 'The demarcation, though not easy, could have been drawn in accordance with the prevailing nationality—but a much more difficult problem arises over the fortress of Poznań. . . . Even if no Germans lived in Poznań, hardly a German would, under present conditions, allow that fortress to pass into other hands.' In declaring to have thus 'proved the necessity' of retaining it, they added that the fortress required a territorial belt—a glacis—and a safe connexion with the hinterland. Other arguments followed, sentimental, economic, or cultural. But then the question arose how districts with a Polish population could be represented in the German National Assembly. Reply: 'Far more than two million Poles in Prussia¹ and Silesia' are already comprised.² The Report concludes with draft resolutions which admit the twelve members from Posnania to the Assembly; recognize provisionally General von Pfuel's line of 4 June, while reserving to the National Assembly the final settlement of the demarcation line; demand from Prussia national safeguards for the Germans in Polish Posnania; but declare that for the Poles in West Prussia their national (*volkstümlich*) development 'in

¹ East and West Prussia taken together.

² The figure of 'far more than two million Poles' in those provinces seems an exaggeration as the total population of East and West Prussia and Upper Silesia was in 1849 only about 3½ millions.

Church, education, literature, local administration and the law courts, and equal rights for their language within its territory' are already safeguarded by the vote on minorities passed by the National Assembly on 31 May.

The debate which ensued presents a curious contrast with the early days of the Revolution. In March the prospect of war with Russia worked in favour of the Poles; now its possibility supplied the chief argument for despoiling them ('among the wars which await us, that with Russia . . . is . . . most likely', and therefore Poznań must be retained). In March the demand of the Posnanian Germans for separation from the Grand-Duchy was based on the principle of national 'self-determination' (the term was already used, and misused, in 1848); now that a demarcation line flagrantly violating it had been drawn, Kerst, perhaps their foremost representative, described the alleged right of peoples 'to divide in accordance with nationality', as 'new-fangled', 'nowhere recognised', dangerous, and unrealizable in borderlands with a mixed population (moreover: 'in politics the *status possidendi* is decisive', and 'self-preservation is the First Commandment of the political catechism'). Then the Poles were extolled as the vanguard of revolution; now Prince Lichnowsky explained that sympathies for Poland were waning because wherever a revolution broke out, one could safely assume that Polish *émigrés* were at work. Then the dismemberment of Poland was a 'shameful wrong', and her restoration a 'sacred duty' of democracy; now it was discovered that the Partitions had overthrown 'an aristocracy which prevented the mass of the serfs from becoming a people', and that a tender concern for the fate of the Polish peasant (or even of the gentry—*vide* 1846) enjoined caution ('they are not ripe for restoration', argued Giskra, a Moravian German, of the Left Centre; 'and even were they ripe, there is a limit to our sympathies as also to our sense of justice'—'I stand by the Fatherland, by our Germany, and that is to me *über alles*'). To this he added a specifically Austrian argument: 'We have Slavs in Bohemia, Moravia, Styria, and Illyria. How will it affect their doings if over a Slav problem we show weakness, half-hearted hesitations, and pusillanimity?' The *rapporteur* of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Stenzel, concluded a speech full of tiresome historical erudition¹ with a similar appeal on behalf of the Polish

¹ The Frankfort Parliament was a highly academic assembly—it contained 49 University Professors and Lecturers, and 57 schoolmasters, and at least

peasants, whom Wilhelm Jordan, a member of the Left, described as 'not Polish but Prussian' in feelings.

Robert Blum sadly reflected on 'the inordinate taste for conquest (*Eroberungslust*) shown by our young and uncertain freedom', and asked why Posnania was to be partitioned, but Slesvig, Bohemia, and the Tyrol, claimed by Germany, were indivisible? (Curiously not even he ever chose, or ventured, to name West Prussia as a province of mixed nationality.) Schuselka, thinking of Austria, and trying to ward off the proposed partition of Posnania, vindicated the *Territorialpolitik* hitherto pursued by the National Assembly—'this must be our basis, for a great nation requires space (*Raum*) to fulfil its world destiny (*Weltberuf*) and I would rather die a thousand times than, for instance, renounce Trieste because they speak Italian'. (How far was Frankfort from the *Lebensraum*?) But he appealed to the German intellectuals—poets, historians, politicians—who in their writings had stigmatized the dismemberment of Poland, not to sanction a new partition, and reminded them of the promise of restoration pronounced by the Pre-Parliament and reaffirmed by the Fifty. Similarly Wiesner, another Austrian: 'What a contrast between then and now! Only a few months separate us from that great day, and we hasten to abrogate its verdict!' Count von Wartensleben, a *Junker* and not an intellectual, gave a frank account of the change of heart which he, in common with so many others, had undergone: he confessed his previous *Unklugheit* (lack of wisdom)—when he heard the King announce national reorganization for the Poles, he had said to his friends that 'the time had come for Prussia to proclaim the independence of Poland, and virtually to declare war on Russia'. Now he favoured the proposed partition of Posnania, advised the Poles to be satisfied with the bird in the hand, and to work on the basis offered to them. And Göden, from Posnania, once more echoed the old cry: 'Do justice to your ill-treated German brethren before you do it to a foreign nation!'

three-fourths of its members had been to a University (see Valentin, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 12). The presence of a great many historians and jurists set a mark on its debates, and in that on Posnania one speaker after another went over the historical background, till the audience wearied of it: which may have been one reason for the impatience shown when Venedey, near the end of the debate, supplied a remarkably well-informed and documented account of the Posnanian transactions since the outbreak of the revolution. Even now that speech is worth reading as perhaps the shortest, clearest, and most impartial account of those transactions.

There was hardly a speech devoid of significance, but the three outstanding performances in that debate, which was 'one of the landmarks and turning points in the history of the National Assembly',¹ were the speeches of Wilhelm Jordan, a Berlin Democrat of East-Prussian extraction, Janiszewski, the only Pole in the Frankfurt Parliament, who had entered it with a watching brief for his people, and Ruge, a leader of the extreme Left. Jordan's was a clarion call of German nationalism, sounded from the benches of the Left: cold, cynical, and intense, it proclaimed principles on which Bismarck acted and in which German intellectuals revel, but which other nations, with a few exceptions, would hesitate to proclaim. He started by thus defining the issue: 'Are half a million Germans to live under a German Government and administration and form part of the great German Fatherland, or are they to be relegated to the inferior position of naturalised foreigners subject to another nation of lesser cultural content than themselves?' Whoever would vote for the latter would be 'at least unconsciously a traitor to his own people' (*ein Volksverräter*). He criticized those who preached a campaign against Russia, and remarked that anyhow the German nation of 45 millions required no Polish 'bulwark'. 'To wish for a restoration of Poland because her downfall fills us with just regret, I call imbecile sentimentality.' It was necessary 'to awaken a healthy national egotism without which no people can grow into a nation'. 'Our right is that of the stronger, the right of conquest'; '. . . legal rules nowhere appear more miserable than where they presume to determine the fate of nations. To employ them for fixing the course of nations is to spread out spider-webs as nets for eagles.' 'The preponderance of the German race over most Slav races, possibly with the sole exception of the Russians, is a fact . . . and against history and nature decrees of political justice are of no avail.' 'Mere existence does not entitle a people to political independence: only the force to assert itself as a State among the others.' And he concluded his speech with the cry: 'Freedom for all, but the power of the Fatherland and its weal above all!'²

The same night, in the Club of the Left, Blum moved the exclusion of Jordan but failed to carry it; still, a short time later, Jordan withdrew from the Club, and formed with some friends,

¹ Valentin, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 125.

² *Freiheit für alle, aber des Vaterlands Kraft und Wohlfahrt über alles!*

including Kerst and Viebig¹ (Poznań), a new group between the Left and the Right Centre.²

Janiszewski answered calumnies and misrepresentations in a dignified speech, solemnly prophetic in some of its utterances. Princes have destroyed the Polish State and partitioned Poland, but at least 'they did not declare a Polish province to be German'. 'Culture which withholds freedom . . . is more hateful and despicable than barbarism.' The forced incorporation of Poles in Germany will merely create for her so many enemies within. 'The Poles have been swallowed up, but, by God, it will not be possible to digest them.'³

If Jordan's speech was the reveille of German nationalism, Ruge's was the funeral oration of German revolutionary idealism. What recently was called 'a shameful wrong' is now being explained as 'a historic necessity'. What 'we want is freedom, the freedom of the people, because the people . . . has become capable of governing itself'. He eulogized the Poles as 'apostles of freedom'; they 'must not be expunged from history'. The Pre-Parliament and the Committee of Fifty, 'our revolutionary fore-runners', have pledged the honour of the German nation to the liberation of the Poles. 'We must not disavow our fathers; we must redeem their pledge. . . . Germany's honour demands . . . that she should put an end to the long oppression of the Slav peoples; . . . that we cease to be oppressors, and become the friends of liberated nations. . . . If we deal with our honour as solemn pledges and constitutional promises have been dealt with in the past, we shall perish as a nation, perish morally. . . .' 'Much has been said about historic rights. Here . . . the true historic right is in question, the right created by history, by the greatest event in history. . . . For never has a revolution encompassed the globe as great as that of 1848. It is the most humane in its principles, in its decrees and proclamations. . . . Men who do not comprehend its principles and cannot respond

¹ His daughter, Clara Viebig, a well-known German novelist, published in 1907 a most successful novel about Posen, *Das schlafende Heer*, written in the anti-Polish spirit of her father.

² See Valentin, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 126.

³ In one passage Janiszewski contradicted rumours that a separation of Posen from Prussia had ever been intended: for this would have delivered both Poles and Germans into the hands of Russia; similarly Schuselka avowed that it was impossible even to start the work of restoring Poland from the German end. The Poles and pro-Poles had undergone a sobering experience since the days when the immediate manumission of Poland was demanded, and Janiszewski's contention was interesting but hardly accurate.

to the call of freedom, must not commit treason against the historic right of the Revolution of 1848.'

In his speech Ruge came very near foretelling *la trahison des clercs*. The years 1866 and 1870 turned him into a fervent admirer of Bismarck, and in 1877 he was highly flattered to accept from Bismarck an *Ehrensold* (honorary pension) of £50 a year.

In the divisions at the conclusion of the debate Blum's delaying motion for a Commission of Inquiry to proceed to Posnania, and for a new report, was rejected by 333 against 139 votes, with 85 registered as absent and one abstention. After that the resolutions of the Committee, confirming the partition of Posnania and admitting its representatives to full membership in the Assembly, were carried by 342 votes against 31, with another 31 registered as abstaining, and 157 as absent—69 of those who had voted for Blum's motion declared that their demand for a further inquiry having been rejected, their conscience did not permit them to vote on data which they considered insufficient. As a last resort, or challenge, the pro-Poles reintroduced the resolution adopted in March and April, about the 'shameful wrong' and the 'sacred duty';¹ it was rejected by 331 votes to 101, with 26 registered as abstaining and 117 as absent. Of the 'Noes' 194, 'in order to prevent wrong use being made of their vote', explained their reasons, 'not for their own sake, but for that of the National Assembly, and for its justification before the world': 'that it is not incumbent on the Constituent Assembly to pronounce judgment on historic events, or to give indefinite promises for the future.' To which Moritz Hartmann (a Bohemian Jew and a popular writer of humorous verse)² added his own declaration: that he considered it unworthy by means of declarations to keep back-doors open for himself.

In the Prussian National Assembly the Radicals were stronger than at Frankfort; the Poles had sent representatives to Berlin, as the Diet bore a Prussian territorial, and not German national, character; both the Prussian Conservatives and the Roman Catholics, for obvious reasons of their own, were opposed to a partition of Posnania; and most good Prussians disliked central interference in Prussian affairs. On 30 August the Prussian Diet asked that the Frankfort Parliament should postpone fixing the final demarcation line in Posnania till the Prussian Diet had concluded their own inquiry into the matter (with which request

¹ See above, pp. 229 and 238.

² Of his best-known Hudibrastic production, *Die Reimchronik des Pfaffen Maurizius*, the first three instalments sold in about 30,000 copies.

the Prussian Government concurred); and on 29 October they voted by a majority of one, that within the framework of the Prussian State an undivided Posnania should be secured the rights promised in 1815. This resolution offended against the rule that federal decrees override those of State Legislatures, and against the two paragraphs of the German Constitution, voted on 19 October, that where non-German territories were joined under one ruler with territories of the German Confederation, their relations shall be based on 'personal union'. On 29 October the Frankfort Assembly therefore declared the resolution of the Prussian Diet void, and sent a Hessian general, von Schaeffer-Bernstein, to fix the demarcation line. He laid down the principle that no territory, once included in the German Confederation, could be separated from it, and consequently changes could only be made to the disadvantage of the Poles; and he finished by drawing a line which was geographically impossible, and which gave territory with 1,041,800 inhabitants to Germany, and with 308,900 to the Poles.¹ This was the verdict not of Prussian *Junkers*, but of the German National Assembly of 1848.

In 1849 the scheme of partitioning Posnania was dropped, without a special status for the province or 'minority rights' for the Poles being secured in the new Prussian Constitution.

XVIII

Both the Austrians who had sat in the Pre-Parliament were included in the Committee of Fifty: but to establish its claim to authority, a stronger representation was required for a State to which 190 seats were assigned in the National Assembly. It was therefore decided to co-opt six more Austrians: among them Francis Palacký, the foremost leader of the Czech national movement. In a letter, dated Prague, 11 April, he declined the invitation:²

The declared aim of your Assembly is to put a Federation of the German People (*Volksbund*) in the place hitherto held by the Federation of Princes (*Fürstenbund*), to make the German nation attain real unity, to strengthen its national feeling, and to enhance Germany's power at home and abroad. . . . I am not a German. . . .

I am a Bohemian of Slav race. . . . The rulers of our people have for centuries participated in the Federation of German Princes but the people never looked upon itself as part of the German nation. . . .

¹ These figures yield yet another sum total for the population of Posnania.

² See Palacký, *Gedenkbblätter* (1874), pp. 149-55.

When I direct my gaze beyond the frontiers of Bohemia . . . I turn it not towards Frankfort but towards Vienna. . . .

. . . Indeed, if the Austrian Empire did not exist, in the interest of Europe, nay, of humanity, it would be necessary to make haste and create it.

Thus, to escape the German clutches, the Czechs seized the hand of their old enemies, the Habsburgs, and proceeded to develop the programme and ideology of *Austro-Slavism*—of an Austria reconstructed on a predominantly Slav basis.

Within the Habsburg Monarchy there was parallelism, or even convergence, between the national programmes of the four master-races, the Germans, Magyars, Italians, and Poles. Had western Austria been torn from its setting and fitted into a Greater Germany, Vienna's Imperial claims on Hungary would have lapsed, Lombardy and Venetia could have gone their own way, and so could the Poles (had there been anywhere for them to go). And vice versa: had the Magyars and Italians succeeded in breaking away, this would have released the German, or partly Germanized, core of Austria, the original Habsburg *Erb-länder* (hereditary possessions), and enabled the Austrian Germans to effect their complete union with Germany—*den innigen Anschluss an Deutschland*. But while the territorial claims of the four master-nations were, on the whole, non-competing,¹ they cut across the lands of the subject races, separating the Czechs from the Slovaks, the Slovenes from the Croats and Serbs, and the Ruthenes of Carpatho-Russia and Rumans of Transylvania from those of Galicia and the Bukovina; and these fragments were to be fitted into States with a sharply marked national character: the Czechs and Slovenes were to be forced into a Greater Germany; the Slovaks, Croats and Serbs, most of the Rumans, and one branch of the Ruthenes, into a Magyar State; and the rest into a new Poland—if such arose.

A resurrection of Poland presupposed a crushing defeat of Russia. The 'four-nation pattern' was essentially anti-Russian,

¹ No claims to the Burgenland (detached from Hungary in 1919) were raised by the Austrian Germans in 1848. Claims to Teschen were urged by the Poles against the Czechs, but not against the German Confederation; nor did they raise against the Magyars claims carried in 1919 and 1938 against the Slovaks—the community of the master-races seems to have had a marvellously soothing influence. Nor did the Italians raise against Hungary the claim to Fiume which they enforced against Yugoslavia in 1919. In 1848 the only serious clash between the four master-nations within the Habsburg Monarchy was that of the Germans and Italians over the Trentino and Trieste.

but this hostility was felt or exhibited in varying degrees. The Poles, openly and consistently, preached an anti-Russian crusade: hostility to Russia was the guiding principle and touchstone of their political activities. The Germans started on an anti-Russian line, but those of the Reich were soon deflected from it, largely by the conflict in Posnania; while the Austrian Germans, who had no quarrel with the Poles but with the Czechs and Slovenes, continued to fear and hate Russia as the champion of the smaller Slav nations and of Greek Orthodoxy. Still more so did the Magyars, who, however, at first prudently tried, but finally failed, to avoid a collision with Russia. Inversely, neither from the angle of power politics nor of the monarchical interest, could the Tsarist Government have viewed with indifference the rise of a Greater Germany, one and indivisible, and based on popular sovereignty. Further, the claim to a protectorate over Greek-Orthodox populations, Slav or non-Slav, was one of the oldest traditions of Moscow, which even St. Petersburg could not discard: it had been pressed against Poland, it was asserted in Turkey, and even the reactionary interest which Russia shared with the Habsburgs could not make her disinterest herself completely in their Serb, Ruman, and Little Russian (or Ruthene)¹ subjects. Her attitude towards the Roman-Catholic Czechs and Slovenes, Slovaks and Croats, was less clear; the consciousness of a Slav community, transcending religious divisions, was rising, but as yet did not influence official Russian policy, and was naturally frowned upon by the numerous highly placed Germans, Baltic and immigrant.² But Tsar, Government, and the Russian nation were at one in their hostility to the Poles, especially while these claimed—as they did, invariably and emphatically—dominion over ‘Ruthene’³ lands. To Nicholas I the Polish question was as

¹ Most of these were Uniats, but there was at all times a movement among them for a return to the Greek Orthodox Church, severely repressed by the Austrian Government, especially because of its obvious political connotation. Later on, when an anti-Russian Ukrainian movement arose in East Galicia, the Uniat Church assumed a new political significance, differentiating its followers both from the Roman Catholic Poles and from Greek Orthodox Russia.

² On 7 July Meyendorff, whose son was taking a letter from the Tsar to Windischgrätz, wrote to Nesselrode: ‘I am glad he will see at close quarters Pan-Slavism and its fruits. . . . It is the most horrible (*affreuse*) and the stupidest of the revolutionary products of our time’ (*Briefwechsel*, vol. i, pp. 108–9).

³ The Polish attempts to break up the unity of Russia’s territory, nationality, and Church, have in turn brought forth Russian attempts at destroying Poland’s political, and even cultural, existence. Russia’s

much the touchstone of his politics as hostility to Russia was of theirs. When in March 1848 Count Thun, Austrian Minister in Stockholm, came on a special mission to St. Petersburg, the Tsar inquired whether Austria proposed to grant separate constitutions to her Italian provinces, Hungary, and Galicia. He spoke in cordial terms about Austria, but declared:¹

I could not tolerate a centre (*un foyer*) of insurrection at my door, and in touch with my friends, the Poles; if such a change was intended, or if a revolution broke out in Galicia, and was not vigorously put down, I should be forced, against my will, to intervene, and I would not hesitate one moment to cross the Austrian frontier and re-establish order in the name of the Emperor Ferdinand.

But the fears of an anti-Russian coalition, which were entertained in the early days of the revolution,² were soon allayed; Russia withdrew into the background, and the others, while spinning their schemes, paid curiously little attention to her: till she emerged in the summer of 1849, to quell the Hungarian revolution (in which a few thousand Poles were fighting), and in November 1850, at Olmütz to put an end to Prussian schemes of German unity, though these were monarchical in character.

Meantime two rival patterns were shaping within the Habsburg Monarchy: the master-races and the subject nationalities were becoming increasingly conscious of the community and conflict of interests which welded them into two groups. Evi-

crimes against Poland are more spectacular and better known, and have earned Poland much sympathy, while the other side of this age-long struggle has received little attention. Lord Salisbury was one of the few European statesmen, or even writers, who were aware that there was that other side to the Polish-Russian conflict—see his essay on 'Poland' published in the *Quarterly Review* in Apr. 1863, and republished in his *Essays*, volume on *Foreign Politics* (1905), pp. 3–60.

¹ See Guichen, *Les Grandes Questions Européennes*, vol. i, p. 79.

² In the beginning of March it was widely believed in Russian Government circles that an extension of the revolution to Austria and northern Germany might result in an anti-Russian crusade such as the Poles hoped and worked for. Thus Meyendorff wrote to Nesselrode on 8 Mar. (op. cit., vol. i, p. 42):

Then will come for us the decisive moment—the struggle with a Poland supported by all Europe, by France, Germany, Hungary, etc. With God's help we shall pull through like in 1812, but this is a terrible kind of war which has cost us dear, and in which it might be necessary to move the masses—who knows?—perhaps with *promises*, in order to tear them from the hands of our enemies.

What he presumably was thinking of was the possible need of raising a revolt of Russian peasants against their Polish landlords—a rather hazardous idea in a Baltic Baron.

dence of this consciousness among the master-races is met at every turn; here only a few illustrations shall be adduced. On 14 May the Hungarian Government sent two leading Magyar deputies to Frankfort to salute the German National Assembly, and establish co-operation; their commission was read in the Assembly on 24 May amid universal applause. On 1 July the question of the alliance which the Magyars had come to negotiate, was raised by Hartmann:

Their wish, which certainly is also ours, could not be realised so long as we had no Executive. I move that now . . . the matter should be put on its agenda. Whoever bears in mind that the Hungarians are for a second time called upon to act as vanguard against barbarism, and that they are wedged between the Slavs, will understand the reasons behind my motion.

It passed unopposed. In the Hungarian Parliament, on 3 August, the demand for a close German-Magyar alliance was voted unanimously. In the debate Magyar antagonism to Austria's continued existence, and the desire to see her western provinces firmly embedded in a united Germany (so as to lay the ghost of the *Gesammtmonarchie*) found emphatic expression.¹

Whoever opposes the union of the *Erbländer* with Germany [declared Count Ladislas Teleki] commits treason against Germany, and treason against Austria. There is no such thing as Austrian patriotism. It is about as unthinkable as a specific patriotism on the various estates of Prince Esterhazy. Hitherto Austria was not a State but a family seized of divers possessions. . . . Where so far no bond existed between the *Erbländer*, it shall now be provided by fusion into the German Reich.

Kossuth, though a Minister of the Crown, descanted on 'the party of reaction and the Slav element' having gained the upper hand in Vienna, and concluded: 'Austria can only be saved by the closest possible union of the *Erbländer* with the German Federal State, which in turn will enter into a firm alliance with a free Hungary.' With regard to Italy, he, who as Minister of Finance, had to move the army vote, clearly hinted on 20 July that a victory of Austria was not in the Magyar interest; while Opposition speakers declared in so many words that by supporting Austria in Italy the Magyars would be undermining their own political existence, for having finished with the Italians, the dynasty would gather its forces and turn them against Hungary² (which, in fact, it did). Lastly, in order to detach the Poles from the other Austrian Slavs, and to establish a decisive German

¹ See Springer, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 480.

² Ibid., pp. 474-8.

superiority over the Czechs and Slovenes, the Magyars favoured independent status for Galicia, with complete Polish dominion over the Ruthenes. Still, while engaged in a mortal struggle against the Croats and Serbs, the Hungarian Government had to compromise with Vienna, and try to avoid giving offence to Russia. They therefore declared themselves ready 'to defend Austrian interests in Italy provided the Austrian Government offered its good services for the reduction of Croatia, and, at the end of the war, conceded all justified national demands of the Italians';¹ and inquiries about Russian troop concentrations on the Hungarian frontier having elicited the reply that 'Russia would undertake no action against Hungary so long as no movements hostile to her occurred in Hungary', a certain reserve was at first exercised towards the Poles.²

The Poles in the Vienna Parliament were divided into three groups. The Polish peasants,³ moved by dislike and distrust of the Polish gentry, followed the late Governor of Galicia, Count Franz Stadion (returned by an East-Galician rural constituency) and the Ruthene priest Shashkevich, and sat on the Right, with the Slav *bloc* comprising the Ruthenes, Czechs, and most of the Slovenes. Nine Conservative Poles, among them four of the biggest aristocrats (Prince J. Lubomirski, and Counts Tytus Dzieduszycki, Adam Potocki, and Z. Zamoyski) and Bishop Wierchlejski,⁴ sat in the Centre. Averse to revolution, they had the sense to perceive that it was not likely to succeed, and that even if it did, German and Italian unity and Magyar

¹ See Springer, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 475.

² *Ibid.*, p. 472.

³ I have so far failed to ascertain the number of Polish peasants in the Austrian Parliament of 1848. Jointly with the Ruthene peasants, it is usually given as 38, but it is not certain that this figure does not include one or two Ruthenes from the Bukovina, a small province which, at that time, was administratively joined to Galicia, and of which one part is Ruthene. It might perhaps be possible to ascertain the facts from the *Verhandlungen des österreichischen Reichstages, 1848-49*, but these are not in the British Museum.—Count L. Dunin-Borkowski, himself a member, alleges that eight Polish peasants, named by him, went with the gentry; see *Sejm ustawodawczy rakuzki* (1849), p. 24 (*The Austrian Legislative Assembly*)—there is a German translation of the first part of the book. Further evidence would be required before accepting Borkowski's statement. Smolka, writing to his wife on 19 Aug. 1848, utters the *cri de cœur*: 'If only in the impending by-elections members of the intelligentsia were returned' (*op. cit.*, p. 17).

⁴ The other four were: two big landowners, E. Krański and J. Jaruntowski, a barrister, Dylewski, and Father Bilecki (see Ziemiałkowski, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 12). They were subsequently joined by Father Kozakiewicz; but as in the meantime Potocki had resigned his seat, their number remained the same.

independence might, by creating a void round Galicia, deliver it into the hands of Russia: hence they saw a Polish interest in the survival of the Habsburg Monarchy, and favoured Austro-Slavism. But the main body of the Polish members, including 40 out of 49 Poles *en redingote*,¹ typical 'liberals' or revolutionaries of 1848, sat on the Left, with the German Radical Nationalists. The programme of this Polish 'National Party' is contained in a paper drawn up by their most eminent leader, F. Smolka, apparently in October 1848, when he was offered a place in the Austrian Cabinet²—it is a full and unreserved *exposé* of the 'four-nation scheme', in which the rights of the subject races receive no consideration:

Seeing that Austria herself has proclaimed the idea of equal rights for her nationalities with a view to putting down the revolution, and has played off the Serbs, Croats, and Rumanians against the Magyars, the Czechs against the Germans, and the Ruthenes against the Poles; seeing further that the idea must daily gain in strength—the further preservation of Austria in her present composition has become downright impossible. A complete constitutional reconstruction must therefore be attempted.

While sincerely conceding citizen rights and freedoms, Austria should revert to her old historic basis and accept the Crown of the German-Roman Empire which the Germans press on her, and unite *Germany* in one Empire.

Austria should renounce her *Italian* provinces and return them to the Italian nation which desires to be united.

To the Hungarians Austria should restore their constitution with a view to their establishing a Realm of the Lower Danube (*Unteres Donaureich*) with which Austria would remain connected by *personal union*.

Galicia should be given a completely separate government and national institutions with the declared purpose that it should form the nucleus (the crystallizing point) of the future Poland. Galicia is similarly to be connected with Austria by the bond of personal union.

Thus Austria can succeed in becoming a solid German State with such beautiful annexes as Poland and Hungary, and the territories dependent on them.

¹ *Polen im Frack*—so-called in contradistinction to the peasants. Ostaszewski-Barański states (op. cit., pp. 263–5) that the 100 Galician members included, besides 38 peasants and Stadion, 44 big landowners and intelligentsia, 15 priests, and two Jews. Of the priests, five were Poles. But his list of Poles other than peasants contains only 48 (instead of 49) names, as he has omitted Count Potocki.

² See K. Widmann, *Franciszek Smolka* (1884), pp. 414–15 (there is a German translation of the book). The author seems to have had the paper from Smolka himself; its precise date is not given.

When in August 1848 the Austrian Court and military, having vanquished the Italians, turned against Hungary, the German and Polish nationalists openly showed pro-Magyar sympathies; and when on 19 September a deputation from the Hungarian Parliament, which was moving fast towards a break with the Habsburgs, asked to be heard by the Vienna Parliament, the Left voted for receiving them.¹ The October Revolution in Vienna broke out over an attempt to prevent German regiments from marching against Hungary: it was obvious that a centralized, dynastic *Gross-Oesterreich* would put an end to dreams of German unity no less than to those of Italian or Hungarian independence. And the rump Parliament which remained in Vienna during the revolution, consisted almost entirely of Germans and Poles,² and was presided over by Smolka. On one occasion, however, this Polish leader had annoyed the Germans: when on 21 August, after Radetzky's victory over the Italians, he argued in favour of a solution of the Italian question 'which would make the Italians into friendly neighbours'. For even in German nationalists the Italian problem was apt to reawaken an Austrian patriotism—an old mutual dislike and the conflict over the Trentino and Trieste divided them from the Italians. On 13 June 1848, in the Vienna Committee of Public Safety (*Sicherheitsausschuss*), probably the most Radical organization in Austria, Adolf Fischhof, its chairman, declared that they would not have wished to fight a people who wanted to be free, but now 'the honour of the Austrian arms' (*Oesterreich's Waffenehre*) was at stake: 'in 1809 and 1813 we were patriots though bond, we shall be it now when free.'³

Divided and competing loyalties in the Austrian Germans were the main factor which disturbed the harmony of the 'four-nation pattern' within the Habsburg Monarchy. In every

¹ The motion was rejected by 186 to 108 votes; 36 Poles voted with the minority, and 12 with the majority—five peasants, and at least four Conservatives (Lubomirski, Dzieduszycki, Zamoyski, and Krainiski; Potocki was absent, but subsequently declared his agreement with them); not one Polish peasant voted for the Magyars (see Smolka, op. cit., pp. 49–50). Three Slovenes voted for admitting the Magyars; see Geist-Lanyi, *Das Nationalitätenproblem auf dem Reichstag zu Kremsier, 1848–1849* (1920), p. 101.

² There remained also two Czechs, Father Sidon and a pensioned official, Sadil (see Geist-Lanyi, op. cit., p. 57), and several Slovenes (ibid., p. 68). In the Frankfurt Parliament an Austrian German, von Mayfeld, having described the Vienna Revolution as 'distinctly German, distinctly anti-Slav', denounced the Czechs as 'oblivious of their duty and honour when they left Vienna'!

³ See R. Charnatz, *Adolf Fischhof*, p. 52.

Austrian German there was an Austrian and a German, and comparatively few had made their choice or were prepared either to renounce union with Germany in order to preserve the Austrian Empire, or to sacrifice Austria for the sake of a Greater Germany: most of them vaguely hoped, and made fumbling attempts, to be an integral part of both, flaunting their *Deutschtum* in Vienna, the capital of an Empire of whose population only one-fifth was German.¹ 'The German National Assembly cannot have a better right to build up Germany than the Austrian to preserve Austria', wrote one of the leading Austrian members in the Frankfort Parliament.² 'The Austrian Germans . . . will be Germans', declared another, 'so long as you do not unreasonably exact from them (*ihnen zumuthen*) that they cease being Austrians.'³ They oscillated between *Gross-Oesterreich* and *Gross-Deutschland*, aspiring to continue in both a primacy to which they felt entitled as heirs, or at least co-partners, of the Habsburgs (another example of a 'democracy' assuming the legacy of a dynasty or oligarchy).⁴ They tried to exert within a united Germany an influence based on the weight of the Austrian Empire, and within that Empire to assert a superiority based on being a branch of the German nation. Here was a baffling, equivocal situation, overcome at times by affecting a deliberate over-emphasis of one aspect, but

¹ Anton Springer, who had not yet gone over completely to the German nationalists, wrote in 1850: 'If the existence of a united Austria was deemed a historic necessity, Vienna should have set the same limits to its national feelings which it wished to impose on the non-German nationalities, but if it could not withstand the call of nationalism, it should in fairness have respected it also in others' (*Oesterreich nach der Revolution*, p. 15).

² Sommaruga in *Oesterreichs Zukunft und dessen Stellung zu Deutschland*; it is not in the British Museum, and is quoted here after W. Schüssler, *Die nationale Politik der oesterreichischen Abgeordneten im Frankfurter Parlament* (1913), p. 27.

³ Beidtel, member for Brno (in Moravia), speaking in the Frankfort National Assembly on 24 Oct. 1848. As pamphleteer he often used the anagram of Tebeldi.

⁴ The programme of *Mittel-Europa* (like most ideas in European history during the last hundred years) can, in fact, be discerned in 1848. Perthaler, an Austrian member of the Frankfort Parliament, argued in his pamphlet, *Das Erbkaisertum Klein-Deutschland* (quoted after Schüssler, op. cit., p. 30) that the outer line of the German polity must extend from France to Russia and that the small nationalities in that zone have no right to an independent existence, and can live only under German rule—'for this alone is tolerant and just'. 'The small nationalities may therefore partake of the blessings of the German polity, but must not go counter to it.' There is to be but one political system in Central Europe: 'because the Germans are the only powerful nation in Central Europe, that system must be German.'

never fully resolved in the emotions of the great mass of the Austrian Germans. The dream of *Mittel-Europa* in 1915-18 was an attempt at reconciling the two divergent aspirations of the German Austrians: and it proved the ruin of Bismarck's *Klein-Deutschland*.

XIX

The principle of equal rights for the Czech people and language was readily accepted by the Prague Germans in the early days of the Revolution. It proved less pleasing in its practical application: the aspect of the city was changing; in street inscriptions Czech was displacing German, the Czech national colours and dress were much in view, talking Czech in public was becoming *bon ton*. Equality failed to find its epitome in a tender scene of patronage thankfully received (with tears of gratitude on the one side, and of self-approbation on the other): these educated, or half-educated, Czech peasants and *petit bourgeois* were setting up on their own. The Students' League broke up, and a 'Slavia' ranged itself (as yet fraternally) by the side of a 'Teutonia'; the Czechs left the literary society 'Concordia', and formed the 'Svornost', &c. Innocuous intellectual activities of a 'folk-character', hitherto countenanced by the Germans, were assuming a political complexion. In the first petition carried from Prague to Vienna the emphasis was on equal rights for the two nations and the liberal decalogue of political freedoms; in the second, drawn up on 28 March and no longer supported by the Germans, it shifted to the claims of the 'Bohemian State-Right', the ancient rights of the Crown of St. Wenceslas: its lands were to be reunited, and to receive a very wide measure of home-rule—a common Diet for the Czech provinces of Bohemia, Moravia, and Austrian Silesia, and a Ministry responsible to it. On 8 April the Vienna Government virtually acceded to the Czech demand for a responsible government (*verantwortliche Central-behörden*) in Prague, but the question of a union of the three Czech provinces was reserved for the future Austrian Parliament (gentle ambiguities and reservations being all the Vienna Government were capable of in those days of ready assent to mutually contradictory programmes). Still it looked as if a provincial Constituent Assembly were to meet in Prague before an Austrian Parliament was convened in Vienna—which would have been a step towards a federalization of the Habsburg Monarchy, but on lines cutting across the 'four-nations scheme'. Although most of the Bohemian aristocrats spoke German at home (unless they

preferred French), a good many favoured the Czech programme: in truly feudal territorial magnates, as in ruling dynasties, there is a *penchant* towards the people who inhabit their lands; moreover a preference for being princes in their own province rather than courtiers in the capital. Acid nationalisms based on language (on plenty of it and little in it) originate mainly with urban middle-class intellectuals: and this is why 1848 is of such supreme importance in the growth of European nationalisms.

The German reaction to the Czech national movement and programme started in the 'Sudeten' fringe and among the 'Sudetens'¹ resident in Vienna. The situation resembled that in Posania: the Germans in Prague, as in Poznań, were at first inclined to be moderate and conciliatory; Reichenberg, Eger, Saatz, and Budweiss played the part of Bromberg, Czarnikau, and Meseritz. In Vienna an association of Germans 'from Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia' was formed to oppose the national claims of the Czechs and to defend 'the national rights' of the Germans. About the time when the second Czech deputation returned from Vienna, the invitation to Frankfort had reached Palacký; the Czechs were summoning the 'Sudeten' Germans to the Constituent Diet in Prague, the Germans were summoning the Czechs to the National Assembly in Frankfort—and over this issue the main battle was joined. The Germans in Prague would have formed a numerically and culturally influential minority, and the connexion with Vienna, even if merely federal, would have added to their importance and security; the Czechs in Frankfort would have been *une quantité négligeable*, and their inclusion would have been a complete negation of their political existence: which, indeed, was denied by those who summoned them. They therefore turned their gaze to Vienna, and to the possibilities offered by an Austrian Parliament. Within the Habsburg Monarchy the Slavs, especially together with the Rumanians (who shared the interests of the other subject-races in Hungary), had a decisive majority over the Germans and Magyars.² But could their policies be blended into common

¹ The description is both anachronistic and inaccurate, but convenient.

² Springer (a Czech by birth but a German by choice) gives the following percentages for the various races within the Habsburg Monarchy about 1850: German 23, Czechoslovak 19, Magyar 14, Italian, Ruthene, and Ruman 8 each, Polish 7, Serb 5, Slovene and Croat 4 each; see *Geschichte Oesterreichs*, vol. ii (1865), p. 4, n. 1. The figures of Germans and Magyars were undoubtedly padded with Yiddish-speaking Jews and with 'bi-lingual' Slavs: even so the Germans and Magyars together formed only 37 per cent. as against 47 per cent. Slavs (not counting the Rumanians). But the four master-

action? Would the Poles co-operate? Their prestige in Europe and position in Austria were such that the Slav movement could hardly succeed without them, still less against them. By August 1848, the disposition of pieces on the European chess-board was made, and the problems were set: but in the spring policies were only beginning to take shape—there was groping and hesitation, dim, intuitive perceptions of the dominant interests intermingled with theoretical beliefs. It is the confused interplay of nascent ideas and of policies in the making, which imparts a singular interest to the Slav Congress of May–June 1848.

The Slav renaissance of the Romantic Period,¹ harking back to distant common origins, had prepared the ground for such a gathering. The western and southern Slavs, having lost their upper and middle classes in the catastrophes of the preceding three or four centuries, had changed into peasant nations. The advance of democracy and the Romantic movement (with its idealization of the past and of ‘folk’ elements) favoured a rebirth of obliterated nations from their roots; and as the Slav languages are close to each other,² and are linked still further by intermediary formations, the idea was current, especially among the ‘a-historical’ Slav peoples, that their different tongues were but dialects or variants of one common speech (a linguistic Slav ‘Q’), and Slavdom one body; a comparison was drawn with the German *Stämme*—Saxons, Bavarians, Suabians, &c.—whose dialects differ as widely as the various Slav languages. But the missing tie of a common literary language caused the difference: and an attempt was made to replace this by a cultural ‘Slav reciprocity’—a literary community and interchangeability transcending ‘tribal’ divisions. Even among the Poles, Latin Westerners by inclination and vanity, the Romantic period produced a deflexion towards the distant, truly Slav past of their people.

When after the outbreak of the March Revolution delegations

nations taken together formed 52 per cent. of the population, possessed of a very marked social, economic, and cultural superiority.

¹ For a brilliant sketch of the Czech Renaissance, see E. Denis, *La Bohême depuis la Montagne-Blanche* (1903), vol. ii. A good study covering all Slav nations is Milan Prelog, *Slavenska Renesansa, 1780–1848* (1924); the book is in Croat.

² The name *Slav* is derived from *slovo*, which, in all Slav languages, means ‘word’—they were the ‘worded ones’, who could understand each other, whereas the Germans, who merely mumbled (*mye-mye*), were the *myemtsy*, which changed into *Nyemtsy*, the name common for them with all Slavs; *nyemy* also means ‘dumb’. The names of two of the Slav nations—the Slovaks and the Slovenes—are mere variants of the racial cognomen.

from Slav nationalities—Poles, Czechs, and Slovenes, Slovaks, Croats, and Serbs—arrived in Vienna with petitions to the Emperor and the Government, each pursued its own particular aims, and not one spoke of a common Slav cause—in 1848 the Slav movement, which had started with philologists, poets, writers, historians, and antiquaries, was only beginning to assume a political character. Still, casual meetings between the delegates seemed first to have suggested the idea of a Slav Congress.¹ It matured under pressure from the Germans and Magyars: Posnania was being partitioned, and more and more of it incorporated in the new Germany; the Czechs and Slovenes were summoned, with growing emphasis, to send members to the Frankfurt Parliament, and thus to recognize its sovereign jurisdiction over their lands; the Magyars, with the feeble acquiescence of a distracted Vienna Government, were assuming sole authority over the Slovaks, Croats, and Serbs. Was it not time for the Slavs, numerous but divided, to draw together, to co-ordinate political activities, and create an effective counter-weight to the German National Assembly and the Hungarian Parliament? Towards the end of April the idea of a Slav Congress took shape, the initiative coming from three different quarters. Štur, a Slovak refugee from Magyar persecution, canvassed it in Prague Radical circles; Moraczewski broached it in the Posnania National Council, and with its consent transmitted the suggestion to Prague; and on 20 April Kukuljević put it forward in the leading Croat paper. His article, reprinted in Prague by K. Havlíček² on 30 April, was read the same morning in a gathering of Czech literary men, who decided to act after having secured the support of Palacký and Šafařík, the two foremost Czech intellectuals,³ and of Slavophil members of the Bohemian aristocracy.

It would be of the highest interest to trace, step by step, the story of the Slav Congress; there, as elsewhere, 1848 was a seed-plot of history. But this cannot be done here, both for reasons

¹ See Čejchan, 'Ke vzniku myšlenky slovanského sjezdu roku 1848' ('The Origin of the Idea of a Slav Congress in 1848'), in the Czech review *Slovanský Přehled*, vol. xx (1928), pp. 401–8. The Prague gathering of 1848 is known as the 'Slav'—not 'Pan-Slav'—Congress, which seems to reflect the conception of Slav unity.

² Havlíček was perhaps the greatest journalist whom the Czechs have produced, and one of the makers of their national renaissance. A book about him, first published in 1904, is one of President Masaryk's outstanding works—but there is no copy of it in the British Museum.

³ Šafařík was a Slovak by birth.

of space and because much even of the printed material is lacking in this country. I must therefore limit myself to a brief general survey.¹

The preparatory work for the Congress devolved mainly on the Czechs. The initial question, who was to be invited, was of crucial importance: was it to be a Slav Congress, or a Congress of Austrian Slavs? An effective restriction of membership to Austrian subjects would have been a declaration in favour of the Habsburg Monarchy and of Austro-Slavism; it would have turned the Congress into a Slav Pre-Parliament for Vienna. This would have suited the outlook and served the purpose of the cautious, realistic Czech leaders: and as there were no Czechs or Slovaks anywhere outside the Austrian Empire, such a limitation would have entailed no national renunciation on their part. Even the Yugoslavs might have accepted it: the fate of those still under the Turks was not in question at that juncture. But the Poles, at the high tide of revolutionary hopes and dreams, could hardly be expected to endorse frontiers drawn in the Partitions, to plan their future within the framework of Austria, and by implication to renounce national reunion as the immediate goal of their political endeavours. Moreover, on their side the proposal of a Slav Congress originated in Posnania: threatened, like the Czechs, by the aggressive German nationalism focused in Frankfort, the Posnanians wished for a common front: whereas of all the Poles the Galician were perhaps least inclined to any form of 'Slavism'. Facing Russia on an exceed-

¹ There are contemporary accounts by members of the Congress (the Czech Vöcel, the Poles Moraczewski and Malisz, the Lusatian Sorb J. P. Jordan, &c.) and numerous memoirs bearing on the subject. But for a long time little could be found in the way of minutes, either of the full Congress, or of its three Sections (Czechoslovak, Polish-Ruthene, and Yugoslav): the Congress having broken up in the midst of riots, most of the material was destroyed or was hidden from the Austrian police. It is only in our own time that enough has come to light to render possible a more detailed study of the proceedings. There are now four important studies written from four national angles: by the Czech, Z. Tobolka (1901); by the Ukrainian, I. Bryk (1920); by the Croat, M. Prelog, the most comprehensive of all—it fills about half his book *Slavenska Renesansa, 1780-1848* (1924) (for a useful summary of it see H. Wendel in *Die Gesellschaft*, vol. iii); and by the Pole, W. T. Wisłocki (1928), who reproduces in full the minutes of the Polish-Ruthene Section, long deemed lost but rediscovered by him. Of these four studies only Wisłocki's is in the British Museum (while Prelog's I was able to secure privately). Besides there are books on cognate subjects and numerous studies in periodicals, Slav and German, which are not available in this country. A new and comprehensive account of the Slav Congress of 1848, written against the background of the European revolution, is required.

ingly long border, they feared and hated her, without having direct contacts or the motives for compromise which subjection is apt to supply; in Galicia they were in conflict with the Ruthenes; they disliked the Czechs;¹ their attitude towards the Austrian Government was still coloured by 1846; they had no concern with Frankfort, and sympathized with the 'revolutionary' programme of the Austrian Germans, the Magyars, and the Italians. In a Congress restricted to Austrian subjects, the Galicians would have been the sole representatives of the Poles; and yet to invite the Posnanians would have meant to abandon the Austrian, internationally Conservative, basis of the Congress, and to enter the stream of European revolution.

Palacký and Šafařík were great *savants*, of outstanding merit in their services to the Czech revival, but timid politicians.² While preserving their personal independence and national dignity, they had done their work under the protecting wing of well-disposed noblemen; and how else could it have been done under the Metternich régime for a nation half-submerged by the Germans? Even in 1848 they thought it inadvisable for the Czechs, in their precarious position, to engage in revolutionary adventures—and that in company with Germans and Magyars, who under cover of 'liberalism' were pursuing aggressively nationalist poli-

¹ Among the Austrian officials in Galicia, there were a good many Czechs. The Slovak Štur said in the Czechoslovak Section of the Slav Congress: 'Austria is the quintessence of servility, espionage, and similar dirt. What has Austria made of you, Czechs? She sent you to Poland (Galicia) as tools of the most shameful régime' (see Prelog, *op. cit.*, p. 263). Ziemiałkowski, in his *Memoirs* (part ii, p. 35) speaks of 'the loathing which every Pole feels for the Czech'. The Czechs reciprocated those feelings. Jachim, a Czech resident in Lvov, wrote about the Poles to Palacký on 16 May 1848: 'Your noble and sacred ideas of Slav reciprocity are not valued by these people, except in so far as they can be made to serve their own particular purposes. With them stands in the forefront an independent Poland within her previous frontiers, i.e. including the Ruthene people whom they oppressed and further wish to oppress. Therefore your sweet reciprocity cannot suit their taste, for it aims at a real equality between nations to which they pay lip service but which they hate in their hearts' (see Prelog, *op. cit.*, p. 306, and 'Boemus', 'Der Tschechische Panславismus im Jahre 1848', in *Oesterreich*, vol. i, p. 522). Even Havlíček doubted the possibility of co-operation with the Poles: their pride and intolerance allows them to acknowledge none but France and Poland, nor 'to speak or think of anything but the integral restoration of Poland' (Prelog, p. 287).

² President Masaryk rightly criticizes Palacký who advocated the reconstruction of Austria on a Slav basis, but when, on 8 May, he was offered the Ministry of Education, refused for fear of the storm which his acceptance would produce among the Germans (see *Karel Havlíček*, pp. 115-16).

cies. Šafařík approved of the idea of a Slav Congress, but insisted on membership being limited to Austrian Slavs (others might be invited as guests, by private letters), and on an unequivocal expression of loyalty to Austria in the public appeal. Count Matthew Thun, a leading Bohemian nobleman, was elected chairman of the Organizing Committee, and accepted, having been assured of their 'faithful attachment to the Imperial House'. The Manifesto, signed by Czech intellectuals, a number of Bohemian aristocrats, and also by representatives of other Slav nations, and dated 1 May,¹ described the depressed, disjointed condition of the Slavs, called on them to unite, as other nations were doing, and named the attempts to subordinate Austria to a united Germany, and to engulf Austro-Slav provinces in it, as a reason for summoning a Congress 'of all Slav nations of the Austrian Empire'.² 'Should other Slavs not inhabiting the Austrian Empire wish to honour the Congress with their presence, they will be cordially welcomed as guests.' The conveners could do no more: nor could they do less.

But Palacký, fearing unfavourable reactions in official and German circles, proposed on 5 May an explanatory Address to the non-Slav nations of Austria, declaring in the strongest terms fidelity to 'the constitutionally ruling House of Habsburg-Lorraine', and the determination 'to preserve by every possible means the integrity and sovereignty of the Austrian Empire', repudiating all separatist, Pan-Slav, or pro-Russian sentiments, or any intention to dominate the non-Slavs in Austria, but claiming full and equal rights for all its nationalities. Grzybowski, a Pole resident in Prague, strongly voiced in the Organizing Committee Polish opposition to such a declaration of loyalty; Count Matthew Thun replied that if such were the feelings of the Poles they had better stay away, and Palacký that he could take no part in the Congress unless it declared for Austria. The Address was

¹ Apparently it did not appear till 5 May; see Prelog, *op. cit.*, p. 282. It was published in five languages—Czech, Polish, Serbo-Croat, Lusatian Sorb, and German (but not in Ruthene); and there are marked differences between the various texts, and also between the lists of signatures, fresh ones being added in different impressions. Among the Polish signatories, the most prominent were Prince J. Lubomirski, a sincere Slavophil educated at Prague University, more important socially than politically; and Dobrzański, a journalist, very active in the Lvov National Council.

² The Manifesto stated that the inclusion of 'all Austrian countries other than Hungary' was intended—a curious lapse: there was never any idea of including Galicia, the Bukovina, Dalmatia, or Eastern Istria, which were not in the German Confederation.

published over twenty signatures of Czechs only.¹ But fears lest the Poles upset the Czech programme, and the Congress itself, continued to disturb the Organizing Committee,² warned, moreover, by Count Leo Thun, the newly appointed Governor of Bohemia, an ultra-Conservative, who had served in Galicia. On 22 May Grzybowski, obviously prompted by the Czechs, issued a warning to his countrymen, calling upon them to send only reasonable and moderate men—‘the legal way intended for the work of the Congress is for us the only way’; ‘let us . . . keep within the limits of the feasible, and learn to look upon Austria as a friend, after she has been forced by the *Zeitgeist* completely to change her policy; not only the present, but even our ultimate aims have ceased to be contrary to her interests’. Some twenty years later, after Czech Austro-Slavism had collapsed, this view became the basis of the Galician-Polish policy, carried on in partnership with the Germans and Magyars.

The Manifesto summoning the Congress was an uneasy compromise between acceptance of the Austrian Empire, whose subjects alone were to attend as members, and the ethnic principle, all Slavs being invited as guests. Some on the Organizing Committee would have gone even further in making the Congress an Austrian Pre-Parliament: should not the Rumans be invited? And since they met *qua* Austrians, should not the Bohemian Germans be included? But if so, why not all Austrian Germans?³ The view prevailed that full agreement and co-operation between the Slavs must be secured before anyone

¹ The signatories included 4 counts, 2 barons, and 1 knight; it was a pre-eminently Conservative group. Four days later, on 9 May, some 60 Poles gathered at Breslau, including the chief leaders from Posnania, Marquis A. Wielopolski from Russian Poland, Prince J. Lubomirski and a few Galician Conservatives, and they drafted an Address to the Poles calling on all ‘regardless of frontiers and shades of language’ to take an active part in the Slav Congress. There is a Polish and a Czech text, and the Czech is signed by Libelt, Lipski, and Counts Roger Raczyński and August Cieszkowski—all four from Posnania: they ignored the limitation of active membership of the Congress to Austrian subjects. The two drafts were found by Wisłocki among the papers of Prince Lubomirski; there is no evidence of their having been published.

² At one meeting at which no Pole was present, Brauner told an anecdote of how peasants in the district of Sącz in West Galicia, when asked whether they were Poles, replied: ‘We are quiet folk.’ ‘Then are you Germans?’ ‘We are decent folk.’

³ The Galician Poles, for different reasons, would have wished the Magyars to be invited, but that suggestion seems never to have been put to the Organizing Committee.

else was approached: but a considerable minority would have wished the Germans present as witnesses to the eminently innocuous character of the Congress.

The Organizing Committee suggested that the Congress should sit in three Sections, corresponding to the territorial and historical divisions: I. the Czechoslovak, II. the Polish-Ruthene, III. the Yugoslav Section,¹ each to elect sixteen representatives to the Central Committee and to have *liaison* officers with the other two Sections. The draft Agenda named the following problems for discussion: Was an Alliance between the Austrian Slavs desired and, if so, what form should it take? What constitutional changes did they postulate within the Austrian Empire? What could be done to strengthen the cultural ties between Austrian and non-Austrian Slavs? What should be the attitude of the Austrian Slavs to the Frankfort Parliament? Should the resolutions of the Congress be submitted to the Emperor? The commentary on these leading questions supplied the Czech programme for the Congress. The preamble surveys the European scene: autocracy has run its course, a greater share in government is due to the people, oppressed nationalities are re-arising. The Austrian Empire is in danger of collapse, and its dismembered parts must not become the prey of neighbours. Lombardy and Venetia have broken away, in Hungary an armed conflict between Magyars and Yugoslavs is imminent, and the Emperor has left Vienna.

If the Ministers enjoyed so little of His Majesty's confidence that he did not consult them before leaving, why should the Slav peoples confide in them? They are known to think on German lines and to be guided by the party which, besides being revolutionary, is strongly hostile to the Slavs.

¹ To begin with, the third Section was called 'Illyrian', but subsequently changed its name to Yugoslav. The division into three Sections obviated linguistic difficulties: Czech and Slovak, and Slovene and Serbo-Croat are mutually understood. The difference between Polish and Ruthene is greater, but all educated Galician Ruthenes understood Polish, and the Poles from East Galicia (of whom there were a good many) understood Ruthene. The story that German was used at the Congress is a hostile invention, and even Kuranda, though anti-Czech, denied it in a speech in the Frankfort Parliament, on 1 July. There were no Bulgars or Lusatian Sorbs at the Congress (J. P. Jordan was an *émigré* who could no longer count as representative). Official Russia took a completely negative attitude, and only two Russians attended the Congress: the famous revolutionary, Michael Bakunin, and Olimpiy Miloradov, priest of a settlement of Old Believers in the Bukovina (he was presumably an Austrian subject). These two joined the Polish-Ruthene Section.

The salvation of the Slavs is in union. The Austrian Empire should be rebuilt as a Federal State, with equal rights for all the nationalities (but apparently separate Parliaments in Vienna and Budapest were envisaged). An alliance with Germany is acceptable,

but we Slavs cannot admit that Austria's sovereignty should be infringed, or that either we, or any other part of the Empire, should be incorporated in a foreign State. Never shall we acknowledge the sovereignty of Germany over us. The Emperor and King Ferdinand is, and will remain, our sole ruler. . . . We therefore solemnly protest against any steps taken in Austria, with or without Government consent, to elect members to the Frankfort Parliament.

Thus the Czechs objected even to the *Anschluss* of the German parts of Austria, for this would have deprived the Habsburg Monarchy of its territorial coherence;¹ but the enforced exclusion of German Austria from the Reich could morally be justified only by an Austrian separatism among its Germans—one more reason for Czech statesmen to play in with the Habsburgs.

XX

The Congress opened on 2 June. Palacký was chosen President, Prince Lubomirski and the Yugoslav Stanko Vraz, Vice-Presidents. The membership fluctuated, and no lists are complete (e.g. the three Poles who were subsequently to attain the greatest distinction, Smolka, Ziemiałkowski, and Marquis Wielopolski, though present for part of the time, appear in none). Vogel, in his semi-official 'Historical Account of the Slav Congress', published in the *Czech Museum Journal*² for 1848, puts the number of members at 340 (237 Czechs and Slovaks, 61 Poles, Ruthenes and Russians, and 42 Yugoslavs), and then, in an Appendix, gives a list of only 318 names. According to Wisłocki, there were another 24 registered Polish members and some 40 guests. Altogether, there were at the Congress about 500 members and 500 guests. Few came from Slovakia (15–20) for fear of Magyar reprisals; but besides Štur, they included Hurban and Hodža (their grandsons were again to play a prominent part in the Czechoslovak Republic). The Yugoslavs were mainly from Croatia and the Vojvodina—but there were among them also a few non-Austrian subjects from Serbia. Of crucial importance was the composition of the Polish-Ruthene Section: and this was

¹ The objection reappears in 1918 and 1945, for through the *Anschluss* a Greater Germany would encircle Czechoslovakia.

² 'Historická zpráva o sjezdu slovenském' in *Časopis Českého Museum*, 1848.

prejudged in a sense contrary to the original scheme when the Organizing Committee (against warnings from Leo Thun) devised a method whereby each Section selected its own members. This left the Poles free to accept non-Austrian subjects: of the 61 in Section II who appear in Vocel's list, 44 were Austrian, 10 Prussian, and 7 Russian subjects; and the Posnanian leader, Libelt, a man of outstanding ability and character, was elected Chairman of the Section: a coach and six was thus driven through the rule restricting membership to Austrian subjects.

In the Congress register the Czechs entered their place of residence, others, as a rule, their country or nationality. But one would search in vain the official list for a 'Pole': in that printed by Vocel, 21 members of Section II appear as 'Masurs', 21 as 'Ruthenes', and the rest mainly under provincial designations: the name of 'Pole' was kept in reserve—an attempt, both naive and artful, to link it up with territory of 1772 and make it cover everybody within those frontiers; Ukrainians, White Russians, and Lithuanians were to be levelled down and rank on an even with sub-divisions of the Polish-speaking population based on dialects or provinces. Further, of 21 'Ruthenes' only 8 were authentic, while the rest belonged to the Polish or Polonized nobility; and some of them (for instance, Prince Lubomirski) appeared one day as Ruthenes and on another as Masurs. It was a disingenuous trick with a genuine historic background: the type *natione Polonus, gente Ruthenus* had existed in the gentry-Republic in which these men were as representative of the western provinces of White Russia and the Ukraine as Grattan's Parliament was of Ireland. But by 1848 O'Connells had arisen also in East Galicia, and demanded to be heard on behalf of its peasant people: one purpose of the Galician Poles in attending the Slav Congress¹ was to stifle the voice of the genuine Ruthenes,

¹ According to Ziemiałkowski the Lvov National Committee decided to take part in the Congress in order not to leave the field to the 'Święto-Jurcy' (the Ruthenes grouped round the Greek-Catholic Cathedral of St. Jury, i.e. St. George); see *Memoirs*, part ii, p. 232. A modern Polish historian, S. Kieniewicz (op. cit., p. 257) frankly admits that one of the tasks of the Poles at Prague was to 'smudge over the ticklish Ruthene problem' (the expression used is *zatuszować*, which corresponds to the German *vertuschen*). The instructions of the Lvov National Council to Dobrzański and his colleagues (published by Wiśłocki) seem also otherwise disingenuous: they were to appear as individuals and in no way to commit the Council, but were to act as one body under its orders, report to it, keep strictly to the lines laid down in its two Memoranda for the Emperor, to 'mediate' between the Slavs and the Magyars, &c.

whose aim, in turn, was to oppose and expose the Poles. No wonder then if a great deal of the time of Section II was taken up by bitter wrangling between them, the rest being employed by the Poles in discussing fine points of procedure, in forming a secretariat, electing committees, &c. The stage of taking up the agenda prepared by the Organizing Committee was never reached.

The Yugoslavs carried on without settled procedure: they were pressed for time. The Serbs, gathered round Rajačić, Metropolitan of Karlovać, and the Croats under Jellačić, their Banus (Governor), were still carrying on an argument against the Magyars at the Imperial Court in Innsbruck, but at any moment the dispute threatened to change into a ferocious conflict.¹ They now asked the Congress to address the Emperor in support of their own delegations. The Czechs were willing; the Slovaks, exposed to Magyar reprisals, were slightly more cautious; but the Poles merely wished to 'mediate', and devised ingenious counter-proposals. In the end not one of the Galician Poles would go to plead against the Magyars (and no others could approach the Austrian Emperor). 'Gentlemen', said Libelt, 'we are in a false position. . . . We are tainted with indifference and insincerity . . . our hearts are not with the cause for which we are assembled. I discern it in the speeches, looks, in everything: we are not sincere.'² Finally, the question of a Congress delegation in support of the Yugoslavs had to be left over.

The Czechoslovak Section adhered to the programme of 27 May, but even they proved tepid in their Austro-Slavism. The Czech youth responded to the revolutionary enthusiasms of 1848 more than to the sane and sound reasonings of the veteran leaders; while the Slovaks, if inclined to compromise, would try to appease the Magyars,³ for whom Great-Austrian enthusiasms

¹ In the struggle which ensued there was burning of villages and mass massacres, and atrocities were committed of an ultra-modern type: 'The Magyars hanged prisoners of war, and the Serbs beheaded them, the Magyars impaled their enemies and the Serbs roasted them alive, the Magyars blinded spies, and the Serbs cut out their tongues. . . .' (see Springer, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 484). Kossuth planned a complete extermination of the Serbs in the Voyvodina—see Görgey, *Mein Leben und Wirken in Ungarn* (1852), vol. ii, p. 104; and he ordered savage measures even against the Transylvanian Saxons—see A. Makray, *Briefe Ludwig Kossuths an F.-M.-L. Bem, 1849, März bis Juni* (1870), p. 2.

² See Wisłocki, op. cit., p. 79.

³ For Hodža on Slovak-Magyar reconciliation, see Prelog, op. cit., p. 384.

would have been the worst provocation. But most Slovaks at the Congress were Radicals. When a Czech spoke of the need to preserve Austria, Štur replied:

Our aim is to preserve ourselves. . . . Austria existed, and we were perishing. What would the world say if our highest aim was to save Austria? Her downfall is not our downfall. . . . Our chief task is to destroy Magyar predominance. Let us not say that we want to preserve Austria but that we want to create an Austro-Slav Empire.

And Hurban: 'We have nobler work in mind. Ignoble memories are connected with the name of Austria.' 'It would be ridiculous for us to want to preserve the Austrian Empire: we would have to go against the Italians, the Poles, and perhaps against ourselves.'¹ Even Havliček, in the elation of the Congress, took a more Radical line than before or after:

What matters is reality. Legality will not get us far. No one at present works within the framework of legality. There are now dominant and subject nationalities in Austria. It would be easy to remain under Austria and attain unity, if we had the power. But for that the Magyars would have to be defeated.

Finally, Šafařík moved and carried a compromise resolution in favour of 'an alliance [of the Slavs] in defence of nationality . . . where such rights are enjoyed, and for conquering them, where they are not'. Nothing was said either about preserving Austria, or about revolutionary action.

In this atmosphere of growing Radicalism Libelt pulled off a *coup* which altered the character of the Congress: without consulting his own Section, of which he was chairman, he carried in an inner caucus of Congress a change of programme. How he achieved it, is not, and perhaps never will be, known. The Congress, instead of answering the five questions of the Organizing Committee, which had provided an Austro-Slav frame for its work, was to issue a 'Manifesto to the Nations of Europe', submit a Memorandum to the Emperor, and draw up a scheme for a Slav Alliance. The Manifesto would clearly transcend the limits originally set to the Congress and give room for raising the Polish question in its widest international aspects. When on the morning of 6 June Libelt reported the change to his Section, its representatives on the drafting Committee were already chosen (no one knows by whom),² and the outlines of the Manifesto

¹ Prelog, *op. cit.*, pp. 358-62.

² The Polish representatives on the Committee for drafting the Manifesto were Libelt and Moraczewski, both from Posnania, and L. Siemieński, a Russian Pole resident in Galicia. The members who were to draft the

were prepared. The debate which ensued proved Libelt's foresight in acting in this wholly irregular manner: the genuine Ruthenes passionately opposed adopting in an appeal to Europe the customary formulation of the Polish problem which would assign them once more to the Poles, while the Poles themselves, who might have been expected to rejoice over Libelt's success, started once more raising fine points and arguing about procedure; and were still doing so when the Czechs had already finished discussing both the Manifesto¹ and the Address to the Emperor. Finally an agreement was reached between the Ruthenes and Poles through Czech mediation. The Ruthenes desisted from opposing the Poles over the Manifesto, the Poles accepted a most liberal programme securing real equality of rights for the Ruthenes in Galicia, while the question of dividing the province in accordance with nationality was referred to its future Constituent Diet. Had the Poles been sincere regarding the Agreement, the bargain would not have been disadvantageous to the Ruthenes: reforms in Galicia were capable of immediate realization, whereas the Polish postulates involved a remapping of Europe. But neither during the fifty years of Austro-Polish rule in Galicia, nor during the twenty years of its inclusion in Poland between the World Wars, did the Poles show much willingness to honour their Prague promises.²

Address to the Emperor had all to be Austrian subjects, and Prince Lubomirski, Prince Sapieha, and Helcel were chosen: again there was no genuine Ruthene on it, but Lubomirski sincerely favoured decent treatment of the Ruthenes, Sapieha was the most honest of the pseudo-Ruthenes, and Helcel was a Conservative. On the Committee which was to plan the Slav Alliance, Section II was represented by Cybulski and Janiszewski, two Poles of good intellectual calibre, and the Russian revolutionary Bakunin. Those who had planned the Congress as one of Austrian Slavs might well rub their eyes or wring their hands.

¹ In the Czechoslovak Section Vöcl and Hanka objected to paragraph 4 in Libelt's draft which demanded the reunion of the divided Slav nations. Šafařík, realizing the paramount importance which the Poles attached to it, secured its acceptance in a modified form; see Odložilik, 'Slovanský sjezd a svatodušní bouře v r. 1848', in the *Slovanský Přehled*, vol. xx, pp. 408-25.

² With insight and foresight, Lubomirski wrote on 30 June 1848: '... who knows whether, if we had a government of our own it would not follow the example of the Hungarian Government which aims at a forcible Magyarization of 8 million non-Magyars'; see W. R. Wisłocki, *Jerzy Lubomirski, 1817-1872* (1928), p. 90.—Palacký tried to appease the Poles: his two schemes for a reconstruction of Austria, drawn up in the autumn of 1848 and in January 1849, make no provision for Ruthene self-government. Ziemiałkowski asserts that in the Constitutional Committee at Kremsier, the three Czech representatives, Palacký, Rieger, and Pinkas, proposed the separation of the

The Manifesto, as finally voted by the Congress, was an exceedingly vague, verbose, and ineffective document. It talks about 'our beautiful language spoken by 80 million co-racials' (just the tie which was missing), extols the virtues of the Slavs, and after referring to demands previously made for a reconstruction of Austria as a Federation of Co-Equal Peoples, protests against the Partitions of Poland (but passes over in silence the very existence of Ruthenes) and against the new partitions of Posnania; demands from the Prussian and Saxon Governments that they should cease denationalizing the Slavs in Silesia, Posnania, East and West Prussia, and Lusatia; calls on the Hungarian Government to stop violent measures against the Slavs, and to acknowledge their national rights; and demands in vague terms an improvement in the condition of the Slavs in Turkey. Lastly, the Manifesto suggests a Universal Congress of European Nations to settle all outstanding international problems. It concludes with the formula: 'In the name of the Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity of European nations.'

The Address to the Emperor was completed, but not formally adopted, before the Congress was broken up by the Whitsun riots. It sets out the demands of the Slav provinces and nationalities. Bohemia gives thanks for the Patent of 8 April, Moravia asks for similar rights and an inter-provincial connexion with Bohemia. Silesia is not mentioned: for the Teschen conflict between the Czechs and Poles had already started. Galicia asks for the rights accorded to Bohemia: a responsible Provincial Government and a Diet to draw up its constitution before the meeting of the Vienna Parliament; and the terms of the Polish Ruthene agreement are cited. The Slovaks and the Ruthenes (of Carpatho-Russia) ask for national recognition, equal representation in the Hungarian Parliament, and for permanent National Committees to watch over their interests: 'no nation shall be deemed dominant in Hungary, but all shall enjoy full rights.' The Serbs demand a union of all Serb territories of Hungary, and the Croats that of the Triune Kingdom and recognition of the acts of the Banus and Diet; the Slovenes, a union of all Slovene territories of Austria into a single province. Lastly, the Bohemians, Moravians, and Slovenes protest against

Ruthene from the Polish parts of Galicia (op. cit., part i, p. 12). This is wrong: when the vote was taken Palacký and Rieger abstained, and only Pinkas voted with Jachimowicz, the Uniat Bishop of Przemyśl, and Ratz of Vorarlberg (see Springer, *Protokolle*, p. 45).

inclusion in the new Germany, which would infringe the sovereignty of the Austrian Monarchy and subject them to a foreign Parliament. 'All Slav nations represented at the Congress unanimously support this reservation.'

The third document, 'The Act of Union between the Austrian Slavs', which was to have been submitted to the Diets of the Slav provinces, was completed by the Drafting Committee on 12 June: Austria has proclaimed equality of all her nationalities, but is drifting into dependence on the German Confederation. The Austrian Slavs conclude (without the nations now partitioned renouncing national reunion) a Slav Union which is to secure their national rights and territories, their constitutional freedoms, and the complete independence of the Austrian Empire—the Union remains under the House of Habsburg-Lorraine who must not, however, be subject to any foreign Power (i.e. must not acknowledge the supremacy of the new Germany). A Central Council of the Federated Nations is to be formed, and to meet in turn in their various capitals. The Magyars may be admitted to the Union provided they sincerely concede equality of rights to their Slavs; and the Germans, provided they shut out all supremacy of the German Confederation from their territory. Before this draft could be discussed either by the General Committee of the Congress, or the Sections, fighting in the streets of Prague put an end to their work: the Whitsun riots, although they had the Slav Congress for background, were in reality part of the general European movement, and an echo of recent events in Vienna.

There the revolutionary movement had reached its high-water mark. On 5 May under pressure of the Vienna mob, Count Ficquelmont resigned the Foreign Office; on the 15th the Government was forced to rescind the Constitution of 25 April and to agree to a Constituent Assembly elected by universal suffrage; on the 17th the Imperial Court fled to Innsbruck; and on the 26th the Committee of Public Safety was set up in Vienna, a revolutionary quasi-Government. Leo Thun, Governor of Bohemia, and Prince Alfred Windischgrätz, G.O.C. Prague, at first saw in the Czech movement a welcome counterweight to revolutionary, German-nationalist Vienna: on 17 May Thun summoned the Bohemian Diet to meet in June, and on the 29th refused to accept any further orders from the Vienna Government (whom he considered captives or accomplices of the revolutionaries); and he set up a Provisional Council in Prague consisting of the Czech leaders, Palacký, Rieger,

Brauner, and Strobach, two Bohemian noblemen, and two Germans. Had Palacký been able to retain control of the Czech movement, the programme of Czech autonomy might have been realized in an understanding with the Bohemian aristocracy and the Imperial Court. But the younger generation, especially the Prague students and artisans, were carried away by the current of European revolution, naively fraternized with the German radicals, and tried to emulate Vienna. The Congress which for a while made Prague the centre of the Western Slav world, with its festivities, demonstrations, and speeches stimulated the radical movement; in an atmosphere of excitement, which had its counterpart of apprehension and suspicion in Conservative and official circles, any trifling incident was apt to produce an explosion; especially as Windischgrätz had been waiting, ever since 13 March, for an opportunity to deal firmly with 'revolution'. On Whit Monday, 12 June, a religious service was celebrated in St. Wenceslas Square; it was followed by a demonstration, noisy but unarmed; the military attacked, and the sequel conformed to the pattern of 1848—barricades, demands for arms, for a withdrawal of the troops, &c. The moderate Czech leaders, official delegates from Vienna, and Thun himself tried to mediate, but exaltation on the one side and the wish for a show-down on the other, defeated such endeavours. The rising was insignificant as far as numbers and armament were concerned, but the military let it develop in order to crush it more effectively: on 15 June Windischgrätz withdrew his troops from Prague, and on the 17th bombarded the defenceless city. A few members of the Slav Congress were arrested, others were expelled from Prague, and an end was put to its deliberations. The actual incidents of those days are obscure and unimportant, but the after-effects were far-reaching.

'I know of no other event in our time which had more fateful consequences for our nation than the Whitsun riots', writes Palacký.¹ Martial law was proclaimed in Bohemia, the elections to the Diet were postponed, and Czech constitutional development was cut short. Had any extraneous factors contributed to the outbreak? Magyar *agents provocateurs* had undoubtedly been at work—such as the Slovak Turanský, who subsequently, as a witness before the Committee of Inquiry, told the most fanciful lies about the Congress and its origin. Conservative and official circles blamed the ubiquitous 'Polish revolutionary

¹ See *Politisches Vermächtniss* (1872), Appendix.

agents'. 'Such conduct is always expected from the Poles', wrote Bakunin in 1849, and people, acknowledging 'some kind of right in the Poles to appear whenever disturbances occur', incline to ascribe to them even 'things in which they had no share'.¹ But the German Liberals, friendly to the Poles and to 'revolution', made a more startling discovery: the riots were a Czech plot to massacre the Bohemian Germans.

In reality, there is no evidence of a single anti-German incident having occurred during the Prague riots. Helfert, himself a Bohemian German but a Conservative, wrote in the *Prager Zeitung* of 4 July 1848, that Czechs and Germans had stood together on the barricades.² The 'Proclamation of the Insurgents to the Inhabitants of Prague', published on 15 June after the troops had been withdrawn, thus exhorts to further action: 'The eyes of the whole of Bohemia and Moravia, of Vienna, nay of all Europe, are upon us. . .'.³—surely they would not have basked in Vienna's gaze had they been about to stage a massacre of the Bohemian Germans. Windischgrätz himself publicly declared on 19 June 1848, that the Prague riots were not a conflict between the two races, but an overt attack against the authority of the State.⁴ Leo Thun, when asked by the Prime Minister, Pillersdorf, whether the riots had been accidental or planned, directed against specific measures and persons or of a national character, and whether the Czech National Council

¹ See V. Čejchan, *Bakunin v Čechách* (1928), p. 102. It was the Minutes of the Polish-Ruthene Section that the Austrian police were most anxious to find, obviously hoping to discover in them evidence of a revolutionary plot (see O. Odložilik, op. cit.); when published by Wisłocki they proved completely harmless. For stories about Polish plotters, which abound in contemporary literature, see, for instance, Comte F. de Sonis, *Lettres du Comte et de la Comtesse de Ficquelmont à la Comtesse Tiesenhausen* (1911), p. 175, and Helfert, *Aufzeichnungen und Erinnerungen aus jungen Jahren* (1904), pp. 5–6. The tale of Polish complicity was reshaped even some fifty years later by Rezníček in his book *František Palacký* (1897), pp. 180–5.

² See *Aufzeichnungen*, p. 4. His book, *Der Prager Juni-Aufstand 1848* (1897) and his monograph on Count Leo Thun, published in the *Oesterreichisches Jahrbuch* for 1891–5, are not in the British Museum; nor is the most recent monograph on the riots by K. Kazbunda.

³ See * * * * r, *Alfred Fürst zu Windischgrätz* (1848), Appendix A. The author, an apologist for Windischgrätz, speaks of 'the anti-German hatred long nurtured by the ultra-Czech party'; but all he is able to say about it in a footnote, which tries to explain away things pointing in the opposite direction, is: 'As only Czech ultras stood at the head of the movement, in case of victory the struggle would certainly have assumed a national character' (p. 16).

⁴ See Springer, *Geschichte Oesterreichs*, vol. ii, p. 348.

or the Slav Congress were in any way implicated, replied on 29 June:

The disturbances were not caused by national hatreds and the rising is not to be looked upon as a fight of Czechs against Germans, but much rather as a revolt of all the radical elements against the Government, in which political passions, such as national hatreds or hostility to the nobility and the administration, were contributory factors. . . . The Slav Congress itself pursued no illegal aims, and I am convinced even now that its Czech leaders did not plan anything contrary to the law or incompatible with the interests of the Austrian Monarchy. But the revolutionary Poles and other fanatics used this welcome opportunity to come here and plot with the local revolutionary elements.¹

But on the periphery of Bohemia, for instance at Aussig-on-Elbe, the ancestors of the modern Sudetens 'in company with Saxons and other Germans from the *Reich* joyfully celebrated the calamity which had befallen Prague, and extolled Windischgrätz as the saviour of the Germans'.² And a German-Bohemian historian naively observes: 'It is remarkable that outside Prague, in northern Bohemia, and still more beyond the frontiers of Bohemia, the position of its Germans should have been considered to be fraught with dangers of which they themselves had not the remotest idea.'³

XXI

At Frankfort German hostility to the Czechs burst forth over their refusal to be included in the new Germany, and over the Prague riots. The Germans demanded that elections for the Frankfort Parliament be held throughout western Austria, as decreed by the Pre-Parliament and the Federal Diet; the Czech National Council unanimously reserved the decision regarding the Lands of the Bohemian Crown to their own future Diet; and the Vienna Government, pitched into from both sides, finished by leaving to the constituencies themselves whether they wished to be represented at Frankfort! It would not obstruct an order of the Federal Diet, 'a legally acknowledged authority', nor interfere with 'the right of the individual citizen to participate in the work of the Frankfort Parliament', but Acts of that Parliament, to be binding in Austria, would, it declared, require its approval: thus, participation in the German National Assembly was made 'optional' and inconclusive.

¹ See Odložilik, *op. cit.*, p. 410.

² See Helfert, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

³ See O. Weber, 'Die Prager Revolution von 1848 und das Frankfurter Parlament' in the *Festschrift des Vereines für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen* (1902), p. 171.

On 25 April the Committee of Fifty dispatched from Frankfort two of its members, von Wächter, a prominent Württemberger, and Kuranda, a Bohemian Jew, to persuade the Czechs; in Prague they were joined by Schilling, a Salzburg Radical. The atmosphere was tense, and finding that the Czech National Committee had sent delegates to Vienna to secure a prohibition of elections to the Frankfort Parliament, they confined themselves to a private meeting with its Committee for Foreign Affairs. The Czechs made a show of filial solicitude for Austria—she must ‘renounce none of her sovereign rights, nor would the Slavs submit to Germany’, for this would destroy Austria; the Germans replied with a display of brotherly love for the Czechs—‘I said’, reported Wächter to the Committee of Fifty on 3 May, ‘that we want to take you Bohemians into our arms—“Yes”, they exclaimed, “and strangle us”.’ Then Schilling intervened, called freedom a specifically German achievement, and threatened the Czechs with the sharp German sword should they refuse to join Germany.¹ Having heard the reports the Committee of Fifty issued, on 5 May, a proclamation addressing ‘the inhabitants of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia’ as ‘Brethren and Allies’, and promising them ‘in the future free and rejuvenated Germany’, all the blessings which it is customary for modern whales to offer to Jonah. Elections in Bohemia, when attempted, proved a failure: only in 13 of 68 constituencies were they properly carried through, and in seven partially.

On 5 June attention was called in the Frankfort Parliament to ‘the determined resistance’ to elections offered in Bohemia (so far only seven members had entered the Assembly, and some of the others had resigned their seats), and a resolution was moved for a Committee to inquire into the matter, and to suggest measures which would give weight (*Nachdruck verschaffen*) to ‘the will of the nation’. The tone of the debate was stridently aggressive—there was none of the sentiment which at first mellowed the debates on Poland. The much revered E. M. Arndt² raised a warning voice, quoting Klopstock: ‘Germans, be not too just!’ For where would they be if they let ‘every particle’ claim a national life of its own? ‘We must adhere to

¹ Herzen writes: ‘All German revolutionaries are great cosmopolitans, *sie haben überwunden den Standpunkt der Nationalität*, and are all filled with the most irritable and persistent patriotism. They are prepared to accept an all-world republic, to obliterate the frontiers between States, but Trieste and Danzig must belong to Germany’; *Byloye i dmy, Polnoye Sobranie (Collected Works)* (1919), vol. xiii, p. 352.

² See above, p. 242, n. 1.

the principle that what has been ours for a thousand years . . . must remain ours . . . we must protect those Germans even if greatly outnumbered by the Czechs; and deputies from Bohemia, however few, must be deemed fully to represent the country.' Schilling repeated that Germany must prevent, if necessary by the sword, a separation of Bohemia and the rise of a Slav Austria, which cannot be free 'in the German sense'. Another member protested that not a clod of German soil must be surrendered—'let the Czechs come here, and they will be welcome; if they refuse, they will still be bound by our decisions'. Hartmann (from Leitmeritz in Bohemia) thought declarations useless while the Assembly lacked executive power, but 'once we have shown our power in Holstein, we shall be able to tackle Bohemia'.

The Prague riots gave a new impulse to the anti-Czech campaign. On 20 June, Schmerling, representative of the Austrian Government in the Federal Diet, described the riots as an attack of Czechs against Germans rather than against the Government—without instructions from Vienna, but conscious of his 'sacred duty', he begged the Governments of Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria to help, if need be, in restoring order in Bohemia, and in protecting the 'lives and property of its Germans': it was resolved to instruct them 'to hold substantial military forces in readiness' for that purpose. When the matter was reported in the Assembly, Vienna Radicals vied with members from western and northern Germany in urging immediate action. 'We do not want to wait till help is summoned', ranted Berger, a member of the Extreme Left (and 1867–70 a Minister in the Austrian Liberal Government), 'it may not be desired though necessary. It is obvious that a general massacre of Germans by the Czechs is intended.' Deetz (Wittenberg): 'Federal troops should immediately enter Bohemia . . . they will make war with vigour, as befits German troops.' And Jordan (Berlin), who five weeks later was to achieve fame through his speech on Posnania, made now a contribution no less remarkable but much less noted:

For the first time [he said] my heart swells with pride. . . . I am proud of the tremendous unanimity which at last has seized us in such a matter. I conclude that we are leaving at last the misty summits of cosmopolitanism from which one's own Fatherland is no longer visible. I see that at last we mean to proceed against the attempts of puny nationalities (*Nationalitätchen*) to found their own lives in our midst, and like parasites to destroy ours. . . .

Vogt (Giessen), a Radical, deplored that the German cause should have the reactionary Windischgrätz for its champion, but urged immediate action—or else, ‘before help is summoned, the Bohemian Germans will be semi-Czechised (*so halb und halb geczechet*).’ Berger and Schilling moved a resolution, complete with ‘blood-bath’ and ‘national annihilation’:

In view of the bloody struggle which has broken out between the Czech party and the Germans in Bohemia, and the great danger of a general blood-bath and a combat of national annihilation which may ensue unless Slav fanaticism in Bohemia is checked with vigour: the German National Assembly is asked, in order to protect the Germans in Bohemia, to resolve . . . without referring the matter to a Committee, that the Federal Council should be asked . . . to order Bavarian and Saxon troops to march into Bohemia.

Thus the Czechs were not even treated as a nation in that ‘war of national annihilation’, but as a ‘party’, and the Germans were described no longer as ‘in danger’ but as actually engaged in a ‘bloody struggle’. Venedey pleaded for some moderation towards the Czechs; war against them was ‘civil war’, and while many of them were unwilling to fight against the Germans, they might if violence was used; a distinction should be made between those under arms and the others.

Then came the anti-climax; three members—from Moravia, Bohemia, and Prussian Silesia—obviously better informed and realizing the nonsensical character of the debate, proceeded to reassure the House. Beidtel (Brno) argued that there was no need for outside intervention—‘all superiority is with the Germans. . . . I truly believe Austria is sufficiently powerful to suppress this movement . . . it can be left to the Austrian Government to master its Slavs. Only if they fail, should we help.’ And Kuranda: ‘The proposal to send German troops immediately to succour the Germans, without asking the Austrian Government, would be most dangerous for the Germans.’ The rural districts are quiet, and even in Prague only ‘the fanatical party of the National Guard’ is active. As Windischgrätz stands by the Germans ‘there is no need to send troops, and I am absolutely convinced that the struggle will be over before they arrive’. But Saxony and Bavaria should be instructed to hold themselves in readiness. Lastly, Prince Lichnowsky argued that neither Austria nor Windischgrätz were likely to wish for such support, ‘I therefore fail to see why we should order German federal troops from all sides to march into Bohemia—to the great amazement of its Germans.’ The

Assembly decided to refer the question to the Committee for Slav Affairs.¹

The Committee reported on 1 July both on elections in the Slav provinces and the position of the Germans in Bohemia: Pan-Slavism has recently found in Prague its centre for western Europe; it aims at uniting the Slavs of south-eastern Europe, at dominating Austria, and engulfing its Germans and the Magyars; the Austrian Government has pursued a miserable policy and favoured the movement in the interest of autocracy, till the 'Czech party', greatly overrating its own strength and importance, engaged with foolish arrogance (*Uebermut*) in 'terroristic oppression of the German population'. 'The refusal to send members to the National Assembly . . . is a direct challenge to the territorial integrity of Germany'; but Acts of the Assembly are binding even if those countries are incompletely represented.² Armed intervention in Bohemia, if rashly undertaken, might have rendered general the conflict, which was limited to Prague; moreover, unsolicited help would have injured the prestige of the Austrian Government: but the Bohemian Germans should be assured of the help of the National Assembly, if required. The Committee submitted resolutions calling on the Austrian Government to secure elections in the German-Slav provinces and the attendance of their members in Parliament (or else to order by-elections), and assuring it of most vigorous support 'in all its measures for protecting the Bohemian Germans against attacks by the Czech party'.

In the debate Kuranda engaged in adulation of the Bohemian Germans and disparagement of the Czechs, ridiculed the Slav Congress, and effusively thanked Windischgrätz. Radowitz criticized the current 'one-sided and exclusive conception of the principle of nationality'—'as if a great nation could confine its most vital needs, on which its existence depends, within its own linguistic territory'. 'The Austrian Government is now master in Prague. Next we must demand . . . that a speedy and final end

¹ The Committee consisted of 15 members: 1 Saxon, 1 Bavarian, 1 Austrian resident in Bavaria, and 12 Austrians—among them Schmerling, Sommaruga, Giskra, and Berger; 7 of them represented German constituencies in the Czech provinces, and one the Gottschee, a German enclave in Carniola.

² The pressure on the Austrian Government to cause elections for Frankfort to be held in the Slav provinces was renewed in Aug.-Sept., but the total of members returned was 20 from Bohemia, 8 from Moravia, and 6 from Silesia; for a full list of their names and constituencies, see Maršan, *Čechové a Němci, r. 1848 a boj o Frankfurt* (1898).

should be made of separatist fancies, and that elections to the National Assembly be enforced without delay.' Ruge, of the Extreme Left, who in the debate on Poland was to assume the part of the revolutionary conscience, spoke against taking sides sharply, but had nothing to say for the Czechs. Perhaps the star turn of the debate came from a Moravian German, Giskra, a young man of twenty-eight (subsequently a leader of the Austrian-German Liberals and Minister of the Interior, 1867-70). He harped on the anti-German character of the Czech national movement, which threatened the Germans with 'total annihilation'. Though opposed to unsolicited intervention in Bohemia, he was not convinced of the German character of the new Austrian Government. He held no brief for Windischgrätz—

But now I cannot speak against him. By crushing an anti-German movement he has rendered the German cause victorious, and I shall pay tribute to whoever labours for the German cause, even if he is otherwise hateful to me. . . .

As a Moravian German I demand . . . that the Czech movement should be completely suppressed, and annihilated for the future. . . . I want the Moravian Germans to be . . . firmly joined to our Greater Germany . . . they will be in danger should a new Czech movement arise and spread to the Moravian Slavs, and the two together attempt separation with the help of a foreign Power.

Once more the debate closed with an anti-climax: Berger, of the 'blood-bath' resolution, recounted an incident which had occurred since. The Vienna Council of Public Safety (Great-German, radical, and anti-Czech) had sent a Commission of Inquiry to Prague. There, they who in the capital had practically supplanted the Government, met with a staggering reception: they were arrested, were cursed by the Austrian soldiers as 'Vienna dogs', and when brought before Windischgrätz were told that the revolution may have been victorious 'elsewhere' but that he, the Emperor's servant, was sole master in Prague. Berger gloomily concluded: 'This is the position in Bohemia: neither the German is victorious, nor the Czech; but both face the forces of reaction, and the time may not be distant when we shall have to defend them both against a third, dangerous, power'—as if the Frankfort Parliament could have defended anyone, or itself, against anybody.

XXII

Reaction did win, and thereby saved the reputation of the German revolution of 1848 (and of some others besides). It prevented the 'revolution of the intellectuals' from consummating

la trahison des clercs. Had not Hitler and his associates blindly accepted the legend which latter-day liberals, German and foreign, had spun round 1848, they might well have found a great deal to extol in the *deutsche Männer und Freunde* of the Frankfurt Assembly. Certain contemporaries had a saner appreciation of them—thus the Russian revolutionary Alexander Herzen, wrote in his *Memoirs*:¹

The 'fighting Convention' assembled in St. Paul's Church at Frankfurt, and consisting of well-intentioned professors, doctors, theologians, pharmacists, and philologists, *sehr ausgezeichneten in ihrem Fache*, applauded the Austrian soldiers in Lombardy and curbed the Poles in Posnania. . . . The first free word uttered after centuries of silence by the representatives of Germany seeking her own emancipation, was in opposition to the oppressed and weak nationalities. This incapacity for freedom, these awkwardly revealed inclinations to retain what had been unjustly acquired, provoke irony: insolent pretensions are forgiven only when accompanied by vigorous actions, and those were lacking.

The revolution of 1848 was marked by lack of foresight and by precipitation, but in France and in Italy there was scarcely anything ridiculous about it; in Germany, everywhere except in Vienna, it had a comic character, incomparably funnier than Goethe's wretched farce, *Der Bürgergeneral*. . . .

French weaknesses and shortcomings are palliated to some extent by their light and fugitive character. In the German the same defects assume a more solid and basic character, and hence are more striking. One must see for oneself these German efforts to play *so einen burschikosen Gamin de Paris* in politics in order to appreciate them. I was always reminded of the playfulness of a cow, when that excellent and respectable animal, adorned with domestic kindness, takes to gambolling and galloping in the meadow, and with a serious face kicks up her hind legs or gallops sideways, whipping herself with her tail.

But the domestic story of the German revolution—that playful cow—I must leave to another essay.

¹ Op. cit., vol. xiii, pp. 252-3.

ANNUAL ITALIAN LECTURE
LEON BATTISTA ALBERTI ON PAINTING

By KENNETH CLARK

Read 1 November 1944

AT 8.45 on the 26th of August 1435, Leon Battista Alberti completed the first treatise on the art of painting ever written,¹ and dedicated it to his friend Brunellesco with these words:

When I compared the arts and letters of the ancients with those of modern times, I thought that nature, mistress of those arts, had grown old and worn out, and no longer produced the mighty and well contrived works with which, in her glorious youth, she had been so lavish. But since I have returned to this country of ours from the long exile, in which we Albertis have grown old, I have perceived in many—first in thee, Filippo, and then in our dear friend Donato, and in those others, Nencio, Luca and Masaccio, a talent for all praiseworthy arts which the most famous of ancient cities did not excel.

Alberti, as he says, had only recently returned to Florence. He was the illegitimate son of a patrician family which had acquired great riches by the wool trade in the fourteenth century, but had been driven into exile by the persecution of the Albizzi. Leon Battista was born in Genoa in 1404, and educated in Padua. As a boy he was a profound student of the classics, and even wrote a Latin comedy which was taken for an original production of antiquity. He refused to go into the family business, and to support himself he was forced to study law in Bologna; but overwork brought on a serious illness, and he turned for relief to mathematics, music, and physical exercises, in all of which he attained a fabulous proficiency. He was also intimate with Filelfo and other masters of the new learning, and when, in 1426, the ban of exile on his family was lifted and he was free to

¹ This treatise, usually referred to as *della Pittura*, was probably written in Latin and translated into Italian by Alberti himself. The date 26 August 1435 is to be found on a manuscript text in Latin, probably holograph, in the Marciana; the only Italian text, now in the Bibl. Nat., Florence, is dated 17 July 1436. This was first printed by Bonucci, *Opere Volgari di L. B. A.*, Firenze, vol. iv, 1847. Bonucci's text is divided arbitrarily into chapters and has numerous misreadings; and the best modern edition is by H. Janitschek, *L. B. A.'s kleinere kunsttheoretische Schriften*, Wien, 1877. The references to the *della Pittura* in this paper are to Janitschek's edition, the pages being given in parentheses after each quotation.

return to Florence, he must have entered immediately into the circle of humanists, Poggio, Niccolò Niccoli, and the rest, whose friendship he gained not only by his knowledge of ancient literature but by the grace, intelligence, and antique dignity of his conversation. By the humanists he was evidently introduced to the artists who were interpreting their ideals of human life; for although he was forced to leave Florence almost immediately and spend the next five years in travel, he could, soon after his return, refer to those artists as old friends.

In 1432 he became a member of the Papal civil service and settled in Rome; and there, in that half-abandoned city, where the ruins of ancient grandeur towered above the miserable huts and tenements of the Middle Ages, he began to study the art and architecture of antiquity. We may assume that in his researches he was often accompanied by Donatello, who was in Rome from 1431 to 1433 working on the Tabernacle of the Sacrament in St. Peter's; and no one else then living was better qualified to open his eyes to the large rhythms, the calculated harmonies and the full humanity of classical art. At the same time the scientific and realistic bent of his mind led him in another direction, and in these years he constructed, perhaps invented, a *camera obscura*. We are inclined to underrate the importance of a device which has since become common knowledge, but of all Alberti's achievements this perhaps was the one which most impressed his contemporaries, even Vasari, who for many reasons was hostile to him, comparing it to the invention of printing. Alberti refers to it several times in his writings, and in an anonymous biography¹ of which, I suspect, he himself was the author, he says:

He also wrote several books on painting and in that art achieved unheard of, and to his spectators, incredible results. By looking into a box through a little hole one might see great plains and an immense expanse of sea spread out till the eye lost itself in the distance. Learned and unlearned agreed that these images were not like painted things, but like nature herself. These demonstrations, as he called them, took place by night and day. In the former you saw Orion, Arcturus, the Pleiades and other shining stars, and the moon rising above high mountains; by day you saw the blaze of dawn as Homer describes it. Certain Greeks, famous men and skilled seafarers, were astonished when he showed them, in his little world, a ship far out at sea. 'Now it labours in the tempest,' he said, 'but tomorrow you will find it in harbour.'

¹ First printed in Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. xxv; reprinted in Bonucci, *Op. Volg.*, vol. i, p. xc. Although written in the third person it contains intimate details which have all the character of self-revelation.

Making all allowances for exaggeration, for even the austere Alberti sometimes indulged in the national weakness, this seems to have been a remarkable invention, preceding the *camera obscura* of della Porta by over a hundred years. But for our present purpose its interest lies in the fact that Alberti thought it had a direct bearing on the art of painting, and when referring to it in his treatise on the subject, calls its images *miracoli della pittura*. And so already in these Roman years we find that dual approach to painting, the stylistic and the scientific, which was characteristic of Florentine art and of which Alberti was the first interpreter.

To this date also belongs the work by which, in his lifetime, he was best known, his treatise on the Family;¹ and although this is not the place in which to consider Alberti as a moralist, a word must be said about his ethics, since they help to indicate the moral climate of Masaccio and Donatello. He might be described as a Protestant humanist. He believed with passion in the greatness of man and the supremacy of human values; but the traditions of his hard-headed, hard-working Tuscan family gave to his humanism an austerity and a belief in the sanctity of work which even Cicero would have reckoned a little severe. He upheld, and by his own life exemplified, the triumph of the human will; and his relentless self-discipline resulted in a lack of certain qualities which we value to-day—humour, for example, and sensibility. We cannot turn to Alberti's moral writings for relaxation. Carlyle, had he known them, would have made the author one of his heroes, although he would have had to suppress (as he did with some other heroes) the bitterness and the complete lack of religious feeling which characterize many of Alberti's reflections. We must admit, however, that Alberti's *gravitas* was relieved by *pietas* and *humanitas*, a genuine feeling for family life and for the fundamental affections on which a healthy society depends; and to judge by those who sought his company he must have been more human and more adaptable than his writings would lead us to suppose.

In addition to his natural sympathy with the Florentine ethos Alberti brought to his study of art certain special qualifications. He had noted every allusion to the subject in Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, Lucian, Quintilian and above all in Pliny. But although

¹ The first three books were written in 1434, and later revised; a fourth book, more interesting, was completed in 1441 and the whole published in 1443. But in spite of its great contemporary renown it fell into obscurity and was not printed till 1844, Bonucci's *Op. Volg.*, vol. ii.

Alberti is proud of his classical learning he recognizes the shallow and fragmentary character of ancient art criticism, and places more stress on first-hand experience. 'He would learn from all,' the anonymous biography tells us, 'questioning smiths, builders, shipwrights and even shoemakers lest any might have some uncommon or secret knowledge of his craft; and often he would feign ignorance in order to discover the excellencies of others.' Moreover he had practised art himself, and speaks of his skill with unusual complacency in the *della Pittura* and other writings.¹ He refers particularly to his modelling in wax and his portraiture; and the only surviving work of art which can with probability be attributed to him, justifies his pride. This is the superb bronze plaque of his own head in profile, which fixes Alberti's character in our minds more vividly than all his dialogues and recorded sayings.² It shows an almost Miltonic mixture of pride, sensibility and disillusion, and explains why his works contain, in equal proportions, panegyrics on Man and savage satires on the human race.

Such was the formidable young man who, in the summer of 1434, returned to Florence and resumed his friendship with the circle of humanist artists. After less than a year spent in studying their works and listening to their conversation he was prepared to give theoretical shape to what he had learnt. The result was the *della Pittura*, dedicated, as we have seen, to Brunellesco, Donatello, Ghiberti, Luca della Robbia, and Masaccio. Why did he choose these artists? Why, in particular, was a book on painting dedicated to an architect and three sculptors—the only painter named having died before Alberti's first visit to

¹ *della Pittura*, ed. Janitschek, pp. 97 and 121; cf. also *Tranquillità dell' Animo* in *Op. Volg.* i, p. 26, and his letter to Leonello d'Este prefacing *de Equo Animate*. The anonymous biography twice mentions him as an artist (*Op. Volg.* i, pp. xci, ciii). Important outside testimony of his skill is that of his friend Cristoforo Landini, who mentions that several of his works were in the Rucellai collection. Vasari (ed. Milanesi, vol. ii, p. 546) claimed to own some of his drawings but had a poor opinion of his skill.

² Formerly in the Dreyfus Collection. There is an inferior version, possibly also by Alberti, in the Louvre. The authorship of the plaque has been much disputed. The old attribution to Pisanello is out of the question from every point of view. The relief is too pictorial for Ghiberti and too lacking in plastic sense for Donatello. In fact it is not in the style of a professional sculptor, and curiously enough the artist whose work it most resembles is Francesco di Giorgio, although, of course, preceding his Carmine relief by some thirty-five years. This portrait must date from about 1435. The medal of Alberti by Matteo de' Pasti dating from 1450 shows him graver, heavier, more Roman; but we cannot tell whether this is due to sitter or artist.

Florence?¹ For answer we must try to define the character of the artistic revolution which had taken place in Florence during the last fifteen years.

In 1401 Brunellesco and Ghiberti, competing for the bronze doors of the Baptistery, submitted as their trial pieces the first self-consciously humanist works of the renaissance. But this was like the abortive rising which precedes a revolution, and for another twenty years the old traditional styles went on unmodified. Of these the most popular was a faint echo of the Giottesque. In Giotto's own lifetime his solid, heroic figures had been turned by his followers into decorative symbols, and after a hundred years of repetition these had become shapeless, lifeless, and insignificant. In wayside shrines and country churches they satisfied the natural conservatism of the devout, and the family workshops in which they were manufactured—the Gerini and the Bicci—continued to flourish until the middle of the *quattrocento*. But by 1420 this old-fashioned Tuscan style no longer pleased the fastidious. Aristocrats and higher clergy, men who had travelled and visited courts, preferred the elegant new Gothic style which had been invented in Burgundy and imported into Italy through Verona. It was essentially a courtly style in which everyone was gentle and well dressed, with plenty of leisure to enjoy the beauty of flowers, birds, and brocades. And in 1423 it achieved in Florence a masterpiece which delighted, and has never ceased to delight, all lovers of pretty things, Gentile da Fabriano's 'Adoration of the Magi'. But the hard-headed Florentine bourgeoisie could not be at ease for long in this exquisite society. As they grew in power and independence they felt the need of a world like their own, a world of common sense and serious human values, of forthright criticism and intellectual mastery, where all knowledge, both ancient and modern, was concentrated for the use of man; and by about 1425 a new style is fully apparent. In that year Brunellesco's façade of the Innocenti is almost complete, and Ghiberti, abandoning at last the Gothic style which was congenial to him, has begun to work on the second doors of the Baptistery. In that year Masaccio has executed what seems to have been the first great humanist painting, his fresco of the Consecration, now destroyed, and Donatello, in his relief of the Feast of Herod in the Baptistery at Siena, has revealed his Shakespearean grasp of human drama.

¹ Janitschek's suggestion (257) that the Masaccio referred to is also a sculptor, the obscure Maso di Bartolommeo, is a piece of Germanic pedantry which need not be taken seriously.

When therefore Alberti returned to Florence in the train of Eugenius IV this style had been established for almost ten years. Brunellesco's transformation of the old Tuscan manner by mathematical lucidity had become the accepted Florentine building style. Masaccio had painted his masterpieces in the Carmine chapel and died; Ghiberti had realized in his reliefs the new principles of space composition; Donatello had developed a sort of sculptured picture-making which gained intensity by the very recklessness with which the limitations of the medium were defied. And a new sculptor had emerged, Luca della Robbia, whose name sounds rather strangely in Alberti's list of great artists, until we remember that at this time he was only known by one work, the Cantoria of the Duomo (1431), which must have seemed to promise an unrivalled skill in combining clear architectural forms with easy naturalism.

What then are the principles which the work of these artists reveals? First, their subject is human beings, grave and passionate, whole-hearted and intelligent; and these human beings are so placed in the composition as to appear to be in correct and harmonious relationship to one another. In order to achieve this effect the artist must be master of pictorial science, the word science being used in the narrow sense which implies accurate measurement. Vasari tells us how Brunellesco learnt geometry from Paolo Toscanelli, the greatest mathematician of his time; and how he in turn had taught Masaccio.¹ This scientific basis of naturalism was the one way in which the artists of the early renaissance believed that they might surpass antiquity. In every other respect they were devoted students of the past; for to that generation classical art not only provided a repertoire of forms perfectly controlled and generalized by centuries of attrition, but it showed the way in which art might concern itself with the great issues of human life. With these principles in mind, we can understand why Alberti's dedication does not mention any living painter. The vast majority were still using the Giottesque-gothic style, of which Giovanni da Ponte's altarpiece, probably painted in 1435, is typical. And the few great artists whom we think of as exponents of the new principles only mastered them ten years after the *della Pittura* was written. The Blessed Angelico, for example, who was to show a subtle sense of space composition in his frescoes in San Marco,² was at this time still using the bright

¹ Alberti's *Intercoenales*, satirical short stories or fables, were dedicated to Toscanelli.

² The frescoes in S. Marco are of a much later date, since the Dominican

colours and gold backgrounds of an illuminator. Uccello, who was in Venice when Alberti was writing his treatise, had hitherto worked in a fanciful Gothic style, in which practically no traces of classical or scientific interest are perceptible.¹ As for Fra Filippo Lippi, who seems to have been a pupil of Masaccio, in 1434 he was in Padua, a young and comparatively obscure painter, and although by 1438 he was back in Florence and fully employed² we can be sure that his work would not have satisfied Alberti: and in the end he was the artist who more than any other transmitted to a later generation the tradition of linearism. So the omission of contemporary painters from the dedication of the *della Pittura*, though paradoxical, was inevitable, and thanks to the wholly pictorial style of the sculptors, it does not affect the contemporaneity of Alberti's arguments, except where he comes to speak of colour. Later in life he was to find one painter who fulfilled his ideals and with whom he became intimately connected: but in 1435 Piero della Francesca was a provincial youth, not yet even apprenticed to Domenico Veneziano.

I began by calling the *della Pittura* the first treatise on painting ever written. In reading it we must constantly keep this in mind; and in fact Alberti does not allow us to forget it for long. 'Noi vero i quali', he says, 'se mai da altri fu scritta, abbiamo cavata quest' arte di sotterra; o se non mai fu scritta, abbiamo tratta di cielo' (137). In so far as others have written on art their thoughts have lain buried; and as for those things which have never been written, he has drawn them from the sky. And the book ends with a claim that its imperfections must be excused on account of its complete originality—*nulla si truova insieme nato et perfetto*. Let those who come after with greater wits and learning write a book on painting *assoluta et perfetta*.

The reference to writings on art *cavata di sotterra* must refer to Pliny, a manuscript of whose works, bought in Lübeck by Cosimo de' Medici on the advice of Niccolò Niccoli, had recently been made accessible in Florence.³ But although Alberti often quotes Brotherhood only received the Convent in 1436, and it was not till 1443 that Michelozzo's work was completed.

¹ Immediately after his return in 1436 he showed a knowledge of classical architecture and perspective in his memorial portrait of John Hawkwood in the Duomo; but his practice cannot have influenced Alberti's theories. How far the influence was the other way is discussed below, p. 300.

² See the letter from Domenico Veneziano to Pietro de' Medici in Gaye's *Carteggio*, p. 136.

³ See Vespasiano de' Bisticci, *Life of Niccoli*. The manuscript is now

from Pliny's gossip in illustration of his points, he is conscious of a higher and more difficult aim, 'non come Plinio recitiamo storie', he says, 'ma di nuovo fabbrichiamo un' arte di pittura' (93). It is this aim which distinguishes Alberti's *della Pittura* from two other books on painting which were written in the next decade, Cennino Cennini's studio receipt book and Ghiberti's *Commentarii*.¹

The *della Pittura* opens with a series of definitions in mathematical terms. True, Alberti tells us on the first page that he is writing *non come mathematico ma come pittore*, but much later in the book in speaking of the education of the painter he returns to the subject, and says categorically that 'no painter can paint well without a thorough knowledge of geometry' (145). The reasons for this mathematical knowledge are twofold. First, the painter must have some scientific understanding of what he sees; and secondly, he requires geometrical knowledge to set it down correctly. And what does he see? Alberti believes that he sees a section of a pyramid of vision from which the rays converge on the eye. 'And this', he says, 'is the painter's purpose, to render in outline and colour on a flat surface, whether a panel or a wall, those parts of any objects which present themselves to the sight in such a manner that at a given distance and in a given position they will appear to be in relief, and very similar to the said objects.'² The implications of this definition are worth following up. First there is the insistence on a given distance and a given position, which is the necessary consequence of the visual pyramid. The data of sight must be brought under control: and herein lies the superiority of painting and low relief over sculpture in the round, where the spectator is free to choose his own point of view, and so abandons some of the scientific perfection of art. While on this point Alberti refers many times to his invention of a squared screen—he calls it a *velo*—which placed between the artist's eye and the section of the visual pyramid made it easier to give objects their precise position in space (101). Such a screen was, in fact, much used by painters of the high renaissance, especially in dealing with problems of foreshortening. Dürer and Holbein have left us representations of it, and there can be little doubt that it was responsible for the amazing precision of

Riccardiana No. M. II, ii, 488. It was, of course, the inspiration and model of Ghiberti's *Commentarii*.

¹ Cennino Cennini's book dates from 1437. The *Commentarii* are a work of Ghiberti's old age, and date from 1447.

² p. 143. A similar definition is on pp. 70-1.

Holbein's portrait drawings. The objection, which seems valid to us, that it ties the artist down to a one-eyed, static view-point, was a recommendation to Alberti; 'nor do I give any heed', he adds, 'to those who say that it is bad for a painter to accustom himself to these helps; for surely what we want from him is not that he should undergo infinite labour, but that he should give us a picture in high relief'—*quale molto paja rilevata* (103).

Ritondo et rilevato—these are the words which recur again and again in the first part of the *della Pittura*. They are essentially a Florentine criterion of excellence, as a great critic of Italian art perceived when he said that the chief aim of Florentine painting was the realization of tactile values. But there was another aim, linear grace, which preceded and followed the age of Masaccio; and when Alberti writes, 'I say that learned and unlearned alike will praise those heads which appear to stand out from the picture as if they were sculptured',¹ the note of defiance in his voice is directed against the ordinary workshop picture of his time, in which the face is little more than a conventional hieroglyphic; or against such an artist as Lorenzo Monaco, in whose work modelling is subordinated to pattern, naturalism to style.

In opposing the practice of Gothic mannerism Alberti often comes near to praising mere imitation for its own sake. True, there are many passages in which the doctrine of realism is modified on stylistic and philosophic grounds. But underlying all Alberti's theories is the assumption that painting is concerned with the accurate representation of the visible world; and unfashionable, perhaps unreasonable, as this may seem to us, we must not try to hide it under a cloud of philosophy, saying that by imitation Alberti meant 'creating an organism analogous to those created by nature', and similar graceful sophistries. Throughout history revolutions in art have taken the form of a return to nature as against exhausted formulas of picture-making, or an excessive attachment to style for its own sake. All true revolutions are popular and anti-hierarchic, and ultimately popular art is always realistic art. That modern abstract art should be called 'bolshevik' is a comical misnomer; far from being the art of the *bolshoi*, the many, it is the art of the very few, and in any thoroughgoing revolution it would be swept away. It could be correctly described as anarchic, contrary to the old laws, and so entirely subjective. All this must be remembered when we look at Alberti's *della Pittura* from the point of view of

¹ p. 133. Cf. in this connexion the roundels in the Duomo, Florence, painted by Uccello in 1443.

modern art, for his position is the exact reverse of our own. He and his friends were truly revolutionary in their insistence on realism, but they also claimed, as so many revolutionaries have done, that they had the authority of the old laws.

The first book of the *della Pittura*, which deals almost entirely with the science of vision and the means of rendering the base of the visual pyramid by planes and outlines, is heavy going. The language is both dry and obscure, and at the end of the section Alberti admits that it will be read *con fastidio*. But he adds *quello che seguira credo sara meno tedioso*. This is correct. On almost every page the pencil hovers to mark or annotate some revealing or penetrating passage, or some almost incredible anticipation of classic theory. Alberti's *della Pittura* is the prophetic book of academism. There is practically no part of academic teaching during the next four hundred years which does not lie, compressed but calculated, in its pages. It was Alberti who first felt that painting must be rescued from the position allotted to it in the medieval-aristotelian scheme among the mechanical arts. As a humanist and a student of Plato he believed in the absolute supremacy of the mind, and he set out to prove that painting was essentially a mental and not a manual activity, 'che l'arte del dipignere sempre fu ad i liberali ingegni et a li animi nobili dignissima' (97).

We must confess that like all those who since his time have attempted to raise the status of the arts, Alberti lays an emphasis on cultivated and easy manners which is distasteful to a more romantic age. There are times in reading the *della Pittura* when the image of a bland old gentleman in a wig giving away prizes to successful students entirely supersedes that of the taut and fiery Florentine (145). But we are soon recalled to the fifteenth century by some tough scientific proposition, drier and knottier than anything which could have flowed from the pen of Sir Joshua, when the more indigestible elements of Platonism had been conveniently pulped. The difficulties of the first book, for example, are largely due to a Platonic desire for a close union of art and mathematics. With two of the classical doctrines which underlie the rest of the treatise, however, the eighteenth century would have been completely at home. These are ideal form and the historical subject-matter. The importance of these concepts in the thought of the next three centuries is so great that they require fuller treatment.

That the artist must discover an ideal beauty which lies, immanent but overcast, in the imperfect forms of nature is per-

haps the most rational doctrine of aesthetics ever propounded, but it has suffered from a too literal application. As Bacon said, 'a painter may make a better face than ever was, but he must do it by a kind of felicity (as a musician that maketh an excellent air in music) and not by rule'. In academic teaching, which after all depends on rules, the doctrine deteriorated into what Professor Whitehead calls the mathematical fallacy, that beautiful parts add up to a beautiful whole, and from this fallacy Alberti was not altogether free. He relates with approval Pliny's story of Zeuxis and the five comely maidens of Croton (153). But it is fair to say that his strong sense of realism saves him from the more abstract applications of the theory which diluted the practice of the eighteenth century. He realized, for example, that a face made up in the mind is insipid (151), and adds the shrewd observation that in a group a portrait head will always take the eye and lead it away from the other heads, even although the ideal heads are *più perfette et grate* (153). This is a statement which we can check for ourselves from a work of Alberti's own time, Masaccio's fresco in the Carmine, where the portrait heads added by Filippino, although in a lower style than the Masaccio, immediately attract our interest to the detriment of the composition as a whole.

The importance of subject-matter is treated more fully. Alberti believes that it should be of such a character 'che sola senza pictura, per se la bella inventione sta grata' (145), and he gives two examples of such subjects drawn from Pliny, one of them the famous Calumny of Apelles. Here we encounter for the first time symptoms of a disease which afflicted European art in the next four hundred years: the disease of *ut pictura poesis*. And the accident by which antique painting, with its immense prestige, was known only through second-hand descriptions in Pliny, led to academic painters giving more attention to what would read well than to what would look well. But here again Alberti's academism stops short of the pedantic elaborations of the eighteenth-century classicists, and the subjects he describes are designed to please the eye. He praises copiousness and variety, for as in food and music there is an immediate pleasure in variety and abundance, and he commends a scene in which are mixed 'vecchi, giovani, fanciulli, donne, fanciulle, fanciulini, polli, catellini, uccellini, cavalli, pechore, hedifici, province et tutte simili cose' (117). We are reminded more of Bassano at his most extravagant than of Alberti's austere contemporaries, until we remember that Ghiberti's relief of Solomon and the Queen

of Sheba contains eighty-nine figures and seven animals. And in fact Alberti at once contradicts the Bassanesque impression by saying that such copiousness must be relevant to the subject and must be contrived with dignity and discretion, and that the figures should move 'with a certain beautiful agreement towards the main subject of the action'.

'A history', says Alberti, 'is moving when men express in actions the motions of their minds. For we are so formed by nature as to sympathise with what we see, and we can only perceive the motions of the mind through the motions of the body.' Then follows a passage on expressive gestures which, as we shall see, deeply influenced Leonardo, and Alberti goes on to recommend that the gestures shall be so designed as to lead the eye in all directions—some pointing in, some out, some leaning to one side, some to another, some looking up, some down. The passage is elaborated till once again we are reminded of compositions of a far later date—this time of the frenzied pointing and posturing which the immense prestige of Raphael's later style inflicted on historical painting for three centuries. We must keep our historical perspective and recognize that compared to a row of *trecento* dummies even the grave and deliberate gestures of Masaccio would seem full of animation; and in fact Alberti himself is careful to warn us against over-emphatic movement and a *contraposto* so great as to show the breast and reins at the same time, by which the figure becomes like a fencer or an acrobat, without the dignity proper to painting (127). In the high renaissance conflict between classicism and mannerism we can be sure that Alberti would have been a classicist; but what, we wonder, was he thinking of in 1435, long before the time of Pollajuolo, Botticelli, Filippino, and other early masters of twisted movement?

For, try as we will to illustrate Alberti's *della Pittura* by works of his own time, the images which it conjures up in the mind's eye all come from the painting of the next century. Nor is it a mere accident that when we read his descriptions of subjects and rules of composition we are reminded of the works of Raphael. To begin with there is the remarkable fact that all the subjects he describes are drawn from classical literature. Not once does he mention a Christian theme, although in 1435 scarcely a single picture of a pagan subject had yet been painted; and when, a few years later, illustrations of classical legend began to make their appearance in the circle of Domenico Veneziano they were closer in spirit to the *Histoires de Troye* than to the *Iliad*. In detail, too, there is much in Alberti's treatise which was not realized

until seventy years after it was written—for example, his advice on the nude and on the treatment of drapery. ‘In painting the nude’, he says, ‘begin with the bones, then add the muscles and then cover the figure with flesh in such a way as to leave the position of the muscles visible. It may be objected’, he adds, ‘that a painter should not represent what cannot be seen, but this procedure is analogous to drawing a nude and then covering it with draperies’ (111). This is a description of Florentine academic practice in the sixteenth century. But there were no such nudes in the painting of 1435, when Castagno had not begun his studies of anatomy. The naked figures in Masaccio’s frescoes, although superbly realized, do not show a schematic anatomical approach. As to draperies, he tells us that, in order to counteract their natural tendency to fall in straight lines, they should seem to be blown by the wind, so that on one side the nude body is revealed, while on the other the draperies flutter in the air with a graceful movement (131). Both these details indicate a source of Alberti’s *della Pittura* which we have not yet examined, the remains of antique sculpture.¹

The extent to which antique art was visible in the early renaissance is a subject by itself. Although excavation had hardly begun, we know from descriptions and from one or two contemporary sketch-books that many specimens, including, of course, the triumphal arches and columns, were to be seen in Rome. We know too that Alberti’s friends, the humanists, vied with each other as collectors of antiques. Niccolò Niccoli had a small gallery containing marbles, coins, and a famous engraved chalcedony; and Poggio had an even more important collection, partly discovered in the Campagna, partly bought from Greece, where he employed as agent a Franciscan named Francesco di Pistoja. Ghiberti and Donatello both had famous collections, and Donatello had brooded on classical sculpture until it became a part of his style. But Donatello’s assimilation of antiquity was unique.² In the work of other artists of the *quattrocento*, even in that of Ghiberti, classical forms appear like quotations, rather self-consciously in inverted commas. Take the two examples already given, the anatomical nude and the wind-blown draperies. We

¹ Very few fragments of antique painting had as yet been excavated; cf. Castiglione’s *Cortigiano*, ed. *princeps*, p. 80. The most famous example, the *Nozze Aldobrandini*, was discovered in about 1600.

² Vasari recognizes this when he says in his introduction to the second section of his book that he had almost put Donatello in the third because his works are the equal of good antiques.

feel at once that the graceful Hercules on Ghiberti's door is a show piece, exhibited for the delight of connoisseurs, and the Maenads in fluttering draperies who appear among the placid bourgeoisie of Ghirlandaio have obviously blown in from another world. It took almost a hundred years for the forms of antiquity to be assimilated into the art of the renaissance, but Alberti, in his description of antique subjects, had to undergo no such difficult process of digestion and re-creation. He could reach in a few years a point of view which was only achieved by painters after the all-absorbing genius of Raphael had created a new universal language of classicism. It is fair to Alberti to add that in his own architecture he achieved a mastery of classical form as great as that which he advocates in his writings. So that when, in reading in the *Architettura*¹ his advice on how to adorn a palace with painting, we can think only of Giulio Romano's decorations in the Palazzo del Te, it is not an anachronism but a *vraie vérité* justified by the facts.

In quoting the authority of classical art Alberti is arguing from sculpture to painting. It was a process which did not greatly affect his argument, for, as we have seen, he considered sculptured and painted relief as practically the same art. But there was one element in painting which could not be treated in this way, and that, of course, was colour. In consequence the passages devoted to colour are not dependent on classical authority, or even on the practice of his time, but are the direct result of his own observations. Alberti completely abandons the symbolic and decorative conception of colour which had held good throughout medieval art, and instead treats of colour as identical with the reception of light (141). It is an entirely visual approach which aims above all at truth of tone. The painter must seek for tones with half-shut eyes (155), he must paint within a limited range which allows greater truth. Absolute black and white are inadmissible; even the whitest vestments must not be painted white, for white is all the painter has to render the lustre of a polished sword, and black is all he has to show the ultimate darkness of night (135).² There are those, he says, who use much gold in their compositions, believing that it gives grandeur: *non lo lodo*—I do not praise it. And with perfect logic he points out

¹ *Architettura*, bk. ix, ch. 4.

² All painters know that it is easier to keep tones under control if the general tonality is dark. But Alberti gives another and curiously characteristic reason for his advice: that we naturally prefer what is light and so must be at greater pains to guard against this error.

that even if the objects to be represented are of gold the whole effect must be rendered in paint, for if real gold is used it will reflect the light, and disturb the atmospheric unity of tone. In 1435 there was no painter working who did not make use of gold in his panel pictures, altarpieces, or *cassoni*. Masaccio himself had used a gold background in the Pisa polyptych, and ten or fifteen years later, when gold was no longer fashionable in backgrounds and skies, it was still used for nimbs, dresses, and accoutrements. Alberti's conception of colour as a function of light is first apparent in the backgrounds of Fra Angelico's later works and in Domenico Veneziano's Uffizi altarpiece, which must date from about 1450. One panel from its predella in the Fitzwilliam Museum shows a sunlit wall and garden, which have been rightly recognized as the first passages of *plein air* painting in post-classical art. Domenico's great pupil, Piero della Francesca, in his delicate sense of atmosphere as in much else, was the realization of Alberti's hopes and theories. But even in Piero there is a flat, decorative use of colour and a love of blacks and whites which Alberti's severely naturalistic conception of tone would not allow. And it is clear that his theories were not related to any painting earlier than the seventeenth century, but to his own *miracoli della pittura*, the images projected in his little box.

Once more we are aware of the conflict between a scientific and a stylistic approach, a dilemma which does not seem to have troubled Alberti, but which underlies the whole of the *della Pittura* in the same way that a conflict between his realistic Tuscan business philosophy and the teachings of Plato underlies his moral writings. In the event it was the classicizing and stylistic part of Alberti's writings, and not his scientific naturalism, which was realized in the painting of the next hundred years. No one attempted to follow his advice on tone and colour, but where academic procedure is concerned he anticipated the smallest details. I have already shown how his advice on the nude and drapery and expressive gesture was carried out by Raphael and his pupils. A few other details are worth noting. A student should draw larger than sight size (*quattrocento* drawings are usually slightly smaller) as in that way errors are more easily corrected (153). He must measure the figure by the number of heads it contains, not as hitherto by the feet (113). He must correct his drawings by looking at them in a mirror (135), and parts of the body *quali porgono poco gratia* must be covered with leaves or a wisp of drapery (119).

As so often in studying Alberti our admiration at the extraordinary clarity and authority of a mind which could anticipate and impose itself on subsequent centuries is clouded by the knowledge that many of these doctrines have, by their reason and rigidity, had an unfortunate effect on European art. His advice to draw big, for example, though it has been disregarded by almost all great European draughtsmen, has resulted in thousands of mediocre drawings where an artificial inflation of scale has deprived the artist of the saving grace of sincerity. A similar error of academic teaching is contained in his suggestion that the student should learn the human form like a language, in which the features and members are like letters and syllables (149); a course which led to those dismal collections of 'correct' eyes, ears, and noses which, beginning with the Caracci, were published by academies of design throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But for these misfortunes we must not blame Alberti so much as the impossibility of laying down laws for the conduct of art. Even if the *della Pittura* had not existed, the formulating tendencies of later classicism would have reached similar conclusions.

The *della Pittura* also had a direct influence, although this has not hitherto been connected with the name of Alberti. There is no doubt that it was known to Leonardo da Vinci, who made great use of it in the notes on painting afterwards collected under the title of *Trattato della Pittura*. This fact has usually been denied or evaded by Leonardo scholars, and if similarities were confined to general theories we might agree that both were expressing current Florentine assumptions. There is, for example, nothing conclusive in the fact that both insist on the student being proficient in mathematics, or that both agree that the first aim of painting is relief. 'La prima parte della pittura è che i corpi con quella figurata si dimostrano rilevati.'¹ But when we come to the parts of Leonardo's *Trattato* which deal with composition, expressive gesture, the conduct of draperies, hair, and other questions of picture-making we find not merely similar advice but identical images and, in some cases, identical language. The description of a copious and varied composition, quoted above, with its slightly comical catalogue of staffage and its final commendation of dignity and decorum, is copied almost word for

¹ Cf. *Trattato*, par. 133. I give references to the *Trattato* by paragraphs, so that any edition may be consulted. Where there is a substantial difference between the text of the *Trattato* and Leonardo's original notes, reference will be made to Richter's *Literary Works of Leonardo*, 2nd ed., also by paragraph.

word in the *Trattato*;¹ the passage which follows it on the expression of emotions by means of action is only slightly rearranged and translated into a more modern Italian.

Not to encumber these pages with parallels, let me quote one passage from Alberti which even those who have not made a special study of Leonardo will recognize as peculiarly Leonardesque. 'In the rendering of hair, of branches and leaves and of draperies it delights me to see some movement. Hair should turn upon itself as if to form a knot, should curl up into the air like a flame, or glide like a serpent, flowing this way and that' (129).

All the passages quoted from Leonardo's *Trattato* are to be found in the Ashburnham Codex of 1490, and it is evident that when he was compiling this manuscript, Leonardo had a copy of Alberti's *della Pittura* beside him. As usual his note-book contains a mixture of original observations, ideas derived from other authors, and actual quotations. Take, for example, the notes on drapery in the Ashburnham Codex.² Their point of departure was the passage in the *della Pittura* (131) already referred to; but Leonardo has amplified from his own experience Alberti's terse and categorical statement, so that his notes have an entirely different character. Leonardo was in general far less academically minded than Alberti; he had less admiration for antiquity, and even when quoting from the *della Pittura* he omits the references to classical art. His study of the science of vision is more scientific and more explicit and he carries much farther Alberti's notes on colour and reflected light.³ In every way the *Trattato* is the product of a more observant eye, a richer and more astonishing personality. Yet the debt to Alberti's *della Pittura* is immense, and is particularly apparent in those parts of the *Trattato* which affected seventeenth- and eighteenth-century opinion. When we consider the influence of the *Trattato* on the Caracci, and on Nicholas Poussin, who actually illustrated it with his drawings, we realize that Alberti's short treatise was not only the prophecy but the source of academic theory.

Compared to its influence on subsequent theory, the effect of the *della Pittura* on contemporary practice was small, and cannot be proved by any documentary evidence. But on internal evidence there are very strong grounds for believing that it influenced profoundly two of the leading artists of Alberti's generation, Paolo Uccello and Piero della Francesca. A simple

¹ *Trattato*, pars. 117, 118.

² Quoted in Richter, pars. 390-2.

³ Cf. *della Pittura*, pp. 67, 135; and *Trattato*, pars. 458-79.

way to estimate its effect on Uccello is to compare the two series of frescoes from his hand in the cloisters of Santa Maria Novella. The first, representing the Creation and Fall of Man, must date from soon after 1430; the second, representing the Deluge and the Drunkenness of Noah, was painted between 1444 and 1446.¹ Although the Creation and Fall were executed some years after the work of Masaccio and Masolino in the Brancacci chapel they show no consciousness of the new humanist style. Uccello reveals himself as a follower of the Gothic tradition both by the rhythm of his draperies and by the tapestry of flowers and leaves in which the action is set. There is no attempt to achieve depth by scientific or any other means. In the later scenes the contrast is complete. The Deluge has always been recognized as the most naïvely doctrinaire of all attempts to apply the science of perspective to art. The composition of the two arks is almost like a diagrammatic illustration to Alberti's first book; but even more Albertian is the fact that Uccello has tried to unite this scientific approach with copiousness, variety, and drama. Here is the bewildering accumulation of persons and animals, which I compared above to Bassano (117), here is the range of emotion expressed through gesture (121). And two details are worth noting. The composition which Alberti praises as fulfilling his ideals is that of Giotto's 'Navicella', and he describes it in terms (123) which may have induced Uccello to try his hand at a still more dramatic effect of shipwreck. Secondly there is the curious fact that Alberti in the passage on wind-blown draperies already quoted advises the painter to include the face of a wind-god blowing in order that the source of the wind may be established (131). It was bad advice for a naturalistic painter, and as far as I know was not followed till the period of classicism. But Uccello, the least classical of painters, has included a wind-god, most inappropriately, in the background of his Deluge. I need not emphasize the Albertian elements in the scene of Noah's Drunkenness, the foreshortening, *contraposto*, and animated gestures; these are the qualities which were admired by Vasari and other critics of the high renaissance. But they are not the qualities for which we admire Uccello, and in fact they are not of his essence. As Alberti's influence recedes, his natural love of pattern reasserts itself, perspective becomes no more than an adjunct to decoration,

¹ A generation of critics which was unable to reconcile Uccello's Gothic style with their preconceived notion of his character as an artist doubted that the earlier frescoes were from his hand, in spite of the documentary evidence which supported them.

and a world of legend and heraldry takes the place of what used to be called scientific naturalism. The last Uccellos, like the 'Hunt in a Wood' at Oxford, are almost as Gothic as the first. Critics who have been puzzled by this unevolutionary sequence have not thought of the *della Pittura*; but without the influence of theories such as it contains Uccello's development is incomprehensible; and in view of Alberti's position in Florence the chances that Uccello read his book and knew him personally are extremely high.

With Alberti's influence on Piero della Francesca we are, fortunately, out of the realm of probabilities, for the two collaborated in the Tempio Malatestiana in 1450, when Piero painted his fresco of Sigismondo Malatesta with an architectural surround designed by Alberti. Thenceforward all Piero's architectural backgrounds show Alberti's influence and are, I believe, most valuable evidence of his unfulfilled ideals and projects.¹ We may imagine too that Piero's paintings must have been for Alberti a source of great consolation in later life. For by 1460 the achievement of Florentine art which he so greatly admired in 1435 had been superseded by another fashion. Lightness, grace, and decorative fancy had replaced the *pietas*, *gravitas*, and *humanitas* of Masaccio and Donatello. In these years the only painter who maintained the majestic tempo and the mathematical harmonies of the older generation, the true heir of the first Florentine renaissance, was Piero della Francesca; and it is no accident that, in spite of his great authority, he was never once employed in Florence. In between the first and second heroic periods of Florentine art comes that enchanting episode in the history of the spirit, that unique blending of medieval and classical grace, of which Botticelli was the typical painter, Desiderio the sculptor, Politian the poet, and Pico della Mirandola the philosopher. In this new world of flowers, fantasy, and elaboration Alberti must have come to appear a somewhat archaic figure, admirable and respected by the patron of the new movement, Lorenzo de' Medici himself, but remote from fashionable enthusiasms. True, his love of Plato led him to attend the lectures of Marsilio Ficino, but to his practical mind the self-delighting subtleties of Neoplatonism must have been quite incomprehensible; and in the last, and best, of his moral writings, the *de Iciarchia*, written in about 1470, there is no sign of Neoplatonic influence.

¹ The subject of Alberti's influence on Piero della Francesca, too large for proper treatment here, will be discussed at length in my article in the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. viii, 1945.

In later life Alberti was seldom in Florence. The scene of the *de Iciarchia* is laid there, and Alberti never ceased to consider himself a Florentine; but in that dialogue he says of his city, 'son ci come forestiere; raro ci venni e poco ci dimorai'.¹ His time was spent in Ferrara, in Mantua, and above all in Rome. He was not, of course, forgotten in mid-fifteenth-century Florence, where his great buildings, the façade of Santa Maria Novella, the Rucellai Palace, and the choir of the Annunziata, were in process of construction between 1450 and 1475; and where his book on architecture was printed in 1485, thirteen years after his death, with a dedication to Lorenzo de' Medici. But his treatise on painting could hardly have influenced artists during this period until reinterpreted by the true creator of the high renaissance style, Leonardo da Vinci. When it was printed in the 1540s² it was read by such theorists as Paolo Pini³ and Michelangelo Biondo;⁴ but by that time its doctrines, once so revolutionary, had become commonplace. And commonplaces they remained for over four hundred years; commonplaces as flat, as true, as dull, and as durable as the Ethics of Aristotle.

¹ *Op. Volg.* iii, p. 34.

² There is a Basle edition of 1540; a Venetian edition of 1547.

³ Paolo Pini, *Dialogo della Pittura*, Venice, 1548.

⁴ Michelangelo Biondo, *Della Nobilissima Pittura*, Venice, 1549.



1. Leon Battista Alberti. Self-portrait. Bronze plaque formerly in the Dreyfus Collection



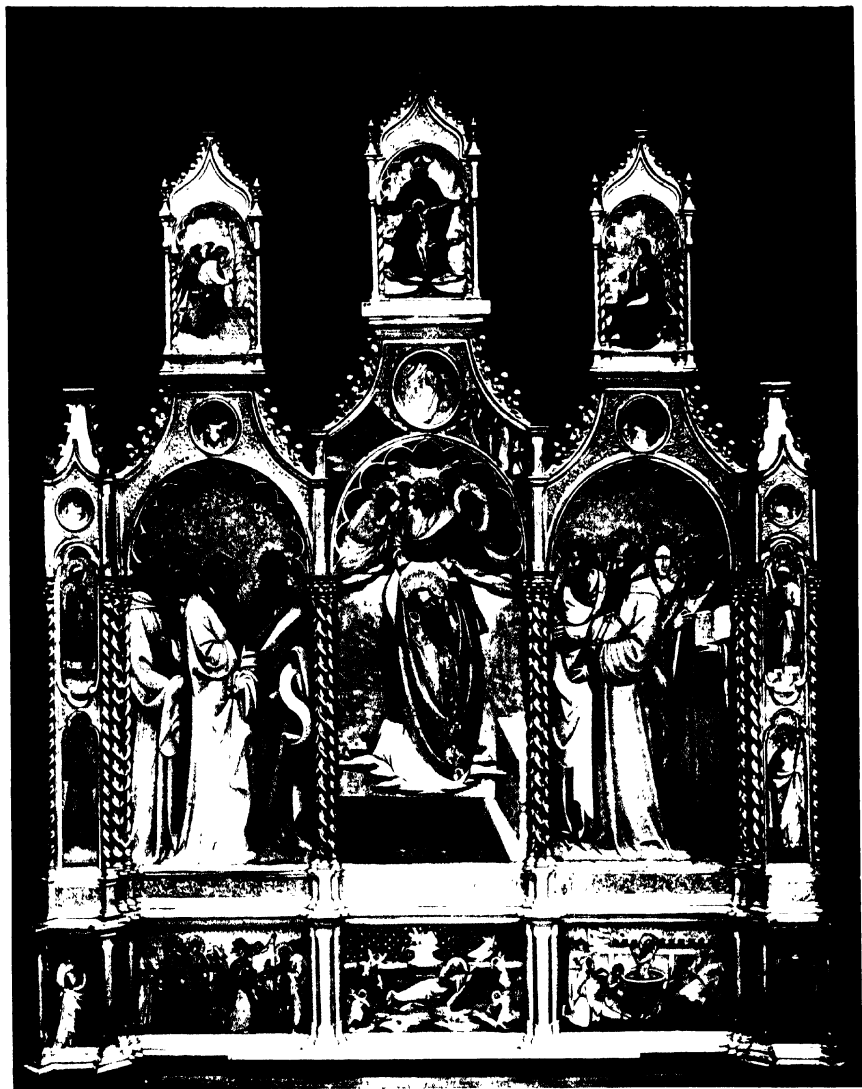
2. Donatello. Feast of Herod. Bronze relief on font in Baptistery, Siena, 1425-8



3. Ghiberti. Jacob and Esau. Bronze relief from third door of Baptistery, Florence, *c.* 1430



4. Masaccio. *The Tribute Money*. Carmine, Florence, 1427



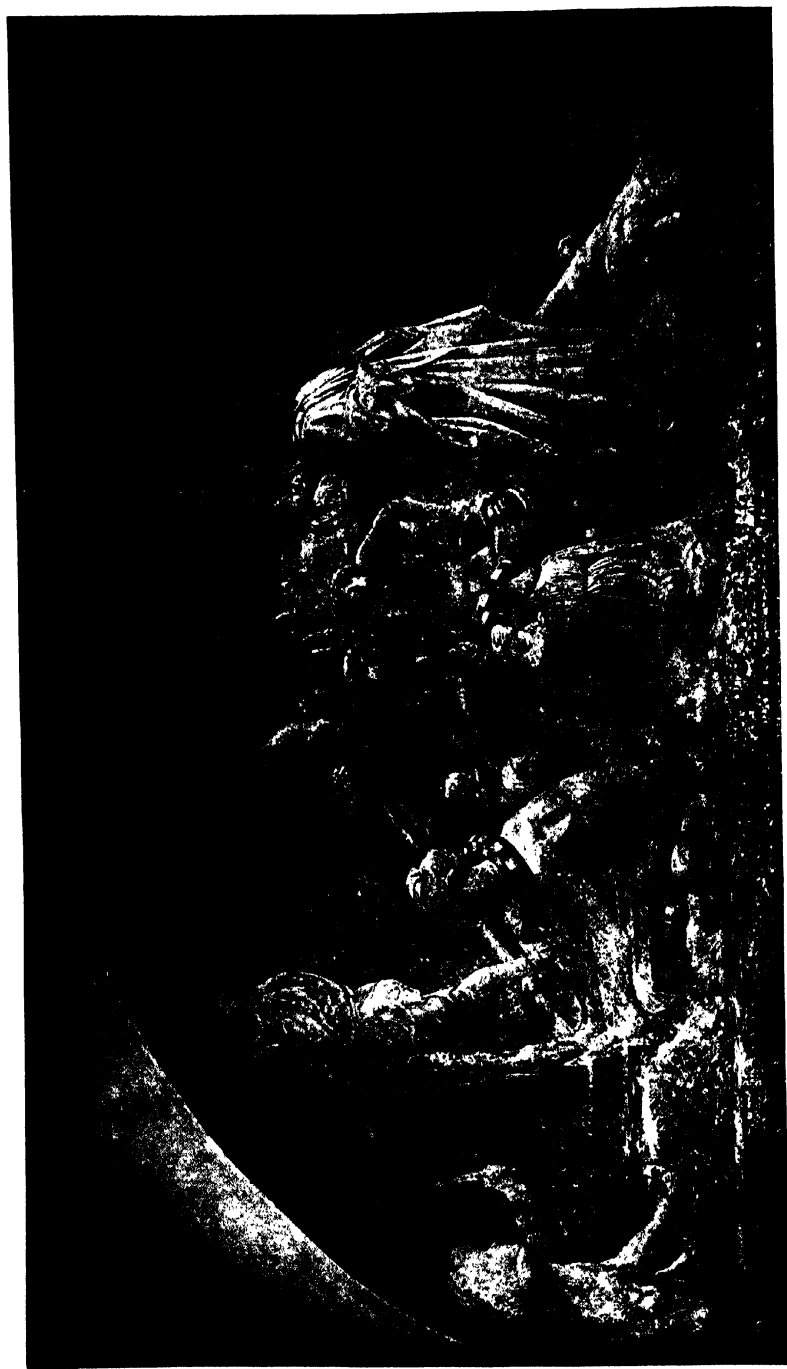
5. Giovanni dal Ponte. An altarpiece in the National Gallery, painted about 1435



6. Masaccio. St. Peter distributing Alms (detail). Carmine, Florence, 1427



7. Luca della Robbia. Cantoria of Duomo (detail), Florence, 1431



8. Uccello. The Deluge. Cloister, Santa Maria Novella, Florence, after 1440

SIR ISRAEL GOLLANCZ MEMORIAL LECTURE
THE PARDON OF PIERS PLOWMAN

Read 28 February 1945

I

IT may seem simple to ask again what the visions of *Piers Plowman* are about, yet it is a question that has been a little over-borne by its younger sister 'who wrote them?' By putting the elder question twice, first to the A Text and then to the B, the natural assumption that they are both about the same thing begins to dwindle and vanishes as our reading proceeds; for not only does it become gradually clear that the main theme of the B Text is very different from that of the A, but, which is more important, one perceives that the two poems belong to separate species of poetry, to different orders of the imagination (in consequence of their different themes), and therefore call for different kinds of response from their readers, as they called for different kinds of treatment by their poet.

These differences in purpose and quality are the subject of this paper and I shall try to show the nature of the transformation of A into B, and how it was dictated in the poet's mind by a long musing over that enigmatic but crucial Pardon granted to Piers in the eighth Passus of the A Text, the Pardon that is Pier's reward for setting the world to work. The meditation of the intervening years led the revising poet towards another and more mystical world, so that his poem, touched by some metaphysical philosopher's stone, found itself wholly transmuted, 'as it is wont to chance that a man goeth in search of silver and beyond his purpose findeth gold'.¹

This paper is not offered as a contribution to the long-drawn controversy over the authorship of *Piers Plowman*. It is offered as an investigation of poetry. The metamorphosis from A to B is striking, beautiful, and unique and will here be studied for its own sake. It may be that some readers, interested in controversy, will find or draw an argument for one theory or the other from this investigation, but no such corollary is intended here. It is, however, my opinion that the present state of this battle authorizes me still to believe that both texts were written

¹ Dante, *Convivio*, Second Treatise, ch. xiii, tr. P. H. Wicksteed.

by the same man, William Langland, and I shall use his name freely throughout on this assumption; this will not invalidate the inquiry into the nature of these poems as poetry, and those who adhere to the theory of multiple authorship can mentally substitute A 1, A 2, Johan But, B 1, B 2, and C for the name Langland whenever they wish to do so, without losing anything of the argument.

I was led to think about these poems in the way proposed by a passage in the preface to Sir Israel Gollancz's edition of *Wynnere and Wastoure* and I cannot do better than begin by quoting it, for it is not only a true critical starting-point for my subject, but also a fair foundation for a paper given, as this is, in honour and memory of his scholarship.

When *Wynnere and Wastoure* was a new poem, it seems to have stirred the heart of a young Western man, and perhaps to have kindled in him the latent fire of a prophet-poet, destined to deliver a weightier message to his fellow-countrymen. Ten years later than *Wynnere and Wastoure* the first version of *The Vision of Piers Plowman* set before all classes of the realm the evil conditions of the time, pointed to the corruptions in Church and State, and denounced even greater evils than those dealt with dramatically and dispassionately by our poet. The old man of *Wynnere and Wastoure* inspired Langland, the prophet-poet of England.¹

'Wynnere and Wastoure' and the A Text of 'Piers Plowman'

No reader of *Wynnere and Wastoure* and of the A Text of *Piers Plowman* can fail to be struck by their general resemblances to each other, and any who follows Gollancz's suggestion far enough to make a close comparison will be led to support his view that these resemblances are too many and too exact to be attributable to an ambient literary tradition that the poets happened to share. Langland must have known the old man's poem itself; in his early twenties it must somehow have fallen upon his ears, or even into his hands, as the poem travelled those hilly Western regions, that were the last home of our more ancient style of poetry; in that style it set him dreaming. A great tradition is common property and there was no theft in his appropriation of images and phrases from the older poem; the summery brilliance of the sun, the drowsy gaze of a man lying beside a stream on a May morning among the Malvern Hills, lay to his hand:

Als I went in the weste, wandrynge myn one,
Bi a bonke of a bourne, bryghte was the sone,

¹ *Winner and Waster*, ed. Sir I. Gollancz, Oxford, 1931.

Vndir a worthiliche wodde, by a wale medewe;
 Fele floures gan folde ther my fote steppede. . . .
 Bot as I laye at the laste, than lowked myn eghne,
 And I was swythe in a sweuen sweped be-lyue.
 Me thoghte I was in the werlde, I ne wiste in what ende,
 One a loueliche lande that was ylike grene,
 That laye loken by a lawe the lengthe of a myle. . . .¹

Or again there was another flavour to be borrowed, a foretaste of Glutton in the Ale-house:

And thou wolle to the tauerne, by-fore the toune-hede,
 Iche beryne redy withe a bolle to blerren thyn eghne,
 Hete the whatte thou haue schalte, and whatt thyn hert lykes,
 Wyfe, wedowe, or wenche, that wonnes ther aboute.
 Then es there bott 'fille in' & 'fecche forthe', Florence to schewe,
 'Wee-hee', and 'worthe vp', wordes ynewe.²

Fainter and more fragmentary are other phrases, parts perhaps of a common idiom rather than a personal influence; *hope I no other; witt and wylle; while my life dures; wiete wittirly*, and so forth. Here and there opinions chime together, as in their contempt for japers and janglers. In the description of gorgeous apparel they have a similar technique, though the earlier poet has the advantage in opulence over Langland, as his opportunities are more heraldic. In their use of the alliterative cadence it would be a fine critical ear that could draw with certainty a distinction between them; each fashions his narrative allegory in what seems, at first sight, a similar manner, namely by advancing

¹ *Wynnere and Wastoure*, Fitt I, 32-5, 45-9.

As I went in the west, wand'ring alone,
 Along the bank of a brook,—bright was the sun,—
 'Neath a wondrous wood, by a winsome mead;
 Many flowers enfolded where my foot stepped. . . .
 But at last, as I lay, lock'd were mine eyes;
 And swiftly in a dream swept was I thence.
 Methought I was in the world, wist I not where,
 On a lovely lawn, all alike green,
 Immurèd with mountains a mile round about.

² *Ibid.*, Fitt II, 277-82.

But thou betakest thee to the tavern before the town-head,
 Each one ready with a bowl to blear both thine eyes,
 To proffer what thou shalt have, and what thy heart pleases,
 Wife, widow, or wench, that is wont there to dwell.
 Then is it but 'Fill in!' and 'Fetch forth!' and Florrie appears;
 'We-he!' and 'whoa-up!', words that suffice.

(Tr. Gollancz.)

two meanings to be apprehended simultaneously (the literal and the transferred), of which the first is to be accepted as a fantasy and the second as the actual state of affairs in contemporary England; their world is this world and their time the present. A chief theme, common to both (indeed the only theme of *Wynnere and Wastoure*), is the proper use of wealth, argued in the manner of a poetical debate (also a part of long tradition), accented with invective and satire. The A Text of *Piers Plowman* ends with a longish moral *significacio*, and such an ending Gollancz believes also to have concluded *Wynnere and Wastoure*, more briefly, however.

Probably very little of the poem is lost. The dreamer no doubt was roused from his vision by the sound of trumpets, and found himself resting by the bank of the burn, the tale ending with some pious reflection, by way of conclusion.¹

These are indeed great resemblances; what are the differences? There is a formal difference and a difference in the degree of genius shown. With regard to the formal difference, the A Text outsoars *Wynnere and Wastoure* by the addition of a further level of meaning of which every reader must become presently aware: it adds a continuous moral counterpoint to the other two levels already mentioned, the literal and the transferred. This is not simply to be explained as a chance difference in visionary power between the two authors; it is a technical difference in poetical construction, a difference in allegorical convention. The two-meaning poem that varies from an Aesopian type, such as the political fable of the Lion, the Wolf, the Fox, and the Ass,² to the more visionary kind of State-allegory—

Sum tyme an Englisch Schip we had
 Nobel hit was and heigh of tour;
 Thorw al cristendam hit was drad,
 And stif wolde stande In vch a stour³ &c.,

was a well-known form of thought and presentation that worked its way to immortality in such poems as Chaucer's *Parliament of Fowls* and Dunbar's *The Thrissil and the Rois*. *Wynnere and Wastoure* is of this kind but lacks their competence and beauty. Two meanings are all it has. But there existed a

¹ *Wynnere and Wastoure*, Preface.

² *The Political Songs of England*, ed. Thomas Wright, Camden Society, 1839, p. 195, 'A Song of the Times.'

³ *The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, Part II, E.E.T.S., 1901, p. 715, No. 19, 'Seldom seen is soon forgot.'

richer kind of allegory, much used in preaching and biblical exegesis, by which a moral is continuously implied and drawn from the story; in Langland, indeed, it is for ever bursting forth, as when Lady Meed promises a Church window in which her name is to be engraved in return for absolution from a Friar, and the indignant author intrudes upon the incident with:

But god to all good folk . . . such graving defendeth
And saith, *Nesciat sinistra quid faciat dextera*.¹

(A. III, 54-5.)

There may, as Gollancz suggests, have been 'some pious reflection' at the end of *Wynnere and Wastoure*, but it is not a poem morally imbued all through. Thus, although it was a source and in some senses a model for the A Text of *Piers Plowman*, it was not so in this, the moral sense. Langland's poem seems to add to it this richer kind of allegorical interpretation which is the basis of a poem like *Cleanness* or *Patience*; but these in turn differ from *Piers Plowman* and *Wynnere and Wastoure* in that they lack the topical English content and are no more than ethical retellings of the stories of the Deluge, Sodom, Jonah, and so forth.

From this point of view, then, the A Text of *Piers Plowman* seems to be a poem *sui generis*; we may find a sort of analogue in the *Roman de la Rose*; the literal story of the garden lover has the transferred meaning that applies itself to the experiences of actual love-affairs, it tells their characteristic story, so to speak; but it is also packed with moral advice springing from a whole system of erotics, the morality of Cupid; and in these three senses we are expected to understand the fantasy. But the secondary meaning is typical rather than topical, and the morality a super-sensuous aristocratical paganism (with borrowings from Christianity) but neither fully Christian nor wholly serious. It is a play-time poem. I do not suppose Langland ever heard of it.²

Apart from the greater merit of his poem in its formal construction in three voices, the degree of Langland's personal genius was incomparably greater than that shown by the poet of *Wynnere and Wastoure*, though the latter shows himself a

¹ Quotations from *Piers Plowman* have, for convenience, been modernized throughout, except where the established text of Skeat is necessary to the argument.

² For an interesting contrary opinion, which nevertheless leaves me unconvinced, see Dorothy Owen, *Piers Plowman, a Comparison with Some Earlier and Contemporary French Allegories*, 1912.

glittering performer in the coining of alliterative phrase; Langland's superiority is, however, always to be seen in his grasp of affairs, even on the most secular level. The other poet has nothing real to tell us about wealth and its uses. Winner abuses Waster for idleness, roistering, and improvidence; Waster retorts that extravagance keeps money in circulation, that thrift is a kill-joy; better than hoarding is to give to the poor.

Let be thy cramynge of thi kystes, for Cristis lufe of heuen!
Late the peple and the pore hafe parte of thi siluere;¹

The disputants seem perfectly satisfied that the whole problem of wealth turns on the question of spending or saving it, and Waster's interest in the poor is momentary, a debating-point. In Langland the problem is more deeply seen in the antitheses of wealth and want, means and ends. Nothing is concluded in the argument of the older poem, though the debate is wound up by the King with summary but frivolous advice. Winner is to go to the Pope of Rome where he is best liked until such time as the King shall send for him to finance a war with France, when he may expect promotion. Waster is to go to Cheapside and keep a tavern the better to swindle rich travellers; all very trivial advice compared to Langland's, hardly to be taken as serious; the 'old man' writes as a comedian, a flyter, but Langland as a man with a message.

In contrast to the colourful incoherence of *Wynnere and Wastoure*, the A Text is a masterpiece of intellectual organization. When those vivid things in Langland that give him rank as an artist with Pieter Brueghel the Elder have been listed, such as are rough laughter, a gift in proverbs, peasant sympathy, Christian faith, irony, skill in visualizing (crowds especially and tumultuous landscapes), a rich colour-sense, a deep pity, and so forth—it still remains to praise his best power (and Brueghel had it too), namely a strong architectural instinct for planning and carrying out a great composition, a design enormous in itself and wild with detail. It is not he who loses himself in a tangle of digressions, or if he does it is seldom; the unaccustomed modern reader, missing some association of idea, may cry out that he is lost, that the poet has no control; but however many and however long his digressions, he seems like a man giving

¹ *Winner and Waster*, Fitt II, 255-6:

Let be the cramming of thy coffers, for Christ's love of Heaven!
Let the people and the poor have part in thy silver;

(Tr. Gollancz.)

himself more room, rather than like one who has lost his way. There are, however, some exceptions to this impression in both texts, which will be touched upon later.

The A Text is the anatomy of England; he has a surgeon's eye and his scalpel is Christianity. He carves his subject cleanly, with an unfaltering poetical authority and an instinct for the essential shape of things. Never was a professed dreamer more practical; shrewdness and charity of heart, good sense and good theology and an extraordinary gift for parable organize the wide survey of his country, and raise his poem above the level of an elaborate political squib like *Wynnere and Wastoure*; there the design is trivial and less well carried out, presenting a battle of words, rather than an argument brought to a victorious end by thought and sympathy.

II

The Structure of the A Text

Langland's narrative has a strategy; it is presented not in disorderly 'Fitts', but by Passus, each a real step that carries the reader logically onwards to the next. The main problems he propounds are four, each with its subdivisions. They are the purpose of wealth, the abuses of government, the sins of society, and the fear of famine; the narrative leads logically through these themes to that Pardon which, it is here contended, was the root-cause of the rewriting of the poem. It moves in a single onrush or trajectory, the changes of scenes within it notwithstanding. Although this part of the poem is familiar to many readers, a brief analysis may have place to show the essential shapes within it, and how they are organized into the allegory.

(i) *The purpose of wealth.* (A. Prologue and Passus I)

The whole world of English life is gathered into a field which almost all are using as a Tom Tiddler's Ground with varying degrees of honesty and success. The main body is of beggars, business-men, several sorts of ecclesiastical swindler, lawyers, trades-people, barons, and bondmen; their whole activity is the amassing of wealth. Noble exceptions are a poor plowman or two and a few hermits who live 'for loue of vr lord'. On either side of the field are set the Tower of Truth and the Deep Dale, to one or other of which all must eventually come; but the folk he pictures in the field seem unaware of them just as Bunyan's

man with the muck-rake is unable to look any way but downwards.

When the question 'What is the purpose of wealth?' is set in this context of Heaven and Hell, it leads beyond itself to further questions which only the Church can answer and it is logical that she, clothed in awe and beauty, should be the first visitant and instructress of the questioning Dreamer. Her replies go to the roots of human need and purpose. God has given man five senses *to worship Him with*.¹ As He has given these senses, so He has given their simple worldly satisfactions, namely food, drink, and clothing; these may be worked for, they are the constituents of wealth; but this kind of wealth is a means and not an end.

All is not good to the ghost . . . that the body liketh.

(A. I, 34.)

The just debts of the body, like Caesar's penny, may be paid, but the soul has an over-riding debt to God; real wealth is wealth of the spirit.

When all treasure is tried . . . truth is the best;

I do it on *Deus Caritas* . . . to deem the sooth.

(A. I, 83.)

That God is love and truth our treasure is too difficult a saying for the Dreamer, so he asks another question, Pilate's question, about truth and how it can be known.

'Yet have I no kind knowing',² quoth I . . . 'thou must teach me better, By what craft in my corpse . . . it commenceth and where.'

(A. I, 127.)

To which the Church answers roundly that truth and love are known by simple intuition, by a natural recognition in the human heart.

'Thou dotest, daft,' quoth she . . . 'dull are thy wits

It is a kind knowing . . . that kenneth thee in heart

For to love thy lord . . . liefer than thyself;

No deadly sin to do . . . die though thou shouldest.

This, I trow, be truth.'

(A. I, 129.)

An answer that Blake would have understood. Thus ends the catechism of the first Passus which has dealt with the general ends of life and how we know them. Now, by a verbal ingenuity in which he is seldom deficient, the poet turns to his next

¹ A. I, 16.

² 'Yet I have no natural knowledge.'

problem, and the narrative steps forward into another field of inquiry (still, however, related to the abuses of wealth), namely the corruptions of government as seen in Lady Meed and Wrong.

(ii) *The abuses of government.* (A Text. Passus II, III, IV)

These brilliant Passus are so well known as to need little analysis. With a rollicking irony the poet indicts English officialdom of simony and bribery from bishops and civil lawyers down to Randolph the Reve of Rutland; all are guests at the wicked wedding of Lady Meed and False, an alliance of reward and dishonesty egged on by flattery and guile. Her wedding-present, by a fine stroke of allegorical vision, is a charter, establishing the bridal couple as lords of the seven deadly sins. Langland reserves comment on their effect upon society at large for a later Passus. Meanwhile he has to speak of graft and outrage. The former has a Passus to itself, pictured in the trial of Lady Meed before the King; first she is taken to Westminster, where she makes easy friends with judges, lordings, and friars and gets herself shriven at the cost of putting up a Church window. Brought before the King she is charged by Conscience with the perversion of justice and the corruption of religion and we see a picture of England given over to the fraudulent official, the rascal Summoner, the simoniac parson, the gaoler and the hangman, and every other functionary that money can buy.

The solution propounded for this state of affairs is that Meed should marry Conscience, and Conscience is to bring Reason to his aid; but while the debate is still in progress, a new character appears; it is Peace with her complaint against Wrong, that is, against a particular form of outrage or aristocratic oppression exercised through 'Purveyors', who made arrangements for the commissariat of feudal retinues in their periodical cross-country journeys from one estate to another; they are accused of billeting themselves without mercy or honesty on innocent and helpless villages, raping the women, robbing the stable and the fowl-yard, breaking into barns and commandeering wheat. Goneril utters a like complaint against the hundred knights of Lear. The petition of Peace was no dream of Langland's, nor even a piece of conventional invective (as the charges of corruption, for their generality, might be considered); it was a matter of recent history and the rolls of Parliament for 1362 bear the poet out, at least in respect of non-payment for exactions.¹

¹ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. ii, p. 267, items 10-17. Attempts to curb the abuse of Purveyance go back to *Magna Carta* at least; see McKechnie, *Magna*

Langland's King listens to Peace with a just attention and Reason prompts his judgement and verdict.

'By him that stretched on the Rood' . . . quoth Reason to the King
 'But I rule thus thy realm, . . . rend out my ribs!'
 'I assent,' quoth the King . . . 'by St. Mary, my lady. . . .'
 . . . 'I am ready,' quoth Reason . . . 'To rest with thee ever;
 So that Conscience be our counsellor . . . Keep I no better.'
 'I grant gladly' quoth the King . . . 'God forbid he fail
 And as long as I live . . . live we together.'

(A. IV, 148.)

As always with Langland the answer to a practical problem is a practising change of heart.

(iii) *The sins of society.* (A Passus V)

Langland now takes us back to have a look at Lady Meed's wedding present. The scene is once again the field of folk, where Conscience with a cross preaches to the throng; Repentance runs to rehearse his theme and William the poet weeps water at his eyes. The deadly sins make their confession; the link between them and Lady Meed is not restated but implied; such linkages are common in this poet; for instance the last words in the sermon of Conscience are,

Seek Saint Truth . . . for he may save you all,

a penance manifestly linked to the advice previously given by Holy Church, as the writer expects you to understand. We shall see many examples of this, for all his poetry is shot through with such foretastes and echoes which are there for the reader to discern as he may; they resemble the tentative statement of a theme by one group of instruments in an orchestra, taken up and developed later in the symphony by another. This is, however, not a perfect analogy, for the musical composer effects it by a conscious technique of musical artifice, by utter skill; there is no reason for thinking that these echoes and foretastes in Langland are placed where they are to suit an exact theory of composition; but it is an element so frequent in his writing as to call for notice; to explain it one is driven to say 'that is how his

Carta, p. 386. Item 10 of the *Rotuli Parliamentorum* for 1362 contains the petition 'q le heignous noun de Purveioir soit change & nome Achatour'. The petition of Peace against Wrong seems to be a reminiscence of these transactions in Parliament, and may be held to support the traditional dating of the A Text to shortly after 1362.

mind worked'; it is as though, on the way to one idea, he would pause or even turn aside a little to see how he could use another, recognize it as a true part of his thought, and pass on with an intention to revisit it when the right moment came. There is something whole and strong in his thought; he does not waste any part of it, for every part of it was also a part of him and of what he believed, and therefore in some way connected with every other of his thoughts, consistent with them. At moments it may seem that 'his speech was like a tangled chain; nothing impaired, but all disordered'; if we remember that he was playing with a plait of three threads it may sometimes help us to see that the disorder is often less his than ours. Allegorical thinking needs practice.

The confession of the deadly sins which occupies the bulk of this Passus needs little analysis for the present purpose of showing the architecture of the poem; it must be understood that these seven Hogarthian phantoms that make confession are intended as the transgressions of the field full of folk embodied or taken as it were in bulk, and divided into the normal medieval categories of self-examination. Thus the seven sins are not new characters in the poem, they are the sins of the crowd he had pictured in the Prologue, and have been with them all the time (thanks to Lady Meed). They make their crude and blundering acts of contrition as best they may, each a little masterpiece of presentation and a source-book for the social historian; to Langland, however, what mattered was that the hearts of his sinful folk were changed, for a moment at least; they must press on to their penance.

A thousand of men then . thronged together
 Weeping and wailing . for their wicked deeds
 Crying upward to Christ . and to his clean mother
 To have grace to seek saint truth . God lend they so might!
(A. V, 260.)

(iv) *The fear of famine.* (A. Passus VI, VII)

The next Passus at last introduces the hero of the poem, the man whose name is given to these visions taken as a whole, Piers Plowman. Langland has kept him back until now for a clear reason. Of the problems he has so far raised, only the Church could satisfy the first, only Conscience and Reason the second, and only Repentance the third. But his fourth question was a question in economics, which meant, for Langland, in things agrarian; so he chose a simple christian plowman to

solve it; the same perhaps of whom there is a 'foretaste' in the opening lines of the poem:

Some put them to the plough . . . and played full seldom
In harrowing and in sowing . . . swonken full hard.

Now, in Passus VI, he is at last ready to develop this touch, and the almost forgotten plowman, the strength of Langland's economy, steps forward into the poem to take control. Silent hitherto and unperceived, he knows what the farmers of Devonshire call 'the Three Ups of Life', when to stand up, when to speak up, and when to shut up. He also knows St. Truth and works for him.

I have been his fellow . . . these fifteen winters;
Both sowed his seed . . . and seen to his beasts,
And eke kept his corn . . . carried it to house,
Dyking and delving . . . I do what he bade me,
There is no labourer in this land . . . that he loveth more,
For though I say it myself . . . I serve him for pay.
He is the most punctual paymaster . . . that poor men have.

(A. VI, 33-41.)

For Piers and his Master, Truth and Love are practical things, concerned with digging and delving and garnering corn, but there are also moral guides to practise that he knows by heart, namely the two Great Commandments and the laws of Moses; to him who works by them Piers promises:

Then shalt thou come to a court . . . clear as the sun,
The moat is of mercy . . . The Manor all about,
And all the walls are of wit . . . to hold will there out;
The battlements are of Christendom . . . to save the human race,
Buttressed with the Belief . . . where through we may be saved.
The Tower there Truth is in . . . is set above the sun,
He may do with the day-star . . . what dearly pleases him;
Death dare not do . . . thing that he defendeth.

(A. VI, 75-84.)

But the crabbed pilgrim's progress to the Tower of Truth described by Piers is not suited to all tastes:

'By Christ', quoth a Cut-purse . . . 'I have no kin there!'

(A. VI, 118.)

and others more reasonably say:

'This were a wicked way . . . but whoso had a guide.'

(A. VII, 1.)

So Piers promises to lead them, but first they must help to

plough his half-acre; this is of course another symbol for the working world. In the early sixties of the fourteenth century there had been a new outbreak of plague, killing men rather than women and thus aggravating a shortage of labour already acute; corn was fetching famine-prices.¹ Langland's solution was that all must work, each in his degree, to avert starvation. It is in exact pursuance of what Holy Church had told the Dreamer in Passus I. Work is honesty and that is practical Truth. Harvest will bring food for all and that is practical Love.

There is no reason to suppose that Piers stands here (in the A Text) for anything more than an ideal type of English country christian whose work pleases God and succours man. He is a character in the sense that Wynnere is a character, but incomparably better drawn; like the heroes of Shakespeare, Piers is himself a natural poet to judge by his imagery, but that is accidental in his nature; the essentials are that he is a farmer and a christian. He knows how to handle men and get his field ploughed; he has a wife and children; he is a good son of the Church.

Work will avert famine, but what of those who cannot or will not work? Shortage of labour does not solve all the problems of unemployment; there are always the cripples and the wasters. They have their say; the former

... complained them to Piers . . . with such piteous words
 'We have no limbs to labour with . . . we thank our lord for it.
 But we pray for you, Piers . . . and for our plough too
 That God for his grace . . . our grain multiply
 And yield you a return . . . for the alms you give us here!' (A. VII, 116-20.)

The latter, more brazenly,

'I was not wont to work', quoth a Waster . . . 'Yet will I not begin!' (A. VII, 153.)

Piers has an answer for both. The blind or broken-shanked or bed-ridden,

They shall have as good as I . . . So me God help.
 (A. VII, 132.)

¹ Hoc etiam anno (1361) fuit grandis pestilentia, quae viros potius consumpsit quam foeminas. . . . Hoc anno (1364) fuit tanta frumenti caristia, ut venderetur summa frumenti quindecim solidis. (Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, vol. i, Rolls Series.)

but for the wasters his first impulse is to hand them over to hunger.

Hunger in haste . . . hent Waster by the maw
And wrung him so by the womb . . . that both his eyes watered.
(A. VII, 161.)

This is a kind of solution to the problem, but not a christian kind and Piers repents it:

. . . 'They be my blood-brethren . . . for God bought us all,
Truth taught me once . . . to love them each one,
And help them in all things . . . according to their need.'
(A. VII, 196.)

And so a better solution is propounded; for the love of God even wasters are to be supported; if not with plenty, at least with a dole sufficient for life:

Bold bidders and beggars . . . that may swink for their meat,
With hound's bread and horse bread . . . hold up their hearts
. . . And if the boys grumble . . . bid them go swink,
And they shall sup the sweeter . . . when they have it deserved.
(A. VII, 202-6.)

With these solutions and with this seventh Passus ends Langland's survey or vision of his England in triple allegory; he had mapped her evils and shown their remedy in true life; it would be hard to imagine a more clear-sighted survey in so short a space, in language better suited, or in imagery more memorable. The masterly grasp of essentials and the clarity of their poetical organization, together with the moral voice that speaks through it, are what distinguish it from *Wynnerne and Wastoure*, which for all its slightness and superficiality resembles it in this fundamental respect that it is a topical narrative allegory about fourteenth-century England, sauced with satire, in the popular style.

The Pardon. (A. Passus VIII)

We are now led to the crucial Passus of the Pardon sent to Piers. It is represented in the poem as a puzzle as well to him as to the Dreamer. It has been a puzzle to all his commentators and, I suppose, a surprise, at the least, to every reader. I do not think it can be fully understood except in the light shed upon it by the B Text, and for this I offer the good reason that it was the Pardon and his ponderings upon it that in the end forced the revising poet to recast the whole work, not merely by augmenta-

tion and the rewriting of individual lines, but by adding a mode of meaning that was to transmute it into a new species of poetry, the greatest imaginable to a medieval mind, of which Holy Scripture itself was the exemplar.

All our understanding, then, depends upon a study of this Pardon and how the reader is to take it. Unfortunately there are variant readings in the manuscripts of the very lines upon which the weight of interpretation must fall, and therefore the larger architectural survey of the poem which is attempted in this paper must here give way for a moment to a closer scrutiny.

The new critical edition, eagerly awaited, of the A Text, upon which the late Professor Chambers and Professor Grattan were so long at work, has not yet appeared and the present conjectures must therefore of necessity be based on the information given in Skeat's edition, which may be deemed standard until the new one is available.

By any text, the gist of the eighth Passus is as follows: Truth hears tell of the work done by Piers and his fellow helpers from the Field of Folk, and as a reward a Pardon is granted to him and to them and to their heirs for ever. Piers takes the Pardon trustfully but when it is unrolled at the request of a priest among his followers, it is contained in two lines of Latin:

*Et qui bona egerunt, Ibunt in vitam eternam;
Qui vero mala, in ignem eternum.*

A dispute arises as to its meaning; the priest denies that it is a pardon at all and Piers tears it up in mortification. The noise of the disputes wakes the Dreamer, who is left meditating the meaning of his vision. All readers of the poem are left to do the same.

The question is, *Was it a valid pardon?* and the variants in the text force us to inquire into this more deeply than the Dreamer himself, whose chief concern was *What did the Pardon mean?* Our first question, however, must be *Where did it come from?* Did Langland mean us to think it came from Truth Himself? For if so it must be considered as in some way valid, whatever logical trap the priest set for Piers about it. This question leads us to the variant readings.

Passus VIII of the A Text in Skeat's edition opens thus:

Treuthe herde telle her-of . And to Pers sende,
To taken his teeme . and tilyen the eorthe;
And purchasede him a pardoun . *A pena et a culpa*
For him, and for his heires . euer more aftur.

And bad holden hem at hom . and heren heore ley3es,
 And al that euere hulpen him . to heren or to sowen,
 Or eny maner mester . that mihte Pers helpen,
 Part in that pardoun . the Pope hath I-graunted.

(A. VIII, 1-8.)

There seems to be some confusion here, even in the author's mind. First we are told that it is Truth who purchases and sends the Pardon; then that it is the Pope who has granted it. Which of these is meant? The whole question of its validity depends upon our being sure. That it was purchased by Piers from the Pope, and not by Truth, is supported by the readings in three manuscripts where the third line (above) reads:

And purchace him a pardoun.

(Trin. Coll. Cambridge, R. 3. 14, and Harl. 875.)

And purchasen him a pardoun.

(Univ. Coll. Oxford.)

If we accept either of these alternatives the meaning becomes:

'Truth heard tell hereof and sent (a message) to Piers to take his team and till the earth and purchase himself a pardon (from the Pope).'

A reading of this kind seems to be preferred by Chambers, for he writes of this passage:

The poet goes on to tell how Truth heard of Piers setting folk to work, and bade him purchase a pardon from the Pope; all Piers' helpers are to have a share in it.¹

If this is indeed the true intention of the passage, then we can but note that this all-important Pardon, whether papal or not, is at least backed by the authority of Truth who told Piers to buy it; to that extent it is warranted genuine, whatever it means.

If on the other hand the true reading is as Skeat printed it in his text ('And purchasede him a pardoun'), then it was Truth who bought it and there can be no dispute as to its efficacy as an instrument of grace, even if its application is enigmatic. But a different question arises, namely, *Where and when did Truth purchase this pardon?* I believe we must look to the preceding Passus for the explanation, to a line already quoted in another context:

And heo beoth my blodi bretheren . for god bou3te vs alle.

(A. VII, 196.)

¹ R. W. Chambers, *Man's Unconquerable Mind*, p. 117.

'God bought us all' at the Redemption and our pardon was 'purchased' not in Rome but on Calvary, a pardon held to be valid for all generations of christians,

For him, and for his heires . . . euer more aftur

an hereditary force that no merely papal pardon can have.

This is the meaning that I think the poet intended us to take and it remains for us to consider how the Pope came into the business at all. I can only suggest that it was the momentary aberration of a poet who, seeking to alliterate his line, overlooked the fact that he was blurring his thought. It is noticeable that the line is revised in the B Text; the Pope is removed, but the alliteration wrecked:

Pardoun with pieres plowman . . . treuthe hath ygraunted.

(B. VII, 8.)

In the C Text all difficulties are evaded:

Pardon with peers plouhman . . . perpetual he graunteth.

(C. X, 8.)

If it be thought that these arguments establish that it was indeed Truth who bought and sent the Pardon for Piers and his fellows, then its efficacy cannot be questioned; truth lies in it somewhere and the priest who impugned it, causing Piers to destroy it 'for puire teone' is the villain of the piece,¹ a sophist who understands the letter but not the spirit; more than that, he is an ignoramus (though he should be a man of learning), for he gives no sign of recognition that the Pardon is nothing but a quotation from the Athanasian Creed.² For all that, it may

¹ But see T. P. Dunning, *Piers Plowman, an Interpretation of the A Text*, pp. 145-52, where an interesting defence for the priest is advanced; as Father Dunning says, 'the priest is obviously the proper person to interpret the pardon'; but in fact he does not interpret it, he 'impugns it, all by pure reason' (A. VIII, 155), that is, he points out that it is written, not in the form of a pardon, but in the form of a statement of cause and effect, viz. 'if you do well, you will be saved'. Whether the document was a pardon or not, therefore, depends on what is meant by doing well, a matter which the priest omitted to explain and which Langland himself was only able to resolve by writing the B Text, as will be seen.

² Piers' Pardon is taken verbatim from the thirty-ninth verse of the Athanasian Creed (*vide* D. Waterland: *A Critical History of the Athanasian Creed*, ed. J. R. King, 1870), which Skeat, who refers instead to Matthew xxv. 46, and Father Dunning, who refers to John v. 29, seem to have overlooked. The sentence appears to have had some vogue as a catch-phrase about salvation towards the end of the fourteenth century and a little later, as it is used at the climax of the last scene of the *Castle of Perseverance*, scene viii, lines 3637-8 (E.E.T.S. Extra Series XCI, *The Macro Plays*).

seem a grim joke to offer as a piece of Heaven's forgiveness the most threatening sentence from the *Quicumque vult*. Sheep are to enter bliss and goats to burn. Where is the pardon for a goat?

Piers, perhaps because he could not read, had not unrolled the Pardon; he had taken it on faith. But now that he had had it explained to him (in its bleakest sense) by the meddling priest whose office and learning he should be able to trust, he tears it up, exclaiming:

'Si Ambulauero in medio umbre mortis, non timebo mala, quoniam tu mecum es.
I shall cease of my sowing', quoth Piers . 'and swink not so hard
Nor about my livelihood . so busy be no more!
Of prayer and of penance . my plough shall be hereafter. . . .'
(A. VIII, 102-4.)

Of this passage Chambers writes:

Piers' pardon had been a reward promised in exchange for righteous deeds done. But the priest has denied that the document is a pardon at all, and the voice of authority seems to be on the side of the priest. So Piers abandons his charter. It is disputed; so be it; he will trust no longer to parchment, to bulls with seals, but to the Psalmist's assurance that death can have no terrors for the just man.¹

Just so; but who is just? A point instantly taken by Langland.

'Contra', quoth I as a Clerk . and commenced to dispute,
'Sepcies in die cadit iustus:
Seven times a day, saith the Book . sinneth the righteous man.'
(A. IX, 16-17.)

If none can do well, if all are goats, what is the force of a Pardon for sheep? Thus the story of Piers, at its first telling, came to an abrupt end in paradox, leaving the poet to supply what explanation he could.

All this maketh me . to muse on dreams
Many a time at midnight . when men should sleep,
And on Piers the Plowman . and what a pardon he had.
(A. VIII, 152-4.)

And he roamed about, looking for an explanation,

All a Summer season . For to seek Do-well.

(A. IX, 2.)

¹ *Man's Unconquerable Mind*, p. 119.

The Significacio. (A. Passus IX, X, XI)

What do the stumbling meditations of the concluding Passus add to the swift narrative we have so far traversed? It can hardly be denied that they show a confusion of thoughts if not of thought; the bewilderment felt by a modern reader, his suspicion that the poet has lost his way, that perhaps, even, it is another poet, may be noted, but, at the last, not wholly shared; meanwhile it may be partly and naturally explained. These Passus have something of the inconsequence that we sometimes see from verse to verse in the Psalms, where the connexion of ideas is often hidden, almost inexplicable, but is accepted with an uncritical and yet intelligent pleasure, a leap of familiar understanding, by reason of many more-or-less unthinking repetitions. Langland was never far from his Psalter; it would seem to have influenced not only his thoughts but his habit of mind. Some of his ideas may seem to us jerkily connected and by strange associations of idea, but the connexions are there and grow easier by familiarity with them. There are two other considerations that may be urged in the defence of his apparently diminishing grasp on the conduct of his poem. First, the narrative impetus, the vision and story of the Field of Folk was spent; the tale had told itself to the tearing of the Pardon, an act that has some relish of poetical finality. *Explicit hic visio willelmi de Petro de Plouzmon.* The poet then began to write a commentary and found himself forced into something more like a sequel for which a fresh wind of the imagination was needed. His commentary was leading beyond itself, as will presently be seen; by some grammarian's trick of thinking in him, the positive Do-well suddenly sprang a comparative and a superlative upon him, Do-better, and Do-best, matters for which, in 1362-3 he was perhaps not fully prepared. Secondly, the nature of this huge new triple subject is of itself more difficult than the state of England to describe poetically, and cannot but have been less familiar to him; tangible England he had seen and lived in some thirty years, but a world of abstract thought is a late-comer to the mind and is in any case less manageable, does not so easily divide itself into subjects (as wealth, government, society, economics), does not yield images so freely, is less obviously a poet's world. All these considerations may help to mitigate any bewilderment that may come upon us in reading the closing Passus of the A Text.

When we ask ourselves what these Passus of *Significacio* are about, we are forced to say that they touch on many topics not

very obviously related to each other or to the story of Piers. At first the going is easy; the Dreamer meets a couple of Friars and puts his question, much as the Field of Folk had questioned the ignorant Palmer about St. Truth. The two Friars give a sort of answer; in the parable of the Man in the Wagging Boat, they seem to say that although a just man may sin seven times a day, he does no *deadly* sin,

for Do-well him helpeth

That is charity the Champion.

(A. IX, 40-1.)

If a man's will is not turned against Charity (Do-well), his soul is safe though he stumble; they seem satisfied with this, but not so the Dreamer; the equation of Do-well with charity is too simple; he takes leave of them, turned in upon his own thought. Thought instantly shows him that he is entering upon three fields of inquiry, not one.

'Art thou Thought'? quoth I then . . . 'canst thou me tell
Where that Do-well dwelleth . . . do me to know?'

'Do-well', quoth he, 'and Do-better . . . and Do-best the third
Be three fair virtues . . . and be not far to find. . . .'

(A. IX, 67-70.)

Not far to find! It was to take him perhaps fifteen years to find them in their fullness.¹ Meanwhile his task of commentary had tripled itself in a sentence. By that grammarian's trick, Thought had added to the *qui bona* of the Athanasian Creed a *qui meliora*, a *qui optima*, of which nothing had been said in the Pardon to Piers. Yet this new trinity, that seems in the poem to take its origin in a verbal whim, corresponded to a reality defined in the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* and in St. Thomas Aquinas, whose work was certainly known, at least by hearsay, to Langland. St. Thomas had already distinguished three types of human life, that of Martha who did well and that of Mary who did better; and that third life which combined the virtues of both, a Mary-Martha life that did best of all, the Active, the Contemplative, and the Contemplative-turned-to-Action.²

¹ This guess is based on the opinion of Skeat who dates the A Text to shortly after 1362 and the B Text to 1376-7. Mr. J. A. W. Bennett, following Dr. Huppé, advances some reasons for supposing that the A Text 'must have been in process of composition by 1370, even if it was not finished by then' (*P.M.L.A.* lviii, no. 3) and that the B Text was being written 'between the years 1377 and 1379' (*Med. Æv.*, vol. xii).

² Attention was first called to these by H. W. Wells in *P.M.L.A.* xlv, no. 1, 'The Construction of Piers Plowman', where relevant quotations from St. Thomas (*Summa*, Part III, Quaest. XL. A. I) and from the *Meditationes* are given.

How long Langland had foreseen this branching of his thought it is impossible to say; I do not think it can have been a part of his original design, even though the Dreamer seems to accept it without surprise. It was a development, however, that once perceived could neither be disregarded nor suppressed; yet how difficult to include it in the compass of a *significacio*! Setting out to show what pardon the Active life of the Laity in England might hope for, he found himself involved with the Clergy and the Episcopate, for these, as Thought also told him, were Do-better and Do-best. But there was more than that. In the wake of the Three Lives there followed other necessary but intractable topics, as old and as vast . . . Faith and Works . . . Learning and Simplicity . . . Wealth and Poverty . . . Free Will and Predestination . . . the Righteous Heathen . . . the nature of Charity . . . somehow they were all involved, they branched out intertwiningly from the three great limbs of his thought.

It must be said that Langland never deals with any question like an expert; he feels his way towards it often luckily, by images, allegories, and examples; where one fails, he abandons it and tries another with no better guides for his intuition than his christian religion and his common sense. Of all great poets he is the most unprofessional, the only great poet, perhaps, who is openly contemptuous of poetry-writing as such.¹ Very far from his mind and nature is any such rigid, such careful systematization as gives a formal charm to the disciplined imaginations of Dante. Contemptuous of the art of poetry, we find him at this stage of his search just as contemptuous of theology,² yet here he found himself engaged upon an adventure in thought that involved both, and his mind filling with gigantic intellectual presences; as if some small craft, placidly making port, found itself suddenly in an unknown sea with a school of whales breaking surface round it.

How was all this new material to be organized? He knew at least how his own mind worked; by rumination. Rumination could be given a poetical cast by making an allegory of the growth of his mind, of the stages in his thinking; so he imagined a series of ghostly advisers each figuring one such stage . . . Thought—Wit—Study—Learning—Scripture. It was a way of organizing his inquiry. Perhaps, for us, these shadowy figures are not easy to identify with precision;³ but however tenuous

¹ As in B. XII, 16.

² As in A. XI, 136.

³ For a study in identification see *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, ix, no. 3, 'The Authorship of Piers Plowman', by A. Mensendieck.

they seem to us, for him they were a help in forming and unifying his work; they gave it a sort of shape.

He struggled to find other images for what he had to say; after rejecting the parable of The Man in the Wagging Boat offered by the two Friars, he tried again in the parable of the Castle of *Caro*. It starts brilliantly. In the Castle lives *Anima* the beloved of God, and Sir Do-well is Lord of the Marches to protect her against Sir *Princeps huius mundi*; Do-bet is her lady-in-waiting, daughter to Do-well; these with Do-best are Masters of the Manor. There is also a Constable of the Castle to keep them all, Sir Inwit, and he has five sons called See-well, Say-well, Hear-well, Work-well, and Go-well. These are promising *dramatis personae* and lure the reader into a hope for some adventure in the manner of *The Bludy Serk*. That poem, however, was still unwritten. The *Pilgrim's Progress*, too, was still in the future.

No adventure befalls the Lady *Anima*; her story falters and dissolves before an untimely interruption into what is perhaps the least well managed Passus in the poem. Untimely it may be to the reader hoping for a romantic parable, but to Langland it seemed more important to tell of Kuynde who made this Castle,

That is the great God . . . that beginning had never
(A. X, 29.)

the creating Father who made man in His own image—gave him ghost of his Godhead—and gave him Conscience, Constable in Chief:

After the grace of God . . . the greatest is Inwit
(A. X, 48.)

and this moves him to think of those who lack this leadership within, the sots who have drowned it in drink; children and half-wits, over whom the fiend has no power, for they are not, or not yet, responsible. From this he is led to think of education and the wisdom that is begun in the fear of God; learning and teaching recall Do-better to his mind, the clerkly life, and some of the dangers of knowing too much; yet it is by knowledge that Do-better springs from Do-well, and Do-best from both.

Right as the rose, . . . that red is and sweet,
Out of a ragged root . . . and of rough briars
Springeth and spreadeth . . .
So Do-best out of Do-well . . . And Do-better doth spring.
(A. X, 119-23.)

Do-better is the child of Do-well not only in this sense, however, but also in the literal sense; priests are the children of layfolk.

It is by this roundabout of meditation that Langland has returned to the theme proposed, namely, 'What is Do-well?' and has marked out its first essential character, namely, that it is a family life of christian marriage; a sermon upon this ends the Passus with that kind of practical advice we always find in this poem, where common sense flows from spiritual vision.

In this eleventh Passus a second essential character of Do-well is also marked out with equal positiveness; Do-well is defined in terms of active manual labour:

'It is a well fair life' quoth she . 'among these simple folk
Active it is called . husbandmen use it.

(A. XI, 179 et seq.)

Now, in the twelfth Passus, he passes to a third, namely, the unlearnedness of Do-well. As the purpose of his *significacio* was to explain and justify the Pardon granted to those *qui bona egerunt*, he did not, at that first writing of his poem, see why he should not fulfil this purpose at the expense of those grammatical intruders, Do-better and Do-best; so in defence of Do-well for his unlettered simplicity, Langland adopted a strategy of denying the efficacy of Learning as a means of salvation. He argued this partly from his own observation of the clergy of England who (he thought) used their learning to such ill purposes that they endangered their own souls and those of other people, and partly from what happened to Solomon and Aristotle, who, for all their learning, were said to be in Hell. Happier are the ignorant, the 'lewd jots' whose simple *Paternosters* pierce Heaven; it is the argument used also by Andrew Marvell:

None thither mounts by the degree
Of Knowledge, but Humility.¹

Thus was victory for Do-well gained at the cost of slighting the attainments of clergy. It was a truth halved by prejudice.

A lesser man than Langland might have rested in his anti-clericalism all his life; he believed himself to have grounds enough for it, and it had been the burden of his song from the Prologue, where the Parish Priest is described as asking leave to live in London,

To sing there for Simony . for silver is sweet
to the Pardon, which an officious priest had impugned. Yet

¹ *A Dialogue between the Resolved Soul and Created Pleasure.*

there was something in Learning that the poet felt bound to honour, as he shows in the very drift of his allegory. Thought, Wit, Study, Clergy, and Scripture, however abstractly personified, are an abstract of instruction; wisdom, says Dame Study, is one of the precious pearls that wax in Paradise.¹

But this question of the place of Learning in the scheme of salvation brought other questions into Langland's mind; it would be truer perhaps to put it thus, that at the time of writing the A Text he had in mind a number of notions, as yet not very distinct to him, but all in some way fundamental to his christianity; and as he pondered on Learning, these other notions began to move in his mind by a sort of sympathy as if every thought that came to him in the matter of Learning disturbed, touched, and mingled with all his other thoughts, much as one aching tooth will set others on to ache. The resulting complex of his thoughts may be shown in brief tabular analysis:

I. Learning is nowadays pursued for the sake of its rewards in wealth:

Wisdom and wit now . . . is not worth a rush
But it be carded with Covetousness.

(A. XI, 17.)

(The same complaint as that of the Prologue:

I saw there Bishops bold . . . and Bachelors of Divinity
Become Clerks of Account . . . the King for to serve.)

Therefore Learning in alliance with worldly gain is somehow mixed up with and introduces the contrary notion of true christian poverty, a subject treated at length in the revised poem.

II. Learning leads to an intellectualism which allows men to chatter about God, though they have Him not in heart:

Clerks and acute men . . . carp often about God
And have Him much in their mouth . . . but mean men in heart.

(A. XI, 56.)

Learning is thus linked with the question of practising what you preach, of which the reviser has also much to say.

III. But the test of entry into Heaven is neither one of Wealth nor of Poverty, but of Belief and Baptism:

Paul proveth it is impossible . . . rich men in Heaven
But poor men in patience . . . and penance together
Have heritage in Heaven . . . and rich men none.

¹ A. XI, 12.

'Contra!' quoth I, 'by Christ! that I can tell you,
 And prove it by the Epistle . . . that is named Peter;
Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit.
 'That is *in extremis*', quoth Scripture . . . as Sarasens and Jews
 May be saved so . . . and so is our Belief.

(A. XI, 225.)

Thus Faith becomes important in the argument, and the Righteous Heathen. This also is much developed in B.

IV. But Do-well is defined as the Active Life of Work,
 True tillers on earth . . . tailors and cobblers

(A. XI, 181.)

and thus is introduced the antithesis of *Faith and Works*.

V. But however well a man works,
 For how so I work in this world . . . wrongly or otherwise
 I was marked without mercy . . . and my name entered
 In the legend of life . . . long ere I was

(A. XI, 252.)

which glances at the topic of *Predestination* (one on which, for a wonder, Langland had less to say than Chaucer).

VI. Solomon was a man of learning; he did well 'in work and word':

Aristotle and he . . . who wrought better?
 And all Holy Church . . . holds them to be in Hell!

(A. XI, 262.)

whereas St. Mary Magdalen, Dismas the Penitent Thief, and

Paul the Apostle . . . that no pity had
 Christian kind . . . to kill to death?
 And none (to say sooth) . . . are sovereigns in Heaven
 As are these, who wrought wickedly . . . in the world, when they were.

(A. XI, 281.)

All these were saved by their *Faith*. (David has also somehow got into this category, though more properly he belongs with Solomon his son.) Thus *Learning*, previously opposed to *Unlearned Works*, is now opposed to *Unlearned Faith*, and linked with the problem of *Heathen salvation* too. All these topics, paradoxes, and contradictions were in solution in Langland's mind and began to crystallize as he pondered the place of brains in the scheme of Salvation; for the moment he was only able to mention his difficulties and pass them by on his way to the climax

he was seeking, namely, corroboration for the Pardon and justification for Do-well. He passed them by. Perhaps he was impatient to finish his poem, and indeed, to some extent, 'the latter end of his commonwealth forgets the beginning'; beautiful as it is, it suggests haste, for whereas the Pardon had been sent as a reward (apparently) for the work done on Piers' half-acre by the Field of Folk, yet if we consider the last lines of the twelfth Passus, it would seem that they were finally saved, not by their works but by their simple faith.

Are none rather ravished . . . from the right belief
 Than are these great clerks . . . that con many books;
 Nor none sooner saved . . . nor sadder of conscience
 Than poor people as plowmen . . . and pastors of beasts.
 Cobblers and tailors . . . and such lewd jots
 Pierce with a *paternoster* . . . the palace of Heaven
 Without penance at their parting . . . into high bliss!
Brevis oracio penetrat celum

Whatever doubts had been raised as to the meaning of Do-well, and whether the followers of Piers were saved by their Faith or by their Works, a high visionary assurance over-rules argument in an outburst of poetry and sees poor people saved by sincerity in prayer.

Visionary assurance is not intellectual proof. Langland had not so much finished as finished off his poem. If we feel that his *significacio* is not of equal force with that which it was to explain, we shall be feeling no more than he felt himself; not because he had explained too little, but because Thought had driven him to see how much more there was that needed explanation; he had tripled his problem and this would force him to triple his poem. He had matter for a meditation that was to change his cherished opinions and alter the poetical centre of gravity of his work, not merely by addition in length but by addition in depth also; it would need a new kind of poetry.

The twelfth, last, and hastiest Passus of the A Text is of slight importance, at least to our present study. Preserved in only one manuscript it is remarkable also for its concluding lines in which one Johan But puts forth his head.

And so bad Iohan but . . . busily wel ofte,
 When he saw thes sawes . . . busily a-legged
 By Iames and by Ierom . . . by Iop and by othere,
 And for he medleth of makyng . . . he made this ende.

(A. XII, 101-4.)

How many lines were added by this interloper is still in dispute; that they were added at some time later than 1377 seems certain from the line

Furst to rekne Richard . . . kyng of this rewme.

(A. XII, 108.)

The Passus, as a whole, has two purposes: first, another mild rebuke to the Dreamer for his presumption in seeking to know Do-better, coupled with the advice to hold fast to that which is good; *quod bonum est tenete*, almost as if *quod melius* were no business of his, and secondly to bring the poem to an end by the simple literary device of killing off the author, who, meeting with hunger and fever, perishes abruptly:

Deth delt him a dent . . . and drof him to the erthe
And is closed vnder clom . . . crist haue his soule!

(A. XII, 99-100.)

The Passus adds nothing to any of the problems raised previously and is no more than a trick-ending of immeasurable inferiority to the close of Passus XI, whoever wrote it or had part in writing it.

III

Additions and alterations where the Texts run parallel

'Now the B-Text runs parallel to the A-Text (apart from additions and alterations made by B) to the point where this vision appears, telling how the search for Do-wel was abandoned. This "Vision of how the abandoned search was resumed" is the beginning of the B-continuation'. (R. W. Chambers and J. H. G. Grattan, *Modern Language Review*, vol. xxvi, no. 1, p. 9.)

When a poet alters his own work, we cannot always see, or even feel, the reason for the change. Why, for instance, did Chaucer find it necessary to rewrite the Prologue to the *Legend of Cupid's Saints*? A question as easy to trip on as a text in the Galatians (to take a phrase from Browning). In the case of *Piers Plowman* we can at least be sure that the B version was written after the A, which is more than we know of the versions of the Prologue to the *Legend*. If we assemble and consider the changes made by Langland in the earlier part of his poem, we should therefore be able to assess in some degree the new directions in which his mind was working; but since the manuscripts are so full of variations from each other, only the larger changes

(that cannot be due to scribal interference) will help us in attempting such an assessment.

But no such change will here be considered on aesthetic grounds, whether it gives a more or a less 'poetical' experience to the reader, for not only would this lead to judgements too subjective, but also it would be foreign to the author's genius; I do not believe he troubled himself greatly about the aesthetic effect of what he was seeking to deliver. A lucky natural gift made poetry of his use of language, but I cannot think he studied particularly to touch that kind of perfection.

The major additions seem to be of the following kinds.¹ First, those which fill out the picture of English society; secondly, those which enforce or elaborate some point in christian morality; thirdly, what I can only call *Foretastes*; insertions, that is, into the early part of the poem, of ideas which are only developed in their fullness at the very end of the B-continuation; and lastly those additions that show something of 'The supernal things of eternal glory', to use a technical term from medieval criticism of allegorical poetry.² These classes of addition are worth a detailed consideration.

The picture of English Society. In comparing the A Text with *Wynnere and Wastoure* it became clear that both were topical narrative allegories, the former enriched by a moral meaning, about the state of England. The B Text additions of our first category most emphatically bear this out; this part of the poem is more in England than ever, and it may be here useful to point out the Time-Place scheme of the B Text as a whole which is exactly parallel to the scheme by which the character of Piers seems to change; for just as he seems at first to be a simple christian farmer, then Christ, and finally St. Peter and

¹ For lists of alterations and additions made in the B Text, see E.E.T.S. original series 28, *Piers Plowman A Text*, ed. by Skeat, reprinted 1932, pp. 156-8, and also T. P. Dunning, *Piers Plowman, an Interpretation of the A Text*, 1937, pp. 195-6 where some deviations from A are noted in B to support the view that they are by different authors, a view which Father Dunning has recently withdrawn in his extremely interesting article 'Langland and the Salvation of the Heathen', *Med. Æv.*, vol. xii, 1943.

² Dante, *Convivio*, Second Treatise, ch. i. The 'supernal things of eternal glory', so manifestly a part of the B revision, are no doubt the 'mystical developments' to which Dr. Mabel Day refers (*Mod. Lang. Rev.* xxiii), in seeking to establish that the B reviser could not have been the author of A. It does not seem impossible that 'the growth of a poet's mind' might include mystical development in the course of the long meditation between the writing of the two texts.

the Popes who succeeded him, so the time and place in the first part of the poem (in both versions, but more emphatically in B) is fourteenth-century England; in the second part (not in A) it is Jerusalem in the First Passion Week; and in the third part it is unspecified Christendom at any time between the Coming of the Holy Ghost and the Coming of Anti-Christ. This increasing shadowiness in person, time, and place gives the poem an extraordinary sense of growing dimension; and this is made possible by the fact that we start so firmly in England; for as we see the reign and Kingdom of Richard II caught gradually up into the 'universal world' so we also see common humanity caught up into the life of God and of His Church.

The first major interpolation is in the Prologue (B, Prol. 87-209) and its function is obvious; it completes the original picture of contemporary England by the inclusion of the King, the Knighthood that 'led' him and the might of the Commons 'that made him to reign'. Rebuke veiled in advice is offered by 'a lunatic' (clearly the poet himself), and an Angel, the voice of Heaven, who reminds the King that he is no more than the Deputy of Christ,

O qui iura regis . Christi specialia regis

(a touch which binds England to those supernal things, which it was also a part of the revising poet's intention to enforce). There follows immediately the highly topical (and terrestrial) fable of the Cat and the Ratons, which puts the political situation of 1376-7 in a brief sardonic fancy.¹

Another series of large additions that adds rich English colour to the allegory is found in the additions to the confessions of the Seven Deadly Sins which are much enlarged; the missing penitence of *Wrath* is added for completeness; it is mainly devoted to a description of the jangles in Convents and Monasteries (of which the former are the more spiteful); there is a touch of London life added to *Envy*, and of the common practices of business morality to *Avarice*; in like manner, *Sloth* is greatly expanded by many dark details of contemporary abuse. The reviser has thrust in fifteen years' worth of social observation.

The second class of large additions, that reinforce the moral teaching of the poem, is obvious and frequent and need scarcely be illustrated by examples.

¹ In spite of the argument advanced by Mr. J. A. W. Bennett in *Med. Æv.* xii, I cling to this view.

The third, which I have ventured to call 'foretastes', is less easily perceived, but when once it is so, is strange and striking.

Foretastes. We have seen already that it is a character of Langland's writing to throw out hints and images to be developed later in the poem, and some of the larger insertions in the B Text strongly suggest that this was, or became, a conscious device. It should here be said that we cannot be sure whether he started his revision from the Prologue, having in mind some plan for how the visions were to continue after the point at which the A Text comes to an end, or whether he started on the continuation itself, and, having written or roughed it out, returned to the early part of the poem and revised it in the light of what he had added. Some inserted passages seem to point faintly towards the latter procedure; but if that was how he worked, it is strange that he has missed some important opportunities for clarifying his meaning at an early stage; examples of this will presently be offered, but first some of these strange 'foretastes' may be shown.

There are two interpolated passages in the B Prologue which run thus:

I perceived of the power . . . that Peter had to keep,
To bind and to unbind . . . as the book telleth,
How he left it with love . . . as our Lord commanded,
Among four virtues . . . the best of all virtues,
That cardinal are called. . . .

(B, Prol. 100-4.)

Then, after a brief fling in pun-fashion at those other Cardinals of the court (whose Pope-making he declines to impugn), he goes on to describe the spiritual basis of society thus:

And then came Kind-Wit . . . and clerks he made
For to counsel the King . . . and the Commons save. . . .
The commons contrived . . . by kind-wit crafts
And for profit of all the people . . . plowmen ordained
To till and labour . . . as true life asketh.
The King and the commons . . . and kind-wit the third
Shaped law and loyalty . . . each man to know his own.

(B, Prol. 114-22.)

Thus within twenty-two lines we have the following association of somewhat unusual ideas into one connected argument: the binding-and-loosing power of the Church, the cardinal virtues, the natural gifts of the spirit, which give counsel to the King, Clergy, and Commons, shape the law, till the earth, and bind society.

Exactly the same association of ideas, expanded, not to say expounded, at much greater length, comes at the very end of the poem, where its treatment clears some of the mystery from the meaning of Piers' Pardon, to solve which was the grand motive of the B Text.

And when this deed was done . . . Do-Best he taught
 And gave Piers power . . . and pardon he granted
 To all manner of men . . . mercy and forgiveness, . . .
 . . . In covenant that they come . . . and acknowledge to pay
 To the Pardon of Piers Plowman . . . *redde quod debes*.
 Thus hath Piers power, . . . be his pardon paid,
 To bind and to unbind. . . .

(B. XIX, 177-84.)

Almost immediately there follows the Coming of the Holy Ghost and the gifts of the spirit and how they are to be used (exactly as the Prologue insertion suggests):

And then began Grace . . . to go with Piers Plowman
 And counselled him and Conscience . . . the Commons to summon. . . .
 To some he gave wit . . . to show things in words,
 Wit to win their livelihood with . . . as the world asks,
 Such as preachers and priests . . . and apprentices of law,
 They loyally to live . . . by labour of tongue. . . .
 And some he learnt to labour . . . a loyal life and a true
 And some he taught to till . . . to ditch and to thatch. . . .
 And some to ride and recover . . . what unrightfully was won
 And fetch it from false men . . . and the laws of Folville.

(B. XIX, 208-41.)

And then, after again insisting on *redde quod debes*, and equipping Piers and his Farm of Holy Church with four oxen (the Evangelists), four stotts (the Fathers) and the two harrows of the Old and New Testaments, the author brings the similarity of these two passages full circle with:

And Grace gave grains . . . the cardinal virtues
 And sow them in man's soul. . . .

(B. XIX, 269.)

Were these later passages written to expand the interpolation in the Prologue, or was that interpolation thrust in as a foretaste of his grand conclusion? Which is the voice and which the echo? There are other examples. There is, for instance, a large interpolation in Passus V, continuing thirty lines. They are among the words of Repentance at the end of the confession of the Seven Sins. Within them occur so many 'foretastes' or

'echoes' of what is to come later, that it is impossible to conceive of either passage having been written without the other in mind, and both are central to the whole argument of pardon and redemption. The earlier passage is as follows:

And then had Repentance ruth . . . and counselled them all to kneel,
For I shall beseech, for all sinful, . . . our Saviour for Grace. . . .

'Now God', said he, 'that of thy goodness . . . began the world to make
And of nought madest all . . . and man most like to thyself,
And after suffered him to sin . . . a sickness to us all,
And all for the best, I believe . . . whatever the book telleth,

O felix culpa! O necessarium peccatum Adae!

For through that sin thy son . . . sent was to this earth
And became man of a maid . . . mankind to save. . . .
And afterwards with thine own son . . . in our suit didst die
On Good Friday for man's sake . . . at full time of the day. . . .
The sun for sorrow thereof . . . lost sight for a time. . . .

Feddest with thy fresh blood . . . our fore-fathers in darkness,

Populus qui ambulavit in tenebris, vidit lucem magnam

And through the light that leapt out of thee . . . Lucifer was blinded
And blew all thy Blessed . . . into the bliss of Paradise.

The third day after . . . thou wentest in our suit,
A sinful Mary saw thee . . . ere St. Mary thy dame. . . .

Non veni vocare iustos, sed peccatores ad penitentiam

And all that Mark hath made, . . . Matthew, John and Luke
Of thy doughtiest deeds . . . were done in our arms. . . .'

Then Hope hent a horn . . . of *deus, tu conversus vivificabis nos*
And blew it with *beati quorum . . . remisit iniquitates.*

(B. V, 485-515.)

Can anybody doubt that this was written in direct relation to Passus XVIII and XIX, to Langland's account of the Harrowing of Hell and its consequences? Phrase recalls phrase and image recalls image; for instance 'our suit' (human flesh), the armour in which Christ is to do 'doughty deeds', rings forward to

This Jesus of his gentle birth . . . will joust in Piers' arms
In his helm and his habergeon . . . *humana natura*

(B. XVIII, 22-3.)

or again the blinding of Lucifer by the Light shining in darkness recalls the earlier passage thus:

Dukes of this dim place, . . . anon undo the gates
That Christ may come in . . . the King's son of Heaven
And with that breath, Hell brake . . . with Belial's bars
In spite of guard and guardian . . . wide open the gates,

Patriarks and prophets . *populus in tenebris*
 Sang St. John's song . *ecce agnus dei*
 Lucifer might not look . for light so blinded him.

(B. XVIII, 317.)

One or two such similarities might be dismissed as accidental, since the Harrowing of Hell was a well-known story, but such a clenching together of images that were to be used again at greater length at the peak of the poem can hardly be other than a deliberate anticipation, a piece of purposeful revision; and the purpose is clear enough. It is to link the Confession of the Field of Folk, that is, of Do-well, with the pardon purchased on Calvary, and with that binding and unbinding power which Langland says was won by Christ's conquest over falseness and death and Hell.

This technique of anticipation, the casting of a seed into the poem that it may flower again later, may be seen in many places; for instance, the first hint we are given in anticipation of the jousting of Jesus at Jerusalem (fully described in B. XVIII, 10-30), comes far earlier, in these lines:

And then spake Spiritus Sanctus . in Gabriel's mouth
 To a maid that was called Mary . a meek thing withal,
 That one Jesus, the son of a judge . should rest in her chamber
 Till *plenitudo temporis* . were fully come,
 That Piers' fruit flowered . and fell to be ripe.
 And then should Jesus joust therefore . by judgment of arms
 Whether of them should take the fruit . the fiend or himself.

(B. XVI, 90.)

Another example may be seen in the lines:

Such arguments they move, . these masters in their glory
 And make men misbelievers . that muse much on their words
Imaginative here-afterward . shall answer to your purpose.

(B. X, 113.)

which not only foreshadows the coming of Imaginative some seven hundred and fifty lines later, but also the Doctor on the Dais, God's Glutton of Passus XIII.

Against this notion of revisionary foresight it may be urged and must be admitted that if the poet knew what was coming he missed some important opportunities very strangely. For instance, in the third Passus of the B Text there is a large addition celebrating the rule of love that is to come on earth, when there shall be 'peace among the people and perfect truth'; it is difficult to know when this Golden Age is to be. I am unable to

believe with Skeat that it has something to do with the jubilee of Edward III, and incline to think it eschatological; for before this happy time is to come about, 'men shall find the worst' (B. III, 323) and if this refers to the Coming of Anti-Christ, as perhaps it may, it is so feeble a foretaste of that event as pictured in B. XX, 51, that one would suppose the poet ignorant at the time of revision how the poem was to end. So, too, when he came to revise the line

Actyf lyf or contemplatyf . Crist wolde hit alse
(A. VII, 236.)

he was content to rewrite it thus

Contemplatyf lyf or actyf lyf . Cryst wolde men wrou3te
(B. VI, 251.)

which does nothing to prepare the reader for the fact that these Lives are the basis of Do-well, Do-better, and Do-best, of which he presently has so much to say, for they are the backbone of the whole B Revision from the eighth Passus onwards.

The supernal things of eternal glory. Into the morning daylight of his English scene the reviser has flung a shaft here and there from that further world to which Do-well, Do-better, and Do-best are the roads. Even in the A Text, as has been said, that world had been adduced as the type, end, and sanction of christian life, and particularly in its moral aspect, that is, the solving of contemporary problems by christian principles; but now this moral note is softened and exalted by touches, rare as they are, which add a quality lyrical and contemplative to what before was mainly admonitory. One such passage, the foretaste of the Harrowing of Hell, has already been considered, of which the key-note is redemptive love; another interpolation on the same subject is put into the mouth of Holy Church:

For truth telleth that love . is treacle of Heaven
May no sin be on him seen . that useth that spice. . . .
For Heaven might not hold it . it was so heavy of itself
Till it had of the earth . eaten its fill.

And when it had of this fold . flesh and blood taken
Was never leaf upon linden-tree . lighter thereafter
Light to bear and piercing . as the point of a needle
That no armour can keep out . nor no high wall;
Therefore is love leader . of the lord's folk in Heaven. . . .
And, to know it in its nature, . it begins in a power
And in the heart is its head . and the high well.

(B. I, 146.)

This is, perhaps, the finest passage in the revised Prologue; another such glimpse may be caught in a passage where the Church, traditionally the Bride of Christ, is seen in Heaven as the Bride of Man also:

My Father the Great God is . . . and ground of all graces,
 One God without beginning . . . and I his good daughter,
 And hath given me mercy . . . to marry as I will
 And whatsoever man is merciful . . . and loyally loves me
 Shall be my lord and I his love . . . in the high Heaven

(B. II, 29.)

Gathering together what has been said of all these classes of addition we may discern the following trends and qualities in the revising poet so far; an insistence on the Englishness of his scene, as it is and as it ought to be; a great emphasis upon the need, fullness, and efficacy of confession, a hinting consciousness of the great vision of Redemption to come later, and a more touching sense of the enfolding and creative love of God the Father. These things are made into a poetry that has moments of lyrical contemplation, suggestive of a mystical rather than a moral vision, in so far as these can be distinguished.

IV

The Point at which the Texts begin to diverge

'The A-Text is not a brief first draft of the B-Text. It is a fragment of a poem which, had it been continued, would presumably have been continued in much the same way as the completed B-Text. For the accounts of Do-wel and Do-bet and Do-best in the A-Text forecast a continuation on the same lines as we ultimately get.

The A-Text breaks off so suddenly in the middle of Do-wel, because the poet feels unable to solve the problems he has raised.' (R. W. Chambers and J. H. G. Grattan, *M.L.R.*, vol. xxvi, no. 1, p. 10.)

It is my present purpose to suggest that the A Text is indeed 'not a brief first draft of the B-Text', but was undertaken by the author, under the stimulus of *Wynnere and Wastoure*, as a topical narrative allegory about the moral condition of England; his narrative went vigorously forward to its climax, which was a Pardon for that moral condition, granted to the Field of Folk. This Pardon, however, was enigmatic, even to Langland, so he set himself to ponder and explain it; but as he did so, other immense and unexpected problems arose before him; he grappled with them as well as he then knew how, without

swerving more than he could help from what seemed to be his poetical task, namely the justification of the followers of Piers and the assertion of the truth of their pardon. As we have seen, this high assurance was reached at the end of his eleventh Passus, but only by denigrating clergy and by evading the issue whether the simple were pardoned for their works or their faith.

Langland's honesty did not allow him to rest for ever in such a conclusion; as the years went by he continued to ponder and, as he did so, his thought insensibly changed its objective; he found himself committed to a poem not about England but about Salvation and the Three Ways that led to it, of which up till then he had explored but one. To make this new theme effectual in poetry, he found himself driven to reshape his poem by a known technical expedient of adding a fourth plane of meaning, the anagogical as it was called, the meaning in *aeterna gloria*. More will be said of this later; for the moment let us consider his effort to achieve the difficult grafting of the new vision on to the old at their point of divergence. We have seen that some at least of his alterations forecast the distant shape of his final solution, but between that and his retouchings of the story of the Field of Folk lay a perplexing middle that was to be the intellectual core of the poem, in that its chief business was to expound the moral nature of the Three Lives (with fairness to each), and to give hearing to some of those other problems, (Faith, Works, Learning, Wealth, Poverty, and the rest) that had already forced their way into the A Text. This would involve much theological speculation; neither nature, nor perhaps education had fitted Langland to be an exact theologian, yet theology had to be faced; the poet had already confessed his difficulties through the mouth of Dame Study, who had frankly admitted:

Theology hath troubled me . . . ten score times
 For the more I muse thereon . . . the mistier it seemeth
(A. XI, 136.)

and this must be accepted as an apology for that bewilderment which makes him 'break off so suddenly in the middle of Dowel, because the poet feels unable to solve the problems he has raised'.

The divergence between the two poems begins to be very marked where A. X is being converted into B. IX, that is, exactly where the theologizing starts; and it is not until B. XI, where the author leaves the older poem behind and launches

into new work that his firmness of grasp seems increasingly to return to him; it is as if he were encumbered rather than helped by what lay before him in A. X and XI. To deal with A. XII was simple enough; it could be scrapped altogether; and except for a few touches—the scornful character of Scripture (A. XII, 12, to B. XI, 1), the hint of on-coming age in the Dreamer (A. XII, 60, to B. XI, 59), a tag from 2 Corinthians and another from Thessalonians, both used in other contexts in B (A. XII, 22, to B. XVIII, 393, and A. XII, 56, to B. III, 335)—it was scrapped.

But how to deal with A. X and XI was another matter; they both contained much that he still wanted to say, and yet they had somehow led him to a conclusion that was in a sense false, or incomplete; to detect exactly at what point a ramified argument is going astray is always one of the most difficult problems in revision, and I am bound to think the revising poet's second thoughts, particularly in B. XI, have strayed even farther from his distant objective than did the A Text before him. Indeed the impression is sometimes given that he had no text before him, that he was revising this part from memory; as he seems to have been unhappy in the new conduct of his argument, so also his power as a poet seems temporarily occluded. Interpolations such as those at B. IX, 35–44, 61–72, 96–129, and 143–59 are like the movements of a pedestrian who in leaving a track that seemed to be leading him astray, strays even farther, with uncertain foot. In B. X, however, he returns to his path, his interpolations are better managed and his poetical vision returns in some degree. I would instance two such interpolations, one for its change in emphasis and the other for its imaginative sympathy, deeply related to the new turn of his argument.

The former is a re-definition of the Three Lives that begins at B. X, 230. If this is compared with the far briefer sketch of them given in the corresponding passage in A. XI, 179–200, it will be seen that Do-wel is now seen as a life based on elementary faith (particularly what the Church teaches of the Trinity and other articles of the faith as warranted by the Gospels and St. Augustine) as opposed to the mere activities of 'trewe tileries on erthe . taillours and souteris, and alle kyne crafty men' recommended as Do-wel in the A Text (A. XI, 181–2). The purpose of this seems to be an insistence that simple plowmanship is not enough and that some instruction to the lewd is absolutely necessary to salvation; and this prepares the reader

for the wisdom of Imaginative later on who points out that Do-wel is lost without Do-better to instruct him in the articles of the Church 'that falleth to be knowe'.

Take two stronge men . . . and in Themese caste hem,
And bothe naked as a nedle . . . her none sykerer than other,
That one hath connyng . . . and can swymmen and dyuen,
That other is lewed of that laboure . . . lerned neuere swymme;
Which trowestow of the two . . . in Themese is in most drede?

(B. XII, 161-5.)

Without Do-better, Do-well would drown, for ignorance. So too Do-bet is redefined in terms of suffering and practising what you preach, pointing thus more surely to the life of Christ as Do-bet, which is to come, rather than simply saying (as A does) that it consists in feeding the hungry, healing the sick, and obeying the rules of conventual life. The alterations in Do-best insist on the moral qualities that underlie his episcopal authority rather than on the fact stressed in A that he controls benefices. All these changes are well wrought to make a better coherence with the later developments of the revised poem.

The second interpolation, that is so poetically striking and shows the returning vision that seemed to be failing in B. XI, takes up the story of Noah from A. X, 159 again and gives it a marvellous new twist in the direction of the great argument he is now conducting, whether their learning, which had helped to build the wisdom of mankind, had saved Solomon and Aristotle.

But I ween it happened with many . . . that were in Noah's time
When he shaped that ship . . . of shingles and of boards
Was never wright saved that wrought thereon . . . nor other workman
else

But birds and beasts . . . and the blessed Noah,
And his wife with his sons . . . and also their wives;
Of wrights that wrought it . . . none of them was saved.
God leave it fare not so by folk . . . that teach the Faith
Of Holy Church, that is our harbour. . . .

(B. X, 399-406.)

At Doomsday will the deluge be . . . of death and fire at once;
Therefore I counsel you Clerks . . . the wrights of Holy Church
Work ye the works that you see written . . . lest you be worth naught
therein. . . .

What Solomon says I trow is truth . . . and certain of us all
There are wise men, and well-living . . . but their works are hid
In the hands of Almighty God . . . and He knows the truth
Whether for love a man will be allowed there . . . and for his loyal
works. . . .

(B. X, 411-33.)

This anticipates the *et vidit deus cogitationes eorum* of B. XV, 194-5. An imagination that touches home so closely as to think with compassion on the labourers of Noah who were lost for all their labour, and to see in them an analogy for such as Solomon and Aristotle, whose wisdom supports a faith that can save others but not them, unless indeed their love, known only to God, has lifted them into his hand, such an imagination shows the returning powers of the poet.

After the Divergence of the Texts

So far in following the process of revision we have only considered some interpolations made in the B version before it finally parts company with the A. When it does so, although some arguments are new and some opinions reversed, the life of the poem is nevertheless not interrupted, for the revising poet has continued the allegory of his own maturing mind (so far pictured in Thought, Wit, Study, Clergy, Scripture) by the introduction of a further figure, *Imaginative*, which claims to have followed the poet for five and forty winters; it is to be associated with the concept of Memory, the memory of an adult man reviewing his opinions in the light of his experiences.¹ It is through this figure that the author retracts and redresses the injustices done in A. XI by the denigration of Clergy, retaining the course of his allegory while changing the course of his argument, an ingenious and poetical way of saving his work from self-contradiction.

The study of the author's revisionary method that has been offered has been suggestive rather than exhaustive, and its purpose to show such changes as seem to bear on the transformation of the poem from one about England into one about the search for eternal life; in the course of this transformation, Langland found himself faced with many new problems, as we have seen; two of the most important of which are an understanding of Do-wel, Do-bet, and Do-best, and an understanding of the part in them played by Faith, Works, and Learning. The great additions of the B Text are too many and too complex to be treated fully here, but something may be said of his handling of each of these two problems, to show how he has lifted them into the

¹ 'Throughout we find the Imagination—mediating as the character in Piers Plowman between the senses and the reason.' H. S. V. Jones, 'Imaginatif in Piers Plowman', *J.E.G.Ph.* xiii, no. 4. See also R. W. Chambers, *Man's Unconquerable Mind*, p. 139.

fourth plane of allegory already mentioned, that is, into the supernal things of eternal glory.

Do-wel, Do-bet, and Do-best

There is a particularly strange passage in the A Text that so far as I know has received little attention; it runs:

And as Do-wel and Do-bet . . . duden hem to vnderstonde,
 Thei han I-Corowned A kyng . . . to kepen hem Alle,
 That ȝif Do-wel or Do-bet . . . dude aȝeyn Do-best,
 And were vnboxum at his biddinge . . . and bold to don ille,
 Then schulde the kyng comen . . . and casten hem in prison,
 And puiten hem ther In penaunce . . . with-outen pite or grace,
 Bote ȝif Do-best beede for hem . . . a-byde ther for euere!

Thus Do-wel and Do-bet . . . and Do-best the thridde
 Crounede on to beo kyng . . . and bi hear counseil worche,
 And Rule the Reame . . . bi Red of hem Alle,
 And otherwyse elles not . . . bute as thei threo assenten.

(A. IX, 90-100.)

This seems a very dark saying; but that it was clear in meaning to the reviser seems certain, for he repeated it almost verbatim in the corresponding passage of the B Text. The sense seems to be:

And as Do-wel and Do-bet gave them (the wicked) to understand, they have crowned a King to control them all, so that if Do-wel or Do-bet rebelled against Do-best, and were disobedient to his bidding and bold to do evil, then the King should come and cast them into prison, and put them to their penance without pity or grace, where they should stay for ever, unless Do-best prayed on their behalf. Thus Do-wel, Do-bet, and Do-best, all three, crowned one to be King and to work by their counsel, and rule the Kingdom by the advice of them all, and otherwise not, except by their assent.

On the face of it, it seems an obscure statement of some form of social contract, and we are incited to ask who is this King? When was he crowned by these three lives? What is this pitiless prison that only the prayers of Do-best can save the disobedient from? And if he is King why should he be controlled by those who have crowned him?

There is another passage, if anything darker still, that seems to give a partly similar message; it is one of the interpolations at the point of divergence of the two Texts:

Ac there shal come a kyng . . . and confesse ȝow religiouses,
 And bete ȝow as the bible telleth . . . for brekyng of ȝowre reule,
 And amende monyales . . . monkes and chanouns,
 And putten hem to her penaunce . . . *ad pristinum statum ire,*

And Barounes with Erles beten hem . . . thorough *beatus-virres* techynge,
That here barnes claymen . . . and blame 3ow foule.

(B. X, 317-22.)

and then, after a brief and excessively difficult passage about the donation of Constantine and the Abbot of Abingdon, irrelevant to our present purpose, the passage ends:

Ac ar that kynge come . . . cayme shal awake.

Ac dowel shal dyngen hym adoune . . . and destryen his myȝte.

(B. X, 329-30.)

I confess that the lines here quoted seem to me very hard to translate and it may be that some textual corruption has made them untranslatable. I offer, nevertheless, what may be accepted as a rendering:

But there shall come a King and bring you Religious people (i.e. Do-bet) to confession, and make you better (possibly 'beat', but I think the sense is against it) for breaking the Rule of your Order, and amend nuns, monks, and canons, and put them to their penance (namely to) return to their former state (? obedience to their Rule), and make barons and earls better themselves (?) through the teaching of the First Psalm (in respect of) what their children claim, blaming you (Religious people) foully (? for having defrauded them of their inheritance). . . . But ere that King shall come, Cain will awake; but Do-well shall ding him down and destroy his power.

The similarity of thought in these two prophecies, vague though they be, suggests that the second is some sort of recollection or development of the first; a King is to come and bring to penance those who are disobedient, especially the Religious Orders, though a part of the Laity also will come under reproof. The second passage adds that before this is to happen, Cain shall awake; but Do-well will deal with him.

Conjecture as to what these things meant to Langland must be insecure,¹ but by reference to the end of the poem an interpretation can be found which gives a good sense. In Passus XX there is a vision of the coming of Anti-Christ

And the Religious revered him . . . and rung their bells

And all the convent came forth . . . to welcome that tyrant

And all his followers as well as himself . . . save only fools.

(B. XX, 58.)

¹ I have attempted a more detailed elucidation along similar lines in *Med. Æv.* iv. 2, p. 84, suggesting the identification of Cain with Anti-Christ, and am indebted to Mr. J. A. W. Bennett for reminding me of a passage in *Beowulf* (line 1261 et seq.), associating Cain with those ancient giants of evil, of whom Grendel was one, and thought of as the enemy of God and man.

It is true that in the event, the fools, though called upon by Conscience to come into Unity, make no attempt to 'ding him adown', and he passes like a tornado through the poem leaving all in havoc save Conscience. There is, however, some whiff of similarity to the passage quoted about Cain, and if that hint be accepted, we may conjecture that all these three passages are linked in meaning, and that their meaning is eschatological. From this we may infer that the King who is to come and 'confess the Religiouses' is Christ at His Second Coming. This would answer our questions who is this King and what his prison? The question whether Do-best can pray them out of prison is more difficult; it is raised again in the case of Trajan, who

... had been a true knight . . . (and) took witness at a Pope
How he was dead and damned . . . to dwell in torment. . . .
Gregory knew this well . . . and willed to my soul
Salvation for the Truth . . . that he saw in my works.

(B. XI, 136.)

However in Trajan's case, Langland seems to think the prayers of Do-best were not enough, for he adds:

Not through prayer of a Pope . . . but for his pure Truth
Was that Saracen saved . . . as St. Gregory beareth witness.

(B. XI, 150.)

Perhaps we are safe in suggesting that the 'prison' in A. IX, 94, is Purgatory and not Hell, in which case the prayers of the Church are held to have efficacy. This leaves only one question to be answered, namely, when was Christ 'crowned' and controlled by Do-wel, Do-bet, and Do-best, and in what sense? Again the answer seems to be given at the end of the poem. After the vision of the Harrowing of Hell, the poet goes to hear Mass, and there has a dream of Jesus as Christ Conqueror which is expounded to him by Conscience. 'In His youth', says Conscience

this Jesus . . . at a Jew's feast
Water into wine turned . . . as Holy Writ telleth,
And there began God . . . of His grace to do well.

(B. XIX, 104.)

Later, says Conscience,

He made lame to leap . . . and gave light to the blind,
And fed with two fishes . . . and with five loaves
More than five thousand . . . sorely hungred folk.
Thus he comforted the care-stricken . . . and caught a greater name
Which was Do-bet. . . .

(B. XIX, 121.)

and at last, having been crowned on Calvary¹ and having won His triumphs over Hell, He returned in resurrection to Galilee and to the Disciples,

And when this deed was done . . . Do-best He taught
 And gave Piers power . . . and pardon he granted
 To all manner men . . . mercy and forgiveness .
 (And gave)² him might, men to assoil . . . of all manner sins
 In covenant that they come . . . and acknowledge to pay
 To the Pardon of Piers Plowman . . . *redde quod debes*

(B. XIX, 177.)

Thus, by taking all these scattered passages together, the full meaning of the first becomes clear. Christ, by living Do-well, Do-bet, and Do-best in His own person, is crowned by them on Calvary, having been obedient to those ways of life and having appointed them as the advisers by which His Kingdom is to be ruled.

Faith, Works, and Learning

These are matters powerfully entangled in both A and B Texts. As has already been noticed, the Field of Folk seem to receive their Pardon for their Work under Piers; Piers had begun their instruction by telling them that the way to Truth is by obedience to the Commandments (and this, as we shall see, counts as 'Works');³ on the other hand he adds that when they come at last to 'the Court, clear as the sun, where Truth is in' they will find it

Buttressed with the Belief . . . wherethrough we may be saved
 (A. VI, 79.)

which clearly gives importance to Faith. So too, when Piers turns from his work of labour in the fields, quoting the psalm of trust '*si ambulavero in medio umbre mortis, non timebo mala*', he glances also at a text from St. Matthew:

Ne solliciti sitis . . . he saith in his gospel
 (A. VIII, 112.)

which is a pointer to the verse that ends 'Shall he not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith?'

Faith and Works are thus alternately stressed, and it is far from clear, as we have seen already, whether it is the 'true tilling'

¹ B. XIX, 41.

² For this bracketed emendation, see 'The Text of Piers Plowman' by R. W. Chambers and J. H. G. Grattan, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, vol. xxvi, no. 1, p. 4.

³ See below, p. 349.

of Do-well or his simple *paternoster* that has the greater power of his justification in the eleventh Passus of the A version. But these two conceptions, from the very start, are complicated by a third, namely that of Learning. For when Piers quotes the psalm about the valley of the shadow, the derisive priest retorts upon him for his show of Latin and suggests in mockery that Piers should turn priest himself and preach on the theme *Quoniam literaturam non cognovi*.

When Langland comes to consider the effects of Learning on the learned, he finds that their skill in the subtleties of the Faith does not issue in those Works to which it commits them:

Thus they drivel on their dais . the Deity to know
 And deem God into the gorge . when their guts are full.
 But care-full man may cry . and call at the gate,
 Both of hunger and of thirst . and for chill quaking
 And no man comes nigh him . to amend his need. . . .
(A. XI, 42.)
 God is much in the gorge . of these great masters,
 But among mean men . His mercy and His works.
(A. XI, 53.)

But their lack of inward charity is not the only count against the learned nor even their failure to practise what they preach. Their Learning itself is a danger to Christendom. It is the old business of the *Song of Neco*,

Now o clerk seiith *neco*;
 And that other *dubito*;
 Seiith another *concedo*;
 And another *obligo*,
Verum falsum sette therto;
 Than is al the lore i-do.
 Thus the fals clerkes of har hevid,
 Makith men trewth of ham be revid.¹

Subtleties in discussion, as whether Two Members of the Trinity could be held to have conspired to slay the Third,² or why God allowed the Serpent to seduce Eve³ (says Langland), must shake the Faith of simple folk.

Such motions they move . these masters in their glory
 And make men misbelieve . that muse on their words.
(A. XI, 70.)

¹ *Political Songs of England*, Camden Society, 1839, p. 211.

² A. XI, 40.

³ Ibid., 66.

Better not to know such things; *Non plus sapere quam oportet sapere*. Christ Himself had spoken against learning when He said 'Take no thought beforehand what ye shall speak'¹ and St. Augustine had confessed *Ecce, ipsi ydiote rapiunt celum, ubi nos sapientes in infernum mergemur*.²

And thus, through a tangle of thoughts on the effect of Learning on Faith and Works, the Author had passed to his first conclusion, the justification of Do-wel by his simplicity, and the damning of the Doctors.

In this conclusion, however, he was unable to rest; he came in middle age to see that without Learning there could be no Faith, not even the simple Faith that reposes on a Paternoster; for who is to teach a tinker how to say his prayers except a learned priest?

And as a blind man in battle . beareth weapon to fight
 And hath no hap with his axe . his enemy to hit,
 No more can a man of natural wit . unless clerics teach him
 Come for all his wit . to Christendom and be saved
 Which is the coffer of Christ's treasure . and clerics keep the keys.
 (B. XII, 107.)

This is the advice of *Imaginative*, the power of a man in middle age, to see the images of memory in their true perspective. The Dreamer stands self-rebuked for his earlier contempt of Learning.

We have seen in outline the complex of ideas centering round Faith, Works, and Learning in the A Text; we have seen that in the A Text, aiming at the justification of the Pardon of Piers, Langland made what might be called a false landing and finished off his poem as best he might, justifying Do-wel at the expense of Do-bet; and we have seen that the reviser has not suppressed any of these things, although he was obviously of a different opinion; true to the existing organization of the poem on the lines of a spiritual autobiography, he leaves on record the prejudices of his youth in all their insolence and passes on to his maturity and the change of his views. That is why the next Passus in the B Text (B. XI) deals with his wayward worldly life, giving the passage of time,

Till I forgot Youth . and hastened into Eld

(B. XI, 59.)

and met with *Imaginative*.

But even *Imaginative* cannot finally resolve the whole problem,

¹ A. XI, 287.

² Ibid., 295.

for all his arguments about the Penitent Thief, Trajan, and Aristotle, classic examples of Faith, Works, and Learning respectively. The trouble was that poetically speaking these three historical figures, though they made an argument, did not make a picture; without a picture, without a story, the argument hung fire, for Langland's thinking was always clearer to him when it came under an allegory, a narrative; we have seen this not only in his organization of the English scene, but also in his effort to dress his later arguments in a sort of autobiography. He was never really at home with *nego, dubito, and concedo*. He was, however, given to thinking in terms of trinities; Do-wel, Do-bet, and Do-best; Faith, Works, Learning. It was in puzzling over these and how to match them with each other that he suddenly hit upon a new trinity and a new story that could embrace his whole thought; the trinity was that of the three virtues, Faith, Hope, and Charity, and the story was the story of the Good Samaritan.

(I do it on *Deus Caritas* . . . to deem the sooth.)

Most delicately, most gradually, the allegory is introduced; the unsuspecting reader can hardly see it happening until it has happened. First, as if in continuation of the series of his ghostly companions (Wit, Study, Imaginative, Conscience, Patience, and the rest), Piers Plowman returns into the poem

and all for pure joy
That I heard name his name . . . anon I swooned after
And lay long in a lone dream . . . and at last methought
That Piers the Plowman . . . all that place showed me.

(B. XVI, 18.)

He teaches the ravished dreamer how to understand the tree of Charity and its Triune support and the first notes of the theme of the Incarnation are sounded:

Then spake *Spiritus Sanctus* . . . in Gabriel's mouth
To a maid called Mary. . . .

(B. XVI, 90.)

the life of Christ is then swiftly told up to the crucifixion; very naturally this is followed by the coming of Faith, in the form of Abraham its great exemplar, and he too teaches the dreamer the nature of the Trinity and speaks of the Incarnation and the Sacrament of the Altar; in his bosom lie many, Lazarus, the Patriarchs, and Prophets, in safe keeping against the day when Christ descending into Hell shall release them from the power

of the Fiend. And, as that is matter for hope, it is Hope who immediately appears, in the form of Moses.

Why should Moses stand for Hope? He bears the tables of the Law, *Dilige Deum et proximum*, which link exactly with those words spoken by Piers when he first set the world to *work*.

You must go through meekness . both man and wife,
Till you come into conscience . that Christ knows the Truth
That you love Him more dearly . than the life in your hearts,
And then our neighbours next. . . .

(A. VI, 51.)

Abraham is to Faith as Moses is to Works; each justifies his claim to have saved many souls; and so it is argued:

And as we went thus in the way . wording together
Then saw we a Samaritan . sitting on a mule

(B. XVII, 47.)

who brings a parable within a parable to tell the story of Faith, Hope, and Charity. Of all the subtle foretastes in which this poem abounds, the phrase *sitting on a mule* is the most pregnant; it is the first hinting that the Samaritan, Charity, is Christ Himself. But the story is not yet far enough told for a full identification; so great a vision must open with extreme gradualness, and except for this hint, the true identity of the Good Samaritan is held in reserve. Meanwhile we see him tend the man who fell among thieves while Faith and Hope play the parts of the Priest and the Levite:

Faith flew away . and Spes his fellow too
Forsight of the sorrowful man . that had been robbed by thieves

(B. XVII, 88.)

Who is this sorrowful man but the human race, fallen among thieves in their first garden?

For in my palace, Paradise, . in person of an adder. . . .
Thievishly thou didst rob me. . . .

(B. XVIII, 333.)

And neither Faith nor Hope is sufficient for the wound:

'Have them excused', said the Samaritan . their help may little
avail

No medicine upon earth . can bring the man to health,
Neither *Faith* nor fine *Hope*, . so festered are his wounds,
Without the blood of a boy . born of a maid.

(B. XVII, 90.)

So the Samaritan begins his teaching, and in image upon image tells of the death of Death (*O mors, ero mors tua*), and of the

mystery of the Trinity (like a Hand: fist, finger, and palm; like a Torch: wax, wick, and flame), and of repentance and pardon. In this story and in this teaching that crowns it, Faith, Works, and Learning are made one with Faith, Hope, and Charity; Allegory has resolved argument.

But there is a climax still to come, the hinted identifications have still to be made manifest; it is kept back for the next Passus, the next dream, for the Good Samaritan has spurred his mule
And went away as wind . . . and there-with I awaked.

(B. XVII, 350.)

Weary and wet-shod, Langland 'went forth after, all my lifetime' until again he slept:

And of Christs passion and penance . . . reaching to the people
(Resting myself and deep asleep . . . till *ramis palmarum*),
Of children chanting *gloria laus* . . . I greatly dreamed. . . .
One semblable to the Samaritan . . . and something to Piers the
Plowman

Barefoot upon an ass's back . . . unbooted came riding. . . .
Then was *Faith* in a window . . . and cried '*A! fili David!*'
As doth an herald of arms . . . when the adventurous come to joust
Old Jews of Jerusalem . . . for joy they sang

Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini

Then I asked of *Faith* . . . what all this affair meant. . . .
'Is Piers in this place?' said I . . . and he peered upon me,
'This Jesus of His gentle birth . . . will joust in Piers' arms,
In his helm and in his habergeon . . . *humana natura.*'

(B. XVIII, 1-23.)

At last Charity and Learning, the Good Samaritan and Piers, are made one with Christ, and He one with humanity. This is (I suppose) the top of all English allegorical writing, the greatest gathering of the greatest meanings in the simplest symbols.

Thus in the B Text, the seeds set so unregardingly in the A have grown to their flower and fruit. It would indeed be true in a certain sense to say that there is no material in the revised poem which is not present or implicit in the earlier one. Yet it might not have been given to the revising poet to see it all so clearly, to let it grow to its natural organic shape. The *Canterbury Tales* are unfinished; a hundred more stories are implicit in its plan; but of all those untold tales we could not name one that is implied by the structure of the poem in the sense that the story of the life and passion of Christ is implicit in the A Text of Piers Plowman, as are also the stories of the Harrowing of Hell, the building of Piers' Barn of Holy Church, and the Coming of

Anti-Christ, given the allegorical genius to see them there. From the moment when Thought first told the Dreamer of Do-well, Do-better, and Do-best, the stories of the Incarnation and the founding of Christendom were inevitable *exempla* for who could perceive and tell them. In the course of the years they were perceived and told.

It need hardly be said that they are the most striking additions made in the revision; if one were to imagine the A Text published with the B Prologue, the resulting poem would still be near in kind to *Wynnerne and Wastoure*. But these other additions have outsoared what is topical and temporal, albeit the Prologue is more securely anchored to fourteenth-century England than ever; the author has found the ways to Paradise 'by way of Kensal Green'.

Allegory is a way of thinking, parallel thinking; thought directed to a subject on several levels of reality at once. It seems to have arisen out of Christianity and spread to science and poetry; but in Holy Scripture was its home. Origen distinguished three meanings, the historic, the moral, and the spiritual;¹ that is the verbal, the moral, and the mystical.

In the dedication to Leander of Seville of his lectures on the Book of Job Gregory the Great puts forward a similar view:²

'You must know that there are some parts which we explain historically, others we search out by allegory, investigating symbolical meaning, in others we open out only moral lessons, allegorically conveyed, while there are some few which we discuss in all these ways together, exploring them by a three-fold method.'

A fourth way of interpretation was also discovered, especially for biblical exegesis, popularly expressed in the tag:

Littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria
Moralis quid agas, quo tendas analogia³

and this is elaborated in the *Summa* of St. Thomas, Question 1, Article 10, and quoted in Mr. H. W. Troyer's extremely suggestive article 'Who is Piers Plowman?'⁴ An even clearer account

¹ 'He was familiar with the Pauline distinction of "body, soul, and spirit". He finds such a distinction in the senses of scripture. There too we have a bodily or historic sense, a moral sense, which—perhaps without any very special propriety—he classes with the soul; a higher element, the spiritual meaning.' R. B. Tollington, *Selections from the Commentaries of Origen*, 1929.

² *Gregory the Great*, by F. Homes Dudden, vol. i, p. 193.

³ *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. i, p. 331.

⁴ *P.M.L.A.*, xlvii, no. 2.

of the fourfold method of interpretation appears in the *Convivio* of Dante.

'... Writings may be taken and should be expounded chiefly in four senses. The first is called the literal, and it is the one that extends no further than the letter as it stands; the second is called the allegorical, and is the one that hides itself under the mantle of these tales, and is a truth hidden under a beauteous fiction. . . . It is true that the theologians take this sense otherwise than the poets do, but since it is my purpose here to follow the method of the poets I shall take the allegorical sense after the use of the poets.

The third sense is called the moral, and this is the one that lecturers should go intently noting throughout the scriptures for their own behoof and that of their disciples. Thus we may note in the Gospel, when Christ ascended the mountain for the transfiguration, that of the twelve apostles he took with him but three; wherein the moral may be understood that in the most secret things we should have but few companions.

The fourth sense is called the anagogical, that is to say 'above the sense'; and this is when a scripture is spiritually expounded which even in the literal sense, by the very things it signifies, signifies again some portion of the supernal things of eternal glory. . . .'¹

I have assembled these few accounts of the nature of allegory not because I imagine, or think I can prove, that Langland had access to any of them, but to show that it was so current a commonplace of medieval exegesis that it would be no wonder if our author knew of it; he may indeed have known it more intimately than we can, who, by reading, can apprehend it intellectually but cannot easily let it live in us as a way or habit of thinking and feeling. Langland was, perhaps, no great reader, but he gives the effect of a great listener.

'His knowledge must have been largely derived from what he heard in sermons or got from conversations with other men.'²

The allegorical method was then a regular method of presentation and analysis for the makers of sermons and the renderers of the Bible; but to reverse the process, to use it as a method not of criticism but of creation in this its most complex, fourfold manner, seems to belong to Langland alone in the field of English poetry. To know that Holy Writ may have four meanings and to discern them is one thing, but to create a great work on this biblical scale is a feat of poetry almost above ambition.

If this method of interpretation is difficult for the twentieth

¹ Dante, *Convivio*, Second Treatise, ch. i, tr. P. H. Wicksteed.

² R. W. Chambers, *Man's Unconquerable Mind*, p. 104.

century, an analogy from music may be useful. A fugue must have at least two voices, and commonly has three or four, as a glance at the fugues of Bach will show. Each voice enters in a key different by an appointed musical interval from that of the preceding voice; episodes and counter-themes are allowed and are used to bridge intervals between the reintroductions of the main theme, which may disappear for many bars at a time; in the development the voices pursue and overtake each other and lie as it were parallel in their appointed musical planes, and the whole sweeps to a conclusion that is mathematically pre-ordained and yet leaves that freedom to genius which distinguishes a great fugue from one which any qualified musician might compose in meek obedience to the rules. So it is with this kind of poetry; if we listen, in the poems we have discussed, for these serial and simultaneous voices, we hear but two in *Wynnere and Wastoure*, three in the first version of *Piers Plowman*, and four in the second,

but match'd in mouth like bells,
Each under each.

It remains to link the analysis here attempted with ideas already advanced elsewhere as to the structure of the poem. The existence of a fourth voice within it (so much more important than a fourth author) was first discerned by Mr. Wells, albeit he did not fasten upon it the official name, the *sensus anagogicus* of medieval theory; that was the work of Mr. Troyer.¹ Both of these scholars see the same truth, but in different ways; for whereas Mr. Troyer sees Christ as God in the image of Man, for whom he believes Piers to be 'a multifold symbol', Mr. Wells stresses that man is made in the image of God; either of these approaches is valuable, but that of Mr. Wells the more fundamental, for if we follow its implications under the guidance of Mr. Wells, the poem as a whole takes anagogical shape, into which the character and meaning of the symbol Piers easily fits; whereas if we follow the line suggested by Mr. Troyer, we reach an answer only in respect of the symbol Piers, which it must be said in fairness to Mr. Troyer is the special point of his inquiry. The doctrine that man is made in the image of God is fully stated in both the A and B versions of the poem:

'Kind' quoth he, 'is Creator . . . of all kinds of beasts,
Father and Former . . . and first of all things;
The Lord of Life and of Light . . . of joy and of pain.

¹ Op. cit.

Angels and all things . . . are at his will,
 But man is most like to Him . . . of mark and of shape;
 For with a word that he flung . . . waxed forth the beasts
 And all things at his will . . . were wrought with speech

Dixit et facta sunt

Save man that He made . . . image to Himself
 Gave him ghost of his Godhead . . . and granted him bliss,
 Life that ever shall last . . . and all his lineage after.

(A. X, 27-37.)

Wells expounds the importance of this idea to the reviser of the poem thus:

'He evidently considered that, since God is a Trinity, man must in some sense also be a trinity. Each of the three parts of the *Vita* begins with allusions to the interrelation of the three parts of the Trinity and each is clearly dedicated to a special Person of the Trinity. At the conclusion of the *Vita de Do-well* we are told that even the Saracens believe in God the Father. It is this Person of the Trinity who clearly presides over the Life of Do-wel. Christ as Piers the Plowman is the central theme of the *Vita de Do-bet*. In this part of the poem the life of Christ, his crucifixion and the harrowing of hell supply the chief narrative elements. The *Vita de Do-best* is no less clearly dedicated to the Holy Spirit. . . . Such is the spiritual trinity of man according to *Piers Plowman*, a thought of no inconsiderable importance in the organization of the work.'¹

It would seem that although the writer of the A Text knew well enough that God is a Trinity and that Man is made in His Image, the notion that Do-well, Do-better, and Do-best were in some sense parallel to the functions of the Three Persons of the Trinity did not dawn upon him, or at least become a part of his poem, until the process of revision began. But once he had apprehended it, it became the thought upon which the whole revision was moulded; once more there was an equation of Trinities. We may even make a simple table of the organization of the new poem:

<i>Sensus literalis</i> :	Piers the Farmer	Piers the Teacher	Piers the Builder of the Barn
<i>Sensus allegoricus</i> :	Laity	Clergy	Episcopate
<i>Sensus moralis</i> :	Do-wel	Do-bet	Do-best
<i>Sensus anagogicus</i> :	God the Father	God the Son	God the Holy Ghost

If to this tabular presentation we add that it is indeed only a

¹ *P.M.L.A.*, xliv, no. 1, 'The Construction of Piers Plowman', by H. W. Wells.

table, that all the meanings harmonize and interplay their counterpoint, mingle, vanish, reappear, and combine in every variety, and that every combination is graced with images of intense poetical force and told in language equal to the design, it becomes possible to view the whole poem in one complex imaginative act, to see it as a great and single vision made of many visions, held and harmonized in the mind of the revising poet, and written down so that we can hold it in the same way.

The uniting symbol is Piers;¹ choosing him for hero was the masterstroke of the revising hand. The simple farmer about whom the A Text poem on England had centred, became the changeable but constant centre of the three ways of christian salvation.

It has been seen in this inquiry that the revision of the poem was dictated by the enigmatic character of the Pardon sent by Truth to the Field of Folk; in what light do we now see this Pardon, after studying the revision? Are we any nearer to knowing whether it was a pardon or not? If our analysis has been correct, in the Vision of Pentecost and the Building of the Barn of Unity ('Holy Church in English'), Piers was the *exemplum* for Do-best, as in the Vision of the Incarnation and especially of the Passion, Piers was the *exemplum* for Do-bet. But Piers had also been the symbol of the first vision, the vision of England, and in this, as we can now see, he stands for Do-wel, or in Latin *qui bona egerunt*; it is his very name, and the Pardon is truly his. But there is more in it than this: his followers have to be considered.

If we turn to the first advice given to them by Piers we find him use this allegory of entry into Heaven:

Grace is the guard on the gate . . . a good man in truth;
His man is called Amend-you . . . for many men know him;
Tell him this token . . . for Truth knows the sooth:
'I performed the penance . . . that the priest enjoined;
I am sorry for my sins . . . and so shall I ever
When I think thereon. . . .'

(A. VI, 85.)

Penance includes one more of those trinities in which Langland so often thought; it has three parts, *contritio cordis*, *confessio oris*, and *satisfactio operis*; at one time in his revision he began to play

¹ For a detailed demonstration of this see *Med. Æv.* vol. ii, no. 2, 'The Character of Piers Plowman', by Nevill Coghill.

with this thought, seeking in it an analogy for Do-wel, Do-bet, and Do-best.

'And I shall ken thee', quoth Conscience . . . 'of contrition to make,
That shall clean thy cloak . . . of all kinds of filth,

Cordis contritio etc.

Do-wel shall wash it and wring it . . . through a wise confessor,

Oris confessio

Do-bet shall beat it and cleanse it . . . as bright as any scarlet,
And dye the grain with a good will . . . and God's grace to amend thee
And afterward send thee to satisfaction . . . to sew it up,

Satisfaccio Dobest'

(B. XIV, 16.)

But he leaves this fancy, and comes back to a simpler statement:

Ergo, Contrition, Faith and Conscience . . . is the nature of Do-wel,
And are surgeons for deadly sin . . . when shrift of mouth faileth.

But shrift of mouth more worthy is . . . if man be inly contrite;

For shrift of mouth slayeth sin . . . be it never so deadly. . . .

But Satisfaction seeketh out the root . . . and both slayeth and voideth it
And, as if it had never been . . . bringeth deadly sin to nought.

(B. XIV, 87.)

Now when the Pardon was sent to Piers, his followers had already shown Contrition and made Confession through the figures of the Seven Deadly Sins, and were even then engaged on the search for St. Truth, which seems their act of Satisfaction. The revising poet therefore has made clear that such men are also written in the Pardon by the name of Do-wel, *qui bona egerunt*, even though they had sinned; for they were 'inly contrite', they had made their shrift of mouth, and they were 'seeking out the root' in satisfaction. They were 'kyndelich Do-wel', The Pardon Truth had sent them was their Pardon; He had bought it and they had earned it.

In this new light upon their repentance, let us look at their Pardon once again. All in two lines it lay:

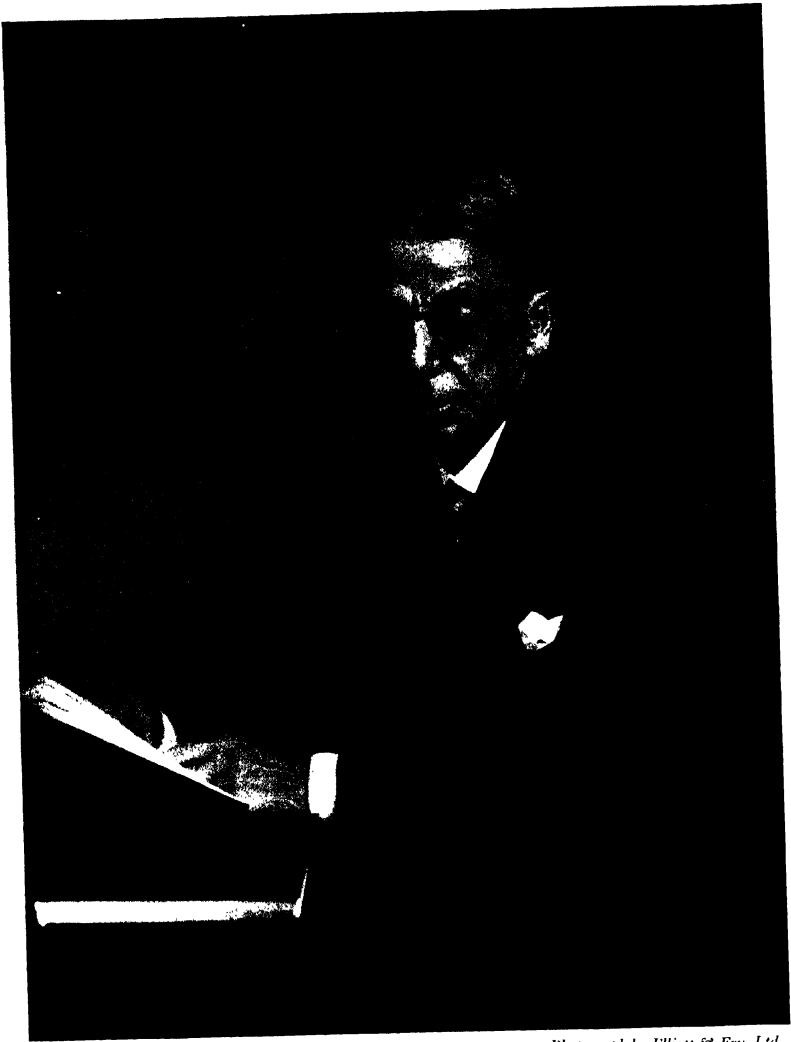
Et qui bona egerunt, Ibunt in vitam eternam

Qui vero mala, in ignem eternum.

Understood on the human planes of the A Text, here is justice, but no mercy, for on any human plane justice and mercy are at variance; one must yield to the other. But on that further plane of *aeterna gloria*, in the life of God, where justice and mercy are one, Langland saw them manifested with equal power in the Incarnation, the Atonement, and in Pentecost; by these the simple followers of Piers, 'blustering forth as beasts' on their

pathless penance, are to find mercy as well as justice in the Pardon of Truth. To show the richness of its meaning and the strength of its foundation, Langland had to write not only a new poem, but a new kind of poem, one that can awaken in the reader a new kind of attention to some portion of those supernal things of which Dante wrote.

OBITUARIES



Photograph by Elliott & Fry, Ltd.

G. C. MOORE SMITH

1933

GEORGE CHARLES MOORE SMITH

1858-1940

I SUPPOSE most writers of memoirs for this Academy are oppressed by a sense of inadequacy in the treatment of their subject; but seldom if ever can such feelings have been so fully justified as in the present instance. I came to know Moore Smith first when, after being appointed an inspector of adult classes under the Board of Education with a roving commission which embraced the five northern counties and Cheshire, I stayed the night from time to time under his hospitable roof at Sheffield. He was interested in the Workers' Educational Association, then in the full flush of its apostolic age, and I could bring him the latest intelligence. Thus our talks were long and lively; but I learnt little or nothing of himself or his own studies, while it was not until I left the neighbourhood, in 1918, that I myself became absorbed in Shakespeare. On this head we had some correspondence; and I have kept for twenty-five years one of his letters, in grateful remembrance of his saving a greenhorn editor from making a bad blunder. After 1918, however, I saw and heard little of him except on an occasional visit to Purley, like the one referred to below. When, therefore, in March 1941 I received a request to compose this memoir, I felt myself exceedingly ill-equipped for the task, while obviously the person to write it was Allen Mawer. Yet I could not refuse, since the request virtually came from Mawer himself. University College had just been bombed, and its Provost was wrestling with the appalling and baffling problems which university institutions in Scotland have been happily spared. I made, however, stipulations: that I might pester him with questions to my heart's content, that he should furnish me with rough notes, that the memoir should in fact be a joint production in which he provided the ingredients. I also pleaded for time; for even in Scotland the pace was pretty hot in 1941. And then sixteen months later, before we had begun, Mawer succumbed to the weight of his war-time burden; and I was left with a few jottings which his secretary sent me after his death.

I have made full use of these; and it will be evident how much I am indebted to his sisters and to other friends for what follows. But many of those I could most wish to consult have passed, like Mawer, beyond reach of the postman; Macdougall, Bateson,

and Jespersen among them. And I cannot tell how I should have fared without the help of Professor George Potter who, as professor of history at Sheffield and a former scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge, was doubly qualified to guide my steps. One thing the composition of this memoir has taught me, viz. that Moore Smith with his many interests and the variety of his contacts was a bigger man than perhaps any one friend could have suspected during his lifetime. And if my inadequacy stirs someone who knew him better to produce a full-length portrait, such a book might well prove an interesting and valuable contribution to the history of modern British civilization.

George Charles Moore Smith came of a professional family long associated with Whittlesey, or Whittlesea as it is often spelt, the little country town in the Isle of Ely, a few miles from Peterborough, where he first saw the light. His great-grandfather, John Smith, had been a surgeon in the place, and married Eleanor Moore, daughter of the vicar, from whom was inherited the name Moore that many of the later Smiths acquired in baptism and used as if part of their surname. His grandfather, Charles Smith, who was J.P. and D.L. for Cambridgeshire, lived and died at Whittlesey; and his father, George Moore Smith, practised as a solicitor there. It is, however, by its military connexion that the family belongs to history. The grandfather, enrolling, in face of possible invasion, in the Volunteers like Walter Scott at the same period and like the L.D.V. of our own time, actually saw service abroad for a short while, fought against Napoleon at Waterloo, and attained the rank of Captain in the regular army before finally settling down at Whittlesey. And the grandfather's two brothers, who also fought at Waterloo, made the army their profession for life: one, Colonel Thomas Lawrence Smith, filled the responsible post of Principal Barrack-master at Aldershot from 1855 to 1868, and the other, Henry George Wakelyn Smith, became Lt.-General Sir Harry Smith, G.C.B., and is probably the most distinguished person that Whittlesey ever produced.¹

This famous soldier, after seeing service successively in South America, in the Peninsula, and at Waterloo, against the Kaffirs in 1836 and against the Sikhs ten years later when he commanded a division which won a brilliant victory at Aliwal, was appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief at the Cape in 1847, routed the Boers at Boom Platz in 1848, and before return-

¹ For these genealogical facts *vide* pp. 1-2 of G. C. Moore Smith's ed. of *The Autobiography of Sir Harry Smith*.

ing to England in 1852 wrote his name at large upon the map of Natal, where the towns Harrismith, Ladysmith, and Witlesey commemorate himself, his Spanish wife, and his native place. He also bequeathed to posterity an interesting *Autobiography* which his grand-nephew, the subject of this memoir, edited 'with the addition of some supplementary chapters' and published in 1901, twelve months after the relief of Ladysmith. The moment was well chosen; and the book went through five issues in three years. It was Moore Smith's one popular success, none the less deserved for all that his own sympathies were 'pro-Boer' and his interest rather in the lovely Spanish Juana, whom his great-uncle won by the sword in the Peninsular Wars and who survived as his widow until 1872, than in the details of his campaigns. It looked, indeed, for a while as if the career of a military historian might be his. For, as his friend F. H. Colson tells us,

the success of his edition of the *Autobiography* led Lord Seaton to invite him to draw up a memoir of the first Lord Seaton, better known as Sir John Colborne—a task which, though perhaps not very congenial to him, was executed with a care and thoroughness patent to anyone who has even glanced through the book.¹

The *Life of Lord Seaton* appeared in 1903. But though his family interest in Waterloo and the British army led him to publish articles on military subjects now and again in the *English Historical Review* and elsewhere, his life's work was to lie in other fields. Perhaps, as Mr. Colson hints, Lord Seaton exhausted that vein in his nature. Certainly, though I never knew a braver spirit, it would be difficult to imagine anyone less like a military man than Moore Smith in later years.

The truth is that he inherited or acquired a literary bent from his father, if not from both parents, which more than neutralized the military strain; though the two, as Wolfe and Wavell have shown, are by no means incompatible. We are told of an aunt, Mrs. Jane Alice Sargant, author of *Joan of Arc* (a play), *Charlie Burton* (a tale, translated into French and German), and many other works,² who was sister of the three soldiers; his mother too, Elizabeth, only daughter of the Rev. James Clarke Franks, Chaplain of Trinity College and later vicar of Huddersfield, and of Elizabeth Firth who came from near Bradford, had been godmother to Elizabeth and Anne Brontë. And his own sister records that their father 'had a fine critical taste in English

¹ *The Eagle*: a magazine of St. John's College, Dec. 1941, p. 70.

² *Autobiography*, p. 2.

literature' and a good voice, which was in constant demand at public entertainments in the neighbourhood for readings from Dickens and Tennyson. Tennyson indeed, and his father's voice, must have done much to shape the imagination of the growing boy, since he, his brother, and his sisters treasured early and vivid recollections of 'rambles through the fields', the while *The Lady of Shalott* and other poems were recited to them. In a sense these recollections proved the fountain-light of his later being; for, until rheumatism crippled him, country walks and the hearing or reciting of poetry remained his chief pleasures.

But the rambles and recitations of Whittlesey came to an end in 1870 when his father died. Moore Smith was then in his twelfth year; and his sister writes that he 'early shouldered the cares and responsibilities of the eldest brother of a fatherless family' of nine children; responsibilities, she adds, which 'he discharged faithfully and generously all his life', and which, I may add in turn, were rewarded by most devoted care during the last, helpless, phase of it. For seventeen years after the father's death, Tonbridge became the head-quarters of the family, Mrs. Moore Smith having moved there in order to send her sons as day boys to Tonbridge School. The eldest attended from April 1871 till July 1877; and three out of the four rose to be head boys. Two headmasters presided over the school in turn during G. C. Moore Smith's time, J. I. Welldon and T. B. Lowe, both ex-fellows of St. John's College, Cambridge; and it was probably Lowe's influence that sent him and his brother Harry to that college. Among school friends who afterwards made a name for themselves in the world, perhaps Harold Cox and Sydney Olivier (later Lord Olivier) are the most famous. Both were in the sixth form with him, and like him keen members of the debating society. Never a robust person, he was exempted under doctor's orders from games at school; but the rambles of childhood developed into long country walks, while when opportunity offered he took a delight in skating, a form of exercise which must have come almost by nature to a boy from the fens.

To the fens he returned in 1877 with an Entrance Exhibition in Classics at John's, which was later, 1880-4, exchanged for a Foundation Scholarship. Cambridge now became his home until he went to Sheffield in 1896, and even after that his place of residence during most summer vacations; as long, indeed, as a journey from Sheffield remained possible. St. John's has had many thousand distinguished sons, but none more devoted than Moore Smith. His genius was essentially and characteristically

academic, in the best sense of the word; but while his swarthy complexion, 'figure spare',

... dark vague eyes and soft abstracted air,

reminded one of the scholar gipsy, it was talk and company he rejoiced in, not sequestered solitude; and there is evidence that his talk and company was equally pleasing to his fellows. Nor had he 'one aim, one business, one desire'. On the contrary, *humani nihil a me alienum* might have been his motto, and it is noteworthy that two of his chief friends at college afterwards became scientists of the highest distinction and in different lines: William Bateson, the biologist, and William Macdougall, the psychologist. G. G. Coulton, another college friend, though of a later period, writes:

It was a solid pleasure, every long vacation, to anticipate Moore Smith's return to his old college. His own satisfaction was quiet, but one felt that it was deep, and that there was a pre-established harmony between his soul and the place. And, even when his bodily infirmities grew upon the man, the scholar was unchanged in him. One was reminded of Heine's old Canon of the collegiate church at Düsseldorf: 'Gott! wie elend sah er aus, als ich ihn zuletzt sah! Er bestand nur noch aus Geist und Pflastern, und studierte dennoch Tag und Nacht, als wenn er besorgte, die Würmer mochten einige Ideen zu wenig in seinem Kopfe finden.'

The quotation from Heine suggests that time and the onset of osteoarthritis in later years converted the scholar gipsy of Arnold into something more like the grammarian of Browning. But while this would be true of the outer man to some extent, gaiety of spirit and wide human interests remained his to the end. On the other hand, he could be a good hater; and, when the occasion called, as it sometimes did at Sheffield, a 'bonnie fechter'.

He studied Classics at Cambridge under J. E. (afterwards Sir John) Sandys, and secured a First Class in the Tripos of 1881. I have not been able to discover at what date he first began to think of English Language and Literature as a career. But he seems to have become a pupil of Skeat's immediately after taking his B.A. degree, and to have worked at English studies in Cambridge from 1881 to 1896, living on his Foundation scholarship at St. John's until its expiration in 1884, and after that on what he could earn from examining, coaching, and extension lecturing; for he appears to have possessed no private means, and his strong anti-clerical bias made ordination and a college living impossible. The records of the Board of Extra-Mural

Studies at Cambridge show that his first extension lectures were delivered at Norwich in the Michaelmas term of 1885 with a course on the History of the English Language, and that the bulk of his later extension work before he went to Sheffield fell within the session 1886-7 and was literary rather than linguistic in character, being 'given', I am informed, 'in co-operation with R. G. Moulton'. A turning from Language to Literature did not, however, denote any decline of interest in the former, for he spent the session 1887-8 in Berlin, where he became a matriculated student of the English School of the University under the well-known philologist, Zupitza.

This was the longest of many visits to Germany, and the beginning of a large number of friendships and a lifelong pre-occupation. An old Baedeker of his is in existence, liberally marked with dates, with the hotels he stayed in underlined, and with snatches of diary here and there: it shows that in the 1890's when he did most of his travelling in Germany, he moved about on foot, or on bicycle, and always stayed in second- or third-rate hotels: there are no notes on politics. Allen Mawer writes:

Germany, German scholars and, above all, German students had a very warm corner in his affections. He foregathered with the older scholars at the old Austrian café in New Oxford Street when they were working at the Museum, he gave a warm welcome to the younger generation when they came to this country and, while no one could have been a more loyal lover of his own land than G. C. M. S., all this meant that spiritually the Great War of 1914-18 was one of the saddest things in his life. It meant the cutting off of many old friendships; it meant for him the sacrifice of many young lives, English and German alike.

With his dislike of, not to say detestation for, the more blatant manifestations of British imperialism in the nineties, a dislike expressed in his 'pro-Boer' attitude, Moore Smith must have felt the outbreak in 1914 of war with the Germany he loved as severe a trial of faith as that which taxed the spirit of Wordsworth in 1793. It is therefore interesting to have the following account of a conversation on the subject from an intimate German friend, now in exile. After stating that to the best of his knowledge 'most German scholars in the field of English philology during the first quarter of this century were either acquaintances or friends of Moore Smith's', including Brie at Freiburg, Hecht at Göttingen, Franz at Tübingen, Schick at Munich, Hoops at Heidelberg, Schirmer at Berlin, as well as the last-named's predecessors, Brandl and Dibelius, he goes on:

Notwithstanding his sincere friendship with individual Germans and his friendly exchange of ideas with many of his German colleagues, this attitude had become more and more cautious and critical after 1918. One day—it must have been in 1929 or 1930—we were discussing Galsworthy's *Forsyte Saga* and the tremendous sale it had in Germany. Moore Smith remarked he knew very well why the Germans were so eagerly devouring it. It drew a picture of the increasing decadence of the English, and the Germans enjoyed reading about it. I violently disagreed, pointing out that the modern conception of the saga—the rise and fall of a family—had actually originated in Germany (Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrocks*, 1901). It didn't convince him. In the light of what has happened since he doubtless was the more clear-sighted and correct interpreter, though I still maintain that the majority of German readers of Galsworthy at that time belonged to 'la meilleure Allemagne' (harbouring no evil intents towards England). It is true, that side of Germany was soon after crushed by 'la mauvaise Allemagne'.¹

He seems to have made few new German friends after 1914 though remaining devoted to old ones. And long before this, he had come to realize that the Germans were as wrong about English philology as they were in their diagnosis of English political and social conditions, and had begun to turn more and more to Scandinavia for inspiration.

G. C. M. S. [again writes Allen Mawer, who perhaps significantly omits the connexion with Skeat] became interested in philological questions through his work under Zupitza in Berlin, but his main inspiration came from Jespersen. He was one of the first to recognize the importance of Jespersen's work in the improvement of Modern Language teaching by his studies in Phonetics and by all that he did for strengthening and popularizing the teaching of English in Denmark. He was also one of the first persons in this country to realize the significance of Jespersen's *Progress in Language* (1894), and all that it meant for the true understanding of the development of such languages as English. It was this and other later books of Jespersen's which made G. C. M. S. so ardent an advocate of new and reformed views of English Grammar. His own deep classical training, instead of making him wish to force Modern Languages within the framework of the classical tongues, made him realize how artificial all such attempts were, and he was a persistent advocate of the newer, wider, and more logical views of Grammar and Language generally advanced by Jespersen.

His friendship with Jespersen was one of the happiest things in his life. He was at his very best when he was abroad free from the inhibi-

¹ I quote from a private letter by Professor Joseph Bihl, who also wrote a good account of Moore Smith's relations with Germany and German scholars in a tribute to him on his seventieth birthday, printed in *Englische Studien*, Sept. 1928.

tions of that ordinary conventional English life to which none conformed more completely than he did when at home; and much as he loved Germany, he was even happier in Denmark where he found himself in a country, and with friends, imbued with the same liberal ideals in politics, religion, and life generally that inspired his own life.

I confess with sorrow that I have nothing more to communicate about this important chapter in Moore Smith's life, important, I suspect, not only to Moore Smith himself but as throwing light on a great turning-point in the history of English scholarship. When Europe is one again, somebody no doubt will tell us the story of Jespersen's relations with English scholars, while he was carrying on his revolutionary researches; and, if he does, Moore Smith's name will undoubtedly stand conspicuous among them. All I can say is that the acquaintanceship must have begun early, since Jespersen is already acknowledging help from Moore Smith in his preface to *Progress in Language*. Yet it would seem that the deeper Moore Smith looked into English philology, the more he became convinced that the teaching of it was not his task. Certainly, directly he obtained an assistant at Sheffield, which was in 1905, he turned over all the English Language work to him. It was the characteristic gesture of a scholar who never admitted that he was anything but a general practitioner, ready, sometimes too ready, to defer to those with claims to specialist knowledge. In this instance, at any rate, his judgement is not to be questioned, since the assistant he appointed was a young man from Caius who had already won his spurs as an authority on the Scandinavian invasions of England, Allen Mawer himself.

Moore Smith was appointed Professor of English Language and Literature at Sheffield in 1896 and occupied the chair for twenty-eight years. Firth College, founded in 1879, was recognized as a University College in 1897, and was chartered as a university in 1905. Its first professor of English, therefore, who was also first editor of the college journal, *Floreamus*, Hon. Librarian, 1896-1907, and for a time—I understand a rather critical time—Dean of the Faculty of Arts, must have had a good deal to do with the shaping of its destinies. The close connexion in the nineties, indeed in some instances right up to 1914, between the Arts faculties of English provincial universities and 'the extension movement' is well illustrated by the fact that what were evidently Moore Smith's ordinary university lectures at Sheffield, 1898-1905, are entered as extension courses in the records at Stuart House, Cambridge, together

with similar courses by other lecturers in other University Colleges, e.g. Bristol and Exeter, at about the same time. 'Such courses', the Secretary of the Board of Extra-Mural Studies tells me, 'often extended throughout the session, and the students seem to have been examined afterwards, in quite large numbers, and to have been awarded appropriate certificates from Cambridge', though Cambridge was not concerned with any payment to the lecturers, who presumably gave the courses as part of their college duties. I never heard Moore Smith lecture, and opinions differ as to his gifts in that direction; but it seems to be agreed that he relied a good deal upon reading aloud, especially from Shakespeare, while, as one friend puts it, he certainly 'possessed the quality of establishing sympathy between himself and his audience'. It is also clear that, though he disliked having to do with women students and ignored them as far as possible, there were hardly any limits to the trouble he was prepared to take for the men. Perhaps his attitude towards women in class was a relic of the Cambridge academic tradition; it certainly softened considerably as time went on. To the men, on the other hand, he was in truth, guide, philosopher, and friend. His walks on the hills round Sheffield were famous; he lent them money, bought them books, and even occasionally book-cases; and his memory must be revered by a large circle of men from Sheffield, some of whom have since risen to high places in the service of their country. From the first, moreover, he seized upon the fact that in a city like Sheffield a knowledge and love of books, the books of literature and scholarship, was the only possible foundation for the culture which our vast industrial centres so conspicuously lacked, in the eyes of outsiders, though most of the resident population appeared to be completely unconscious of it. Thus he took the office of honorary librarianship to the University very seriously indeed; and one of the objects of his visits to Cambridge was to beg books from friends, J. E. B. Mayor being a particularly generous donor; and to buy them from second-hand booksellers, while his own gifts were extensive and valuable.

Of his relations with students Allen Mawer, who had ample opportunities of observing them, writes:

There was no one more passionately and disinterestedly devoted to the welfare of young students than G. C. M. S. This devotion showed itself, not in any great outward demonstration, but in quiet helpfulness expressed in a hundred little ways. Students, and friends generally, may have found it difficult in the first instance to understand or appreciate

him, but in the end if they really did discover the true G. C. M. S. their admiration was unbounded.

And one of them who entered the University of Sheffield in 1912, fought through the first world war, and is now Sir William Hildred, first permanent head of the newly established Ministry of Civil Aviation, testifies to this admiration in a brief appreciation, which he has been good enough, at a time of extreme pressure, to write for this memoir. I am the more glad to have it in that it brings one of the few human touches to this portrait of a scholar, and confirms the opinions of colleagues about his remarkable influence as teacher and friend of the young.

Moore Smith in 1912 was at the height of his power. He was Dean of the Faculty and his lectures opened a new world to me. He was never happy with mixed classes. If a woman turned up late he listened with icy courtesy and impassive face to her stammering apologies. If a man was late he gave him a rare and friendly smile, realizing, as one man to another, that a man sometimes had to be late.

Another side was revealed when the war came. Friendly, newsy letters, parcels and books began to come into France, later to Egypt, and still later to Salonica; on every occasion giving detailed news about other men with whom he was keeping in equally close touch. Extracts from letters to him from men at the front appeared in *Floreamus*, the University magazine, which fell so far when he left the literary editorship to other hands.

And yet another side appeared during the boring days of hospital. He would come up to town, bring books and talk; tell one of other people, ask whether there was anything he could do for relatives or friends or any commissions he could execute. His attitude towards the young men who began to trickle back from the battle-fronts was indefinable, but he gave the generous impression that he felt dedicated to helping them, to bringing them back to a saner world, to reminding them of things which the war had made them forget.

When I returned to the University he knew my heart was bad and had a long chair installed in his room which he enjoined me to use on all possible occasions. If he saw me standing in the Hall he would say: 'If you must talk to that young lady'—now my wife—'you had better sit down to do it.' When I got back to the University in 1918, a very sick man, he altered the time of the English lectures for Marsden and me so that we could get a full measure of sleep. He helped me to get lecture work with the Workers' Educational Association, but advised me after a while that there was a 'reconstruction exam.' for the Civil Service and that I ought to sit for it. If I passed high enough, he told me, I should be able to take a job in the Treasury, the first time I had heard of the place, and I took his advice. He was always happy to get me round to his pleasant garden at 31 Endcliffe Rise Road, especially

when the sun was shining, to have tea, read books, and to talk books, and there I deepened my affection for him and achieved a respectful affection for his two kind-hearted sisters.

By this time I had, I think, a deeper affection and respect for him than for any man outside my own family, and as the months wore on and he became more lame with his arthritis though I saw him less I thought about him more. I remember him turning up, quite by accident, one Sunday afternoon in Purley to see Dover Wilson and dropping in at the christening ceremony of my daughter, Barbara. Though I don't suppose for a moment he thought women needed christening, he carried himself with gravity, courtesy, and friendliness through the sort of tea one has on those occasions, with the prima donna outside in her pram.

I prize very much a black and white drawing of him by J. H. Dowd of Sheffield, the photograph he gave me, the silver watch we gave him on his retirement, and which he bequeathed to me in his Will, and many books which bear his stamp and writing. Like others I miss his friendship, his humanity, and his attractive voice. I can hear him now finishing up the concluding words of *Euphranor* 'and a nightingale began to be heard among the flowering chestnuts of Jesus.'

Fitzgerald's *Euphranor* in Sheffield! That was in truth Cambridge 'university extension'. I have only one correction, or comment, to make on Sir William's tribute, viz. that, to the best of my recollection, when Moore Smith visited Purley after 1918, it was primarily to see W. P. Hildred, though it is true that the two of them sometimes called in for tea at my house at the end of a walk.

Finally, to complete the picture which Mawer and Hildred give, the following from Hamilton Thompson, who knew Moore Smith intimately both at Cambridge and Sheffield, must be quoted:

Somewhat dry as he was in manner, covering a natural shyness with a slight brusqueness of speech, his great desire was always to place himself at the service of those with whom he came in contact, with a perfect and exemplary unselfishness. It was my impression that at Cambridge more than one undergraduate who was not doing himself justice found in him a very wise friend and counsellor. . . . And afterwards, during his years at Sheffield, this devotion to his fellows never failed.

The attitude, thus beautifully defined, was of course ideal with genuine students of all kinds, but especially so with those of working-class origin, who are quick to detect even the faintest suspicion of class-superiority. Moore Smith, who was, I have said, proud of his family and quite ready to condemn a man of his own class as 'not a gentleman', if he thought so, never rubbed

up his working-class friends and students the wrong way, for the simple reason that it never occurred to him to treat them otherwise than on terms of perfect equality. As for Sheffield, the University and the City, Allen Mawer tells us, they

ran Cambridge close in his affections. In his own quiet way he was one of those who led the movement which gave Sheffield its University. The sturdy independence of the Yorkshireman and his solid good sense appealed to the passionately liberal element in his nature, and he was ever active in all good social causes in the city of his adoption—the Neighbour Guild Settlement, the Citizens' Guild of Help, the W.E.A. movement.

In short, Moore Smith was, consciously or not, inspired by what Matthew Arnold called 'the social idea' and must be ranked among the 'apostles of equality'; that is—if I may quote the well-known words of *Culture and Anarchy*—he belonged to

those who have had a passion for diffusing, for making prevail, for carrying from one end of society to the other, the best knowledge, the best ideas of their time; who have laboured to divest knowledge of all that was harsh, uncouth, difficult, abstract, professional, exclusive: to humanise it, to make it efficient outside the clique of the cultivated and learned, yet still remaining the *best* knowledge and thought of the time.

Nor were his interests in this direction confined to Sheffield. On the contrary, he had been an early and eager helper of the Barnetts at Toynbee Hall before he went north, and long remained a frequent visitor to Commercial Street, making the raising of funds his business at times, bringing many distinguished persons there, and on one occasion being responsible for the performance of a Greek play by the West Hoathly players.

Between Sheffield, Cambridge, Toynbee Hall, Germany, and Denmark, Moore Smith led a busy life, full of varied interests, among which scholarship ranked as but one. Yet it was his ruling passion—that is not too strong a word, only rivalled by a passion for poetry, even if, as with the rest of his emotional life, he was exceedingly shy of letting people see how much it meant to him, and even shyer of publishing the results of his studies to the world. On the occasion of his death, an admirable appreciation of his published work appeared in *The Eagle*, the magazine of St. John's College. As I do not think it could be bettered, within the limits of its space, which happen to be pretty much those of this memoir, I have asked its author, Professor Previt -Orton, to be allowed to quote most of it here.

G. C. Moore Smith was eminent both as a teacher and as an expert in English literature. His knowledge of the highways and byways of seventeenth-century authorship would be difficult to surpass. He had a happy instinct in attributing fatherless or many-fathered poems to the true author. When he chose to write himself he showed the classic ease of 'English undefiled'. As an editor of texts he was a model of accuracy and full, apposite, enlightening annotation. . . . Yet a full-dress book, all his own, of his writing is not to be found, save the *Life of Lord Seaton* (1903). Even his excellent *College Plays* (1923), a subject on which he was the first authority, is almost presented as a supplement to what Dr. Boas had written. The *Autobiography* of his great-uncle Sir Harry Smith (1901), which went through several editions, owed far more to him than appeared from the title, but was not his as a whole. His British Academy lecture on Thomas Randolph (1927) and his Introduction to his selections from Henry Tubbe (1915) were examples of impeccable scholarship and thoroughness, but Randolph was by no means of the first magnitude and the plagiarist Tubbe was a telescopic star. Gabriel Harvey's *Marginalia* (1913), Lord Herbert of Cherbury's *Poems* (1923), Sir William Temple's *Essays and Romances* (1930) were alike edited by him. Perhaps his *Letters of Dorothy Osborne* (1928) was his most interesting subject.

One reason for his preference for the byway over the thoroughfare in his publications may have been that he disliked re-phrasing what other men have said well (as one must in a work on a wide theme or a famous personality), but more decisive probably was his natural temperament. He was a born glossator, not an essayist, and his glossing is amongst the best of its kind. He took endless pains over every detail of biography, source or meaning. He shunned no dark passage—any gap that was left testified to long, fruitless research—he was loth to 'hold a candle to the sun', or to expatiate on what to him was commonplace, though it might not be so to his readers. He was frugal of words and spoke, more than he knew, to the elect. He had all the virtues of a first-rate antiquarian, and perhaps they unduly cast into the shadow those which he possessed of an accomplished critic, too delicate and orthodox in taste to clamour or shock his way to a jaded public ear. Add to this his native friendliness and generosity, which made him lavish time and knowledge in helping others, 'sibi et amicis' like Niccoli's library.

It only remains for me to emphasize one or two points in the foregoing. Moore Smith's name will always be mainly associated with the history of our academic drama, more particularly that of Cambridge, which he made his special field, and this he mastered in the only truly satisfactory fashion, viz. by editing the texts. Yet it is doubtful whether he ever set out with that intention, or even began to think of it as his own field until he had edited at least three or four of the plays. At the beginning

it was little more than an accident of institutional piety, a development, as it were, of his earliest publication, *Lists of past occupants of rooms in St. John's College*, 1895. And that, it seems, accounts for his confining his researches to his own university: the idea of a historical monograph on the academic drama, along the lines of Dr. Boas's *University Drama in the Tudor Age*, never apparently occurred to him. His interest in St. John's College and in Cambridge dominated the whole of his life; and it has been suggested to me that had Gabriel Harvey been an Oxford man he would probably not have looked at anything he wrote. Moreover, he was, as Previt -Orton says, temperamentally averse from authorship; and he had the scholar's repugnance to writing about manuscripts which had not yet been edited either by himself or by someone he could trust. Nevertheless, there the six texts are: 1905, *Pedantius*; 1906, *Victoria*; 1907, *Club Law*; 1908, *Hymenaeus*; 1909, *Fucus Histriomastix*; 1910, *Laelia*, all with admirable introductions and notes; *The Academic Drama in Cambridge*, in the Malone Society's Collections of 1923, which led on to that extraordinary multum in parvo *College Plays*—a body of exact and patient work upon which he spared no pains and which will never have to be done again. He might well be content.

Yet it was a by-product of these studies that brought him his widest and most immediate recognition among scholars. *Pedantius*, the earliest edited of his six plays, is a merry comedy 'full of harmless mirth' at the expense of Gabriel Harvey, friend of Spenser and enemy of Nashe. Moore Smith's preface to it is dated 1 June 1904, and in the preface to *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, published in 1913, he states that 'ten years have passed' since he began to collect the material for the book.¹ I infer from this that he became interested in Harvey's marginal jottings when he first took up the study of *Pedantius*, though his interest in both may well owe something to McKerrow, the first two volumes of whose *Nashe* appeared in 1904. The most important of the marginalia is, of course, Harvey's note in Speght's Chaucer, 1598, which gives us the earliest reference to Shakespeare's *Hamlet* that we possess. This Moore Smith discusses with all his usual acumen and caution in an Introduction, and that discussion brings the problem of the date of *Hamlet* appreciably nearer solution. Here, however, I would single out another less familiar

¹ He continued to collect Harvey's marginalia to the end of his days, and collected enough for a second volume at least, the manuscript of which he gave before his death to Mr. Douglas Hamer of Sheffield University.

passage, by way of illustrating at once what Previté-Orton well calls 'the classic ease' of his style and his perfect mastery not only of the detail but also of the spirit of the period which he made particularly his own. After noting that the chief value of the marginalia lies in the light which they throw on Harvey's character and attitude towards life, he continues:

Harvey is often called a Puritan. If to be a Puritan is to have a strong sense of personal religion, a spirit of self-humiliation, a disposition to despise this life in comparison with that which is to come, a fanatical intolerance of a ceremonial form of religion, Harvey seems to me to have been as little of a Puritan as any man could be. He shows nothing of the spirit of the fanatic, and the only approach to religiousness which I have seen in his notes is in the little story to which I have referred, in which he promises to pray for his father.

In his home Harvey used the language of an ordinary Christian; he believed as a statesman in the necessity of religion to a commonwealth; he was shocked at open blasphemies and professed atheism. More than this one cannot say. He was too much a man of the Italian Renaissance to be a very fervent Christian.

Conceive what is meant by the man of the Italian Renaissance: the man who aims at universal knowledge; who can sympathize with the intellectual detachment of Machiavelli and the audacious licence of Aretine; who yet would make scholarship a means rather than an end; who firmly holds that worldly success, power and riches are things worth striving for, and things which can be won if one is only resolute; that resolution may require the casting away of many moral scruples—conceive such a typical man, and you have Harvey as he appears in these notes written only for his own eye. No man lives up to his principles, nor perhaps down to his principles, and in the living Harvey there were no doubt amiable qualities which could not be justified by his professed opinions; but Harvey, as he depicts himself in these personal notes, is, I believe, the Renaissance man pure and simple, and in him we see the full influence of the Renaissance more clearly than in any other Englishman known to us.

I wish I had space to quote the next two pages, which illustrate the 'principles' in detail, for this portrait of Harvey has always seemed to me one of the most illuminating things ever written about the spirit of the Elizabethans, and a valuable corrective to recent invitations to regard it as almost wholly medieval. What an interesting contrast, too, it makes with the portrait of a later Cambridge scholar, which I am trying to draw, with the generous help of others, in these pages! It would be difficult to imagine two persons more unlike each other in principles or in temperament. Yet Moore Smith is as typical a

scholar of his age as Harvey was of the Renaissance; and from that fact we may draw courage for the future. Despite the horrors and devastation of total wars, civilization in the spiritual sense of that word has made great strides in the last three and a half centuries, in this country at any rate.

Previté-Orton calls Moore Smith 'a born glossator'¹; and a word must be said of his school editions, which because they are school editions are liable to be unduly neglected by scholars. The second book he published (1896) was an edition of *Henry V* in the 'Warwick Shakespeare', which I believe to be the best edition of that play in the field, and is, as might be expected, especially good on the philological side. Much the same may be said about his *King John*, which appeared also in the 'Warwick Shakespeare' four years later, and was followed in 1901 by an important article, in the *English Miscellany* presented to Furnivall, on *Shakespeare's 'King John' and 'The Troublesome Raigne'*. Lastly, there is his 'Pitt Press' edition of *The New Atlantis*, belonging like his *King John* to 1900, a delightful little book, with an excellent introduction, an ample glossary, and (as a kind of bonus) twenty-four pages entitled 'Bacon's Grammar as exemplified in the *New Atlantis*', to which I often find myself turning, though I trust it is not made a burden for the backs of young colts at school.

After all this it need hardly be said that Moore Smith made an ideal editor of the English Section of *The Modern Language Review*, a task which he took over in 1915 and carried on until 1927. His successor, Professor Charles Sisson, writes:

What *The Modern Language Review* stood for in Moore Smith's eyes, and I followed him of course, was twofold.

(i) It sought to maintain scholarly standards in literary and philological study, both in its own articles and in its reviews of books, without respect to any other considerations.

(ii) It furnished a forum for new and young scholars, no less than for established scholars. One of its principal objects was, indeed, to encourage young scholars, by advice upon work submitted, by publishing their articles, and by reviews of their books. Many a young scholar found that encouragement first in *M.L.R.* and from Moore Smith. He did not, for example, think that published theses were unworthy of his attention.

If Moore Smith fell ever below his own high standards of scholarship, it was when he was himself reviewing first and young work, and then

¹ Mr. Douglas Hamer tells me that Moore Smith kept up a lifelong correspondence with Edward Bensley—which must have been 'a perpetual Notes and Queries, or Queries and Notes'.

only if it was honest work and showed promise to come. But pretentious work, by even an established writer, knew his lash; so also did ungenerous work.

He was a sane, strong, warm influence among us.

His own scholarship was most unpretentious. He gave so much to *M.L.R.*, and to scholars young and old, of himself, that he wrote little. But he was as nearly impeccable in his scholarship as a man can be. His remarkable *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia* shows the extent of his reading and knowledge, and no less his anxiety to acknowledge any help or hints received. And there is more work in his little Cambridge *College Plays* than in most books of ten times its size. In particular he was an excellent classic. There is much to be said for the view which he and I often discussed, in the light of recent developments, that a classical education was the best training for a career as an English scholar.

While the arthritis that crippled him and the outbreak of a second war with Germany would have broken the spirit of many stronger men, I found him comparatively cheerful and amazingly plucky on a visit I paid him not long before the end. One source of pleasure was the thought of the recognition accorded him by fellow scholars. Already in 1907 he had taken the degree of Litt.D. at Cambridge, and two years later he was made Hon. Ph.D. of the University of Louvain, where he was well known for his *Pedantius* and *Victoria*, which both appeared in the *Materialien zur Kunde des älteren englischen Dramas* edited by Professor Bang of that University. In 1923 St. Andrews conferred an Hon. LL.D. upon him, and in 1927 his own Sheffield followed with an Hon. Litt.D. And next year a number of friends and admirers celebrated his seventieth birthday by presenting him with a *Bibliography of the Writings of G. C. Moore Smith*. But what gave most pleasure, not unmingled in his modesty with some surprise, was his election, in 1933, to an honorary fellowship of St. John's College, Cambridge, and to a Fellowship of this Academy.

He, who as friend of the psychologist Macdougall was fascinated by childhood and loved children with a love like Charles Lamb's, left none of his own; for he never married. It is said that there was a strain of madness in the stock, and that the nine brothers and sisters took a vow, early in life, to stamp it out by refusing the joys of family life. If so, grand-nephews and grand-nieces of Sir Harry Smith, they also served their country; and it was George, the eldest, who no doubt captained them to extinction.

J. DOVER WILSON



JAMES TAIT

JAMES TAIT

1863-1944

MY first mental picture of James Tait belongs to October 1896, when he was thirty-three years old. It was the custom in those days in the Owens College in Manchester to open a new session with a formal lecture. Tait had just been promoted from his assistant-lectureship to a lectureship in ancient history, and the principal, A. W. Ward, paid him a compliment by inviting him to give the lecture. Ward opened the proceedings and then introduced Tait as 'one of the most distinguished of our sons'. I do not now remember what the lecture was about, but I can still see the lecturer. I was much interested, for I had just entered the College and I knew that this man would be one of my teachers. I saw a serious, reticent young man, determined to go through with his task, a man of firm, well-defined features, sturdy in build, rather tall, shy but composed.

I

Reticence, composure, self-reliance, were throughout qualities of James Tait; but he was not imperturbable. Underneath he was sensitive, anxious and, until success and a competence were assured, easily worried. Like scores of other boys who have entered the new colleges and universities he had to make his own way in the face of a hazardous future. He had also, like many others, to stand up against the solicitude of relatives who had little knowledge of the academic world and wished to see him settled in a way which they could understand. He was born in Manchester on 19 June 1863. His father, Robert Tait, was a seed merchant and James was his second son. James described himself as privately educated, but he cannot have been badly educated. His sufficient acquaintance with Latin and his love of English literature show that he had not lacked the stimulus at home and school of books and ideas; but it is clear from letters which A. W. Ward wrote to him that his college career was beset with perplexities. He entered the College when he was sixteen (1879), just before the Victoria University, with the right to confer degrees, came into existence.¹ For two years he

¹ A supplementary charter of 1883 gave the power to confer degrees in medicine and surgery. University College, Liverpool, was admitted to the University in 1884, the Yorkshire College, Leeds, in 1887. The first honours

attended classes in various subjects. He must have made a favourable impression upon Ward, the professor of history, who had a large class of a hundred or so; for on 31 July 1881 the professor wrote to him a wise, balanced, and on the whole encouraging letter in reply to a request for advice:

I have no doubt but that your abilities are sufficient, with continuous application and systematic study, to qualify you for success as a teacher of literature or history.¹ And I should say that under the circumstances you could not do better than work for one of the Honours Schools of the Victoria University. . . . *Possibly* you might go in for History first and the other [English] afterwards. *Possibly* you might prefer to pass on from us to Oxford or Cambridge or to a foreign university.

And this brings me to another aspect of the question. It is never desirable, I think, to look too far ahead—and in education especially, so long as one is working hard and with a real love of one's subject. The question of what is likely to pay need not always be before one's eyes. Still, it is well to form some general idea of the future and its possibilities.

After discussing alternative plans which might be adopted after the boy had taken Honours, his mentor proceeds:

Do not commit the very natural error of supposing that literature is to be relied upon as a supplementary resource. Only one kind of literary employment can be made to answer in that way, viz. journalism; and to be a journalist is in nine cases out of ten to relinquish being a man of letters. To succeed in the time of which you are thinking, you will either have to serve an apprenticeship as an assistant which may be long and which may not be all delight—or you will have to give up some time to hard work which may enable you by rapid distinction as a writer to obtain a fairly independent position more speedily.

Lastly, remember that though we look forward to great progress in the next few years, yet at present there are not many Professorships or Lectureships, assisting or otherwise, in History and Literature open to competition, and it is just possible that the progress may not be immediate or that it may be interfered with.

In case you should think me inclined to pessimism, I will add that if a man can (in more senses than one) afford to wait, and if he is willing to be passed in the race at first by many of his contemporaries in so far as position and money and even reputation are concerned, he cannot do better than choose the line of life of which you are thinking. If you decide on trying with that end in view you may trust to me for giving you what help I can towards it.

examination in History was held in 1882. On the early history of the History School see T. F. Tout, *Collected Papers*, i, 61–76.

¹ Ward had been appointed Professor of History and English in 1866. In 1880 he surrendered part of his duties to a new professor of the English Language, but he continued to be professor of English Literature.

Tait kept this letter, as well he might. I have quoted from it freely for several reasons. Tait had not yet made up his mind whether to specialize in history or in English, but he already wished to devote his life to one or other of these subjects. He laid his hopes and fears before Ward. Ward's reply shows the regard in which he held his pupil, and also the purpose which had directed the University from stage to stage and established the firm tradition into which Tait and his contemporaries entered, and which he, more than most, was to do so much to maintain. But the most impressive thing about this letter is the grave and patient courtesy with which an eminent Victorian, conscious of important movements in a great age, wrote to a promising lad of eighteen. His prudent counsel is shot through and through by the encouragement of a priest who admits a neophyte to a temple. He takes the boy's capacity and desire to rise to his opportunities for granted. He treats him almost as an equal. 'There are not many professorships.' At the age of seventeen I saw Ward for three minutes, when he admitted me to the College. I never saw him again except at a distance, but in that short interview he gave me exactly the same impression as his letter to Tait conveys. He made me feel that I was entering a new world. The new universities were created in this spirit of high endeavour and companionship. Practice kept pace with precept. Ward, we must suppose, lectured about history with the same dignity with which he wrote. If history was to be taught, this was the only way to teach it, for this was what it meant. There could be no condescension. And the seriousness was so much a matter of course that it had its effect. Spencer Wilkinson, John Holland Rose, J. P. Whitney had felt it a few years before Tait went to the Owens College. The names of Thomas Alfred Walker, the historian of the law of nations, and Robert Dunlop, the historian of Ireland, appear on the first honours list in 1882, the year after Tait joined the History School. William Arthur Shaw was Tait's contemporary, George Arnold Wood, later the honoured and beloved professor of history in the University of Sydney, and one of Tait's closest friends, was a year or so his junior. So the work of Copley Christie and A. W. Ward came to fruition. The way was prepared for the notable partnership of Tout and Tait.

Tait entered the History School in 1881 and graduated with first class honours two years later. He then sat for a scholarship at Balliol and was elected to an exhibition, apparently in the end of the same year, 1883, for a letter from A. L. Smith, his future

tutor, implies that he was expecting to go into residence in the coming Hilary Term. In fact he did not begin to reside until October 1884. In order to be excused from Responsions he had to pass a test in Greek and Algebra. This he did on 30 September. He was matriculated on 15 October, the day on which Freeman gave his inaugural lecture as Regius Professor. I give these details as an act of *pietas*, for Tait carefully preserved the certificates. In 1887 he was again placed in the first class in history. His examiners were York Powell, A. L. Smith, Richard Lodge, and S. R. Gardiner. The signatures on that certificate—for in those days the examiners testified to the achievement of each candidate separately—give it palaeographical interest. Other firsts in this year included two Balliol friends, Owen Edwards and J. W. Allen.

In writing about Tait I must pick my way carefully and avoid broad sweeps. At this time his habitual reserve was growing upon him. It disturbed his father and was noticed by Ward. The two men had exchanged letters about James's future. He wrote a good deal of poetry and would seem to have been especially drawn to the English poets of the early seventeenth century. There may have been a religious crisis before he gradually settled down into a quiet agnosticism. He was always scrupulously careful to respect religious beliefs and practices in others. As often happens he was probably more free and easy with his companions in college than, in spite of his steady domestic affections, he could feel at home. Certainly the few letters which he kept from his Balliol friends, J. W. Allen, Raymond Beazley, George Gregory Smith (*decus Scotiae*, as Beazley called him), and especially Thomas Seccombe, do not suggest reserve, though they reveal deep respect. Unhappily no letters from George Arnold Wood, who followed him to Balliol as a scholar in 1885, seem to survive, for he was, I think, Tait's closest friend until the oceans separated them and Seccombe took his place. Wood was the subject of a story which the group of friends long remembered. One day, A. L. Smith started an inquiry into their ideas about the greatest book ever written. Some said the *Iliad*, some the *Divine Comedy*, and so on; but Wood, 'fearing nought', exclaimed with a firm voice 'John Morley on Compromise.' Wood used his good offices in 1887 to get Tait elected to the Russell Club.

The earliest of the little diaries or rather note-books of miscellaneous jottings which survive from Balliol and later Manchester days tells us something about Tait at Oxford. A

reference to 'Freeman's pedantry' in calling Rochester 'Hrofesceaster' suggests that he attended the professor's lectures. Then come a note on the genealogy of his cousins, the Cases of Liverpool, a description of the Tait family arms with the motto 'pro Rege et Patria', a quotation from Pope, and the characteristic entry heavily underlined 'May 6. 1886. Lent Crum my notebook on Ed. ii—Hy. vii. See it is returned.' These entries are followed by memoranda of a week-end in London with an uncle and a quotation from Machiavelli, 'you must either crush or you must conciliate'. After term began he attended meetings of the Society for the Promotion of Religious Unity including one in the Lincoln Common Room where Dr. Fairbairn discoursed on 'Theology as an Academic Science'. Tait notes the speaker's contention 'that every theological student should take the arts course before going on to theology'. On 31 May Tait was elected a member of the Seminar 'of which I am one sixteenth'. This was a small group of dons and undergraduates who met to discuss historical subjects. W. H. Hutton read a paper on the *Utopia* with York Powell in the chair. 'Carlyle, Wells, C. H. Firth, Y. P. spoke', and Tait notes the main points of the discussion. These are followed by a well-known story of Jowett, told apparently by H. Stuart Jones:

Jones loquitur: Tatham said logic was a science, Nettleship maintained it was an art. I asked the master which was right and he said 'It's neither, it's a dodge'.

A list of books shows that Tait, as early as 1886, was taking a special interest in the occupation of northern France by the English in the fifteenth century, but he was still more interested for the moment by a lecture given by Herkomer in the Sheldonian on 'Notoriety in Art' (17 June) and three days later by the speeches given in Wadham Hall at a meeting of the Layman's League for the Defence of the National Church:

Sir W. Anson, T. H. Warren (Magd.) R. E. Prothero (All Souls) Henson. Anson clear and fairly good, W. confused, involved and Latinistic, P. vigorous and stumpy, Henson very fiery and incisive. The makings of an orator in him. 'The besetting sin of Oxford men is—*slackness*, the slackness of too many interests, that of dilettantism, the slackness of no interests at all—that of the cynic and the simpleton'.

A jumble of quotations, references to books, stories, a journal of a holiday in north Wales, a list of Anglo-Saxon kings and bishoprics, follow. Then comes on 20 January 1887 a passionate little outburst on his longing for spring, stirred by a day as

balmy as May. Only then and in summer 'do I live in any true sense, it is only then that I lay in the poor little stock of health and strength which scarcely suffices to carry me through the damp chills and blood-curdling frosts of the other half of the year'. (As a matter of fact, Tait was never ill in his life.) The rest of the note-book contains memoranda of his first holiday in Germany, with sketches, lists of German books that he needed, and so on. Some of the sketches of mountain scenery and of churches show power and feeling.

A letter from one of his friends, written in the Michaelmas Term of 1887, after Tait had gone down, links Tait's Oxford friendships with his new life in Manchester. Wood had shown the writer a letter from Tait, 'and I was so pleased with it', says the latter, 'that I was seized with an irresistible desire to get one from you for myself. The very house where I am now installed (16 St. John Street) is haunted by memories of you . . . I have not yet ventured upstairs into your old room, but on leaving my own to go out I often catch a glimpse of your figure vanishing round the staircase corner and the other night, coming back from college in the dark, I had a most distinct vision of you in [St.] John Street, walking along in front of me'. And after a reference to Tait's 'first', his friend continues:

I must insist upon congratulating you on the place you have got more recently—though indeed Wood tells me that you wrote to him some time back about it in a discontented state of mind! This I don't understand at all and it seems to me you have got a pretty good start. Doubtless eleven lectures (is it?) a week must be trying—especially as I am told that you have to lecture on Greek history! I was aware that your knowledge of modern history was unfathomable, but I did not know you embraced the ancients also.

This sprightly passage takes us back to Manchester, where in July 1887—a month after his success in the Schools at Oxford—he was recommended by a committee of Senate to fill a vacant assistant-lectureship in history and English. There were other candidates and Tait had submitted testimonials from Jowett, A. L. Smith, Arthur Johnson, and C. H. Firth. The Master writes that he was 'led to believe that he is a young man of considerable ability and of great attainments', his tutor that his knowledge was very great for his age, that he had patience, good sense, and clear judgement and had had a good influence upon his contemporaries, Johnson that, in examining him in his two attempts to get a scholarship, he had been 'struck by the soundness and accuracy of his knowledge'. Firth writes as president of

the Oxford Historical Seminar, and is more helpful: 'He read us a most excellent and careful paper and frequently took part in our discussions.' The reference to the paper read to the Seminar helps to explain a passage in a later testimonial (1891) from Gregory Smith. Were it necessary to emphasize his high literary qualifications, 'I should point to some of his Oxford essays, but especially to the admirable paper on "The Spasmodic School of Poetry" which he published at Manchester.' I have not seen this last paper, and Tait never referred to it, but Gregory Smith's tribute shows that Tait was not wholly wedded to history.

The letter in which Ward told Tait of his appointment was kind, but rather alarming. The professor sketched a programme of lectures under headings of day and evening classes and the 'Women's Department'. The work was not so formidable in fact as it seemed to be on paper, but the prospect of his duties may well have reminded him of Ward's words six years before about the apprenticeship 'which may be long and may not be all delight'. He was not unduly ambitious, but he wanted to be settled, to know exactly how he stood in the world. His quality was revealed to his colleagues a year after his appointment. Ward was away ill during the greater part of the session 1888-9, and Tait was made responsible for the historical side of the department. This experience, and the strain which it must have involved, doubtless decided him to apply in 1889 for the chair of history and English language and literature in University College, Cardiff. He had as yet nothing or little to show and was unsuccessful. Then came Ward's appointment as Principal and the election of a new professor of history. Tait was one of the three selected candidates, but again was unsuccessful. The new professor was T. F. Tout, who was Tait's senior by ten years and already a scholar of repute with professional experience. Tait, as we learn from one of Seccombe's letters, talked at this time (1890) of going to Sydney, by which is probably meant making an application for the chair which Wood got. Encouragement came from an unexpected quarter. Tout's prize fellowship at Pembroke College, Oxford, fell vacant in this very year. Tait sat for it and was elected.¹ In the following year

¹ Tait was not required to reside. He inquired about rooms and was informed (19 January 1892) that, although he might be allowed to hire rooms, he would not be entitled to rooms rent free unless he were a bona fide resident. He stayed in college from time to time. In 1898, after his fellowship had expired, he was invited to accept nomination by the college

he made a more determined effort to get a chair. He applied for the chair of history and English at the Queen's College, Belfast, with strong support from Ward, Sidney Lee, Gregory Smith, and R. L. Poole, who had been greatly impressed by him while he acted as external examiner in Manchester and placed 'entire confidence in his knowledge and judgement'. Again he was unsuccessful. The only thing left was to work hard and to see others pass him in the race, as Ward, in that wise letter of his, had said. His time would come. He settled down with his new chief, began to write regularly, and at last, in February, 1896, he got his promotion. 'I enclose you', wrote the Principal in his grand manner, 'certain resolutions of the Council which affect your position here, I hope in a way that will not be unacceptable to you. . . . Let me express a hope that you will accept the appointment and my pleasure in having been able to be instrumental in obtaining whatever recognition it involves of your services to the College and the History Department. The arrangement is one of which Tout and I most cordially approve'. This appointment, a lectureship in ancient history, to be held concurrently with his assistant-lectureship, really meant that the long partnership with Tout in a reorganized history school had begun. Six years later, in the year of the college jubilee (1902) he was made professor with the title 'professor of ancient and medieval history'.

II

Tait had worked very hard during his apprenticeship. A link between his duties as a teacher and his aspirations as a scholar was Freeman's library which Christie and his co-legateses presented to the Owens College in 1892. They were anxious that a special catalogue of the collection should be compiled and published; and in August Ward invited Tait to undertake this task. 'As you are so thoroughly conversant with the kind of literature of which Freeman's library in the main consists, I can hardly think that the task will be an over-laborious one to you.' Tait immediately complied and had finished the catalogue by October in the following year. It was published in 1894. From one of Ward's letters it would seem that the plan had been to distribute the books in the College library, each in its appropriate class and section, but this idea—obviously inconsistent

as proctor. Mr. Athelstan Riley, who was found not to be qualified, was also considered. Since his election as proctor would, of course, have involved residence, he had to refuse the suggestion.

with the preparation of a separate catalogue—fortunately came to nothing, though later developments have recently made it advisable to act upon it. For a few years the Freeman collection was kept in a lecture room, but when the new university or Christie Library had been completed, it was given a special room there. The 'Freeman Library' was an inestimable boon. It was the centre of the History School, a study and lecture room for undergraduates in their last year, and a home of graduate research. Tait's catalogue lay on the table. Generations of students became familiar, or had the chance to become familiar, with the working library of a famous historian. And it is easy to imagine how much Tait must have learned from his work on the catalogue, and from his later access, as in a private study, to the books which a young scholar might require. As the years passed, additions were made to the library, and all of us who were medievalists began our investigations there and had constant recourse to it later.

In 1891, the year in which Seccombe was made an assistant-editor, Tait began his connexion with the *Dictionary of National Biography*. His first articles had at once satisfied Sidney Lee who, as early as May, suggested that he might consider appointment to an additional assistant-editorship, and later testified to his 'very thorough research and clear literary style'. In the next year he began his lifelong connexion with the *English Historical Review*. He wrote long notices of the first volume of Karl Lamprecht's *Deutsche Geschichte* and of Sir Charles Oman's *Warwick the Kingmaker*. His sound and independent judgement is apparent in his scepticism about Lamprecht's theory of tribal origins and of early kingship. And his quality as a critic shines out in a later review (January 1895), of Mrs. Green's *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*. This is the work of a mature scholar. It anticipates much that he had to say in his erudite study of the English borough forty-one years later, and it has all the freedom and verve of his best days. Tait's early training is a very important clue to the significance of his historical work. He was anything but a narrow specialist who gradually emerged as the author of a treatise. He began his work as a historian with an unusually wide range of knowledge and a keen appreciation of literature. As a boy of nineteen he had won the approval of T. Northcote Toller, the first professor in Manchester of English language. He was awarded the Shakespeare Scholarship, given for proficiency in English language and literature. He had traversed the whole range of history, ancient and modern, had

taught himself to read German as well as French, and was already a traveller of some experience. On the other hand, he had little time to spare for independent work. Apart from a short note in the *English Historical Review*¹ his literary activity was confined to reviews and to articles for the *Dictionary of National Biography*; but this was precisely the opening which he needed. In the *Review* he was encouraged to apply his mind, with its stores of well-ordered knowledge, on new books about a variety of subjects and to make sure where his true interests lay. There also he could, as occasion served, practise his gift for clear, vigorous and sometimes very neat terse prose. In the *Dictionary* he could prove his power to handle original material, in all its complexity, in articles which, as more important subjects were entrusted to him, offered ever-increasing opportunities. His activity in these years 1891–1901 is astonishing, especially when we remember that he was lecturing on ancient and medieval and Tudor history and taking a responsible part in the life of the History School and of the College. Yet it was, in a sense, a cover, behind which he could probe into Domesday Book and chronicles and local records. It strengthened his grip on history and satisfied his desire to express himself, and at the same time it gave him a greater sense of freedom for quiet investigations on matters to which he was not yet ready to commit himself. In fact, a rare opportunity to show what was in him came in 1897. This was the publication of Maitland's *Domesday Book and Beyond*, which R. L. Poole, with his usual insight, offered him for review.

'I was really amazed', wrote Seccombe, 'at your last review in the Historical and could only exclaim (for expletives failed me) "Good Heavens!"' as Archdeacon Grantly remarked when he heard that his father-in-law was going to give up £800 a year for a scruple of conscience, and again "Good Heavens."²

The editor's praise was characteristic:

I admire the review very much and am sure Maitland will be all the more pleased because you are critical. He has suffered from too much adulation. This is the first serious review the book has received.

The review³ established Tait's position as one of the best historical scholars in England. It does not, if carefully read, reveal him

¹ 'On the date and authorship of the *Speculum Regis Edwardi*', *E.H.R.* xvi (1901), 110–15. This work, usually ascribed to Archbishop Islip, Tait tentatively ascribed to an earlier archbishop, Simon Meopham.

² Letter of 4 Dec. 1897. By a slip Seccombe wrote 'brother-in-law' instead of 'father-in-law'.

³ *E.H.R.*, xii (1897), 768–77.

as a past master of Domesday problems. This, as the previous pages should have shown, was physically impossible. It revealed something much more important, a scholar so sure of his ground as a student of history that he could submit a fine and carefully wrought book by the most brilliant man in the historical world to independent scrutiny, and shake or even destroy its two main contentions. With the courtesy of a just and modest mind, Tait used his own criticism to confirm the author's point of view:

We cannot now enter into a discussion of the remoter and wider question, or analyse as we should have liked to do the remarkable chapters in which Professor Maitland subtly unfolds the complicated and obscure processes which may be supposed to have gradually dimmed the lustre and impaired the fulness of early English freedom even before the Normans came to complete the degradation of the free villager. Suffice it to say that, so far as we are capable of forming a judgment, he seems to have made out a case which the supporters of the 'manor theory' will find it hard indeed to meet. It may be thought that if, as we think, his explanation of the Domesday manor as a unit of assessment will not hold good, the strength is taken out of his case. On the contrary, for he has certainly proved that 'manerium' in Domesday often means something which cannot be the 'manor' in the sense in which it is used in the controversy [between the Romanists and Germanists]. Our own view is that the term was far less precise than even he supposes.

Maitland's letter of thanks must be set out in full:

Downing College
Cambridge

20 Oct. 1897.

Dear Sir,

Will you allow me to take an unusual step and to offer you my warm thanks for the review of a book of mine which you have contributed to the *English Historical Review*. If the step is unusual (and I have never done anything of the kind before) the occasion also is unusual and in my experience unprecedented, for I have never seen a review of anything that I have written which has taught me so much or gone so straight to the points that are worth discussing, I can not refrain from telling you of my gratitude. If ever I have to make a second edition of that book I shall have to alter many things in it in the light of your criticisms. Certainly this would be the case in the matter of the boroughs, and I must confess that you have somewhat shaken one [of] my few beliefs in the matter of the *manerium*, namely that this term had *some* technical meaning. I can't give up that belief all at once, but may have to do so by and by.

So repeating my thanks

I remain

Yours very truly
F. W. Maitland.

Tait enlarged his acquaintance as his work was more widely known. In 1897 he was asked to examine in the Oxford History School. C. H. Firth, a staunch supporter, welcomed his appointment with the grim remark: 'You will find the work laborious but instructive and will think better of your Manchester candidates after seeing our 4th class men.' His contributions to the *Dictionary* brought him in touch with other scholars, for he took trouble to submit his articles, if he were in any doubt, to those who might be able to help him. Also, he began to receive invitations to write books and articles. Early in 1897 York Powell asked him to contribute to an Oxford school-book, and Lord Acton offered him a choice of chapters for the Cambridge Modern History. Would the siege of Vienna appeal to him? 'Besides Klopp's great volume, a series of works and documents came out for the centenary, and are chronicled in the *Jahresberichte* for 1883, 1884. Through the immense addition of knowledge it has become a new topic.' In the course of the next ten or twelve years he was frequently approached by editors. Two wanted a book on the medieval West, the editor of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* suggested the article on feudalism, Hoops in 1909 asked for articles on the settlements in England and on roads and communications down to about A.D. 1000 for his new *Reallexicon*. Tait resisted these and other temptations. He had had enough of this kind of work and in any case was now co-operating with Round and Farrer in the Victoria County Histories, a much more congenial and original field. One invitation, however, he did accept. Sir Paul Vinogradoff enlisted him as a supporter of the international 'Zeitschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte' and followed this up by a suggestion that he should write a critical survey of the work so far done in the Victoria County Histories on Domesday Book (22 February 1903). This paper was written during the next six months and appeared in the form of a review of the volumes published between 1900 and 1903.¹ As Tait pointed out, 'the comparative study of the various sections in detail'—he was referring especially to Round's 'admirable introductions' to the shire surveys—'brings out features which elude a partial or superficial examination'. And he proceeded to criticize Round's interpretation of 'inland'.

Something should be said about Tait's relations with J. Horace Round. For some years (1903–8) he spent a good deal of time on Domesday Book. He was responsible for the intro-

¹ Vol. ii (1903–4), pp. 463–71.

duction to the survey of Shropshire (1908). This interest is reflected in some of his reviews, in three short articles on hides and virgates, and, less directly, in the increasing attention which he was giving to the history of the English boroughs. It also brought him into closer relations with Round. Tout, in his racy and diverting way, used to tell how he once tried to bring the two men together in the compartment of a train on the London and South Eastern Railway. His efforts were unhappy. Round, addressing Tout, foretold how he would deal with some ideas about place-names in the Wirral, while Tait, whose ideas they were, sat glum and hostile in a corner. There is a core of truth in this anecdote¹, but the general impression which it conveys is erroneous. Tait certainly took a detached view of Round and his controversies. His obituary notice of him in the *English Historical Review* shows this; and, long before, in 1897, he had gone out of his way to call Hubert Hall's attention to some doubtful points in Round's first broadside against Hall's edition of the *Red Book of the Exchequer*. Hall was very grateful for this unexpected support from a stranger. As he wrote, 'When one is isolated it is cheering to have an ally.'² But, while his keen sense of justice forbade him to approve Round's extravagances, and his sound learning enabled him to express his own views without any undue deference, he corresponded with him at intervals for a quarter of a century, and kept several of his letters. Round, as one would expect, had a high regard for Tait. He had greatly admired his map of northern France in 1066, the earliest of four maps of great value contributed to Poole's *Historical Atlas of Modern Europe*. In a letter to Poole, dated 19 January 1898, he says 'I was greatly pleased with the way of shewing the places where English families came from, which seems to me both clear and remarkably accurate. He was wrong in the *E.H.R.* in questioning Bémont's derivation of the Balliols from Picardy. Some may have come from a Norman Bailleul, but the Balliols (yours and mine) came from Picardy. I have an important charter proving both this and their early pedigree.' Poole passed the letter to Tait, who kept it with the letters which

¹ Cf. a sentence in Tait's obituary notice of Round in the *E.H.R.* xliii (1928), p. 576: 'He accused Green of misstating the extent of the Norse settlement in the Wirral peninsula, when Green was perfectly right.'

² 5 May 1897. The reference is to Round's paper 'The surrender of the Isle of Wight', in the *Genealogical Magazine* I (1897), I, the subject of a hotly disputed series of charters in the Red Book. They deal with the quit-claims of the Isle by Isabella de Forz to Edward I.

he later received from Round. I quote a few passages from these:

I write to thank you for your review of my book [*Peerage and Pedigree*] in the *E.H.R.*, which is peculiarly welcome. Knowing the value of your criticism, I am not surprised that this review is worth more than any other I have had. The reviewers have been more than kind but me[re] uncritical praise is not what one wants. I was particularly anxious for a critical estimate, whether favourable or not, of the *legal* portion of the book, but . . . I failed to get this. So you have supplied precisely what I wanted to have. [1910.]

[In the course of an answer to an inquiry from Tait about the parish of St. Nicholas in Colchester] Do you think that Chester herald was especially connected in any way with Cheshire? [1917.]

He wrote a long and interesting letter on 2 June 1919:

I read in *The Times* of your partial retirement from your valuable work at Manchester, and I trust that your eye trouble may be less of an anxiety to you, if you are able now to secure more rest. Indeed I rather gather from the notice that, if all goes well, you may even be able somewhat to increase your important medieval research.

I have now been virtually confined to bed by nervous breakdown and my old head trouble for more than seven months and have been wondering if I shall ever be able to pass through the press the two or three volumes which I have long had by me in manuscript. But the publishers are eager at last to bring out the one on family history.¹

The most important paper in your own line of those which I had in hand was a study on borough origin, which is destined for a special volume of local studies to which I attach importance. I have hoped to get one of the University Presses to take it up, but Poole never seems hopeful about their touching anything in these difficult times.

Hitherto I have not dealt (or at least published anything on it) with this question beyond reading a paper on 'The Garrison Theory' at the London historical congress, but, simply as a matter of historical evidence and truth, I felt very strongly about Ballard trying to set Humpty Dumpty on the wall again by adducing the evidence of Castle Guard. For even Maitland admitted that this had nothing to do with the 'garrison theory'. So I told Poole that I did not think he ought to have let Ballard re-open the question on such grounds. I am very glad that Plessis-Dutaillis [*sic*] wrote so clearly and emphatically on the subject.²

¹ The last book published by Round was *The King's Serjeants* (1911). *Family Origins* was published with a memoir and bibliography by William Page in 1930, after the author's death.

² The paper was read at the International Historical Congress in 1913. Ballard's paper is in *E.H.R.* xxv (1910), 712-15. Cf. Tait, *The Medieval English Borough*, p. 26. Round's other allusion is to Ch. Petit-Dutaillis, *Studies and notes supplementary to Stubbs' Constitutional History down to the Great Charter*, Eng. trans. (1908), pp. 78-83.

I wish to thank you for your review in the *E.H.R.*, of my *Magna Carta* paper last year, which was really too favourable.¹ I had selected the subject as being to my thinking one of the most difficult still to be solved in the Charter, but I could not satisfy myself about it, partly because I had to write the paper before and after a serious operation.

I believe you would be greatly interested in my Borough paper, if I have the health and strength to finish it, because it is based on special knowledge and information, not on mere hypothesis.

Please excuse an invalid's scrawl.

The last letter to Tait, dated 19 May 1925, was written from bed, when he was 'absurdly weak'. It is a reply to a friendly letter about the article 'Liber burgus' which Tait had prepared for the volume of essays presented to Tout, and about William Farrer's work 'left unfinished. It is a warning', adds Round, 'to those of us who are getting old.' He quotes an entry about the liberties of Colchester from the proofs of the Pipe Roll of 2 Richard I, and refers to letters which Farrer had written to him about his difficulties in selecting the method to be used in his work *Honors and Knights' Fees*. The letter ends 'I cannot write more'.

Round wrote to Tait as to a scholar whose interests in Domesday problems, feudal institutions, borough origins, royal and private charters, and local history coincided with his own. The elder man was more nimble and discursive, as he pounced with furious intensity on every significant detail; the younger was cooler, took a wider view and, without the genius of the other, had surer ground beneath his feet; but both were concerned to explain the nature of medieval society, not merely to add to knowledge here and there. The field of their operations was one. It is a mistake to say that Tait was first a Domesday, then a local, then a borough specialist. All these interests were expressions of a single desire, the elucidation of English society. They gradually transcended the more political interest which had first attracted him and had been fostered by his work for the *Dictionary of National Biography*. At one time, like Sir Charles Firth before him, he had thought of working on the English occupation of northern France during the later stages of the Hundred Years War. Firth, indeed, handed the subject over to him and gave him some of his books. Tait soon deserted this plan and became absorbed in the history of England in the

¹ 'Barons and Knights in the Great Charter', in *Magna Carta Commemoration Essays*, ed. H. E. Malden (1917), pp. 46-77; see Tait in *E.H.R.* xxxiii (1918), 263.

later fourteenth and in the fifteenth century, especially during the reign of Richard II, which he chose as a special subject for his honours students. He maintained this interest to the end of his life, but it became a secondary interest. After he had closed his long list of articles in the *Dictionary* with the life of William of Wykeham (1900) and printed in 1902 his well-known essay¹ 'Did Richard II murder the Duke of Gloucester?'—known to his pupils as 'Prof. Tait's detective story'—he published apart from reviews only one work in the period. This was his edition of the *Chronica Johannis de Reading et Anonymi Cantuariensis, 1346–1367* (1914) a good, solid, definitive book, profusely annotated, but not a work of outstanding importance. Everything that Tait wrote has lasting value, but his finest contributions to learning must be sought elsewhere.

To return to the interests which he shared with Round, then with William Farrer, and rather later with Professor Stenton, Tait found a congenial field for their exercise in the history of Lancashire and Cheshire. Although no hard and sharp lines can be drawn, his life as a scholar, after what I may call the *D.N.B.* period, falls roughly into two halves, a middle period, lasting from about 1900 to 1924, and a later and overlapping period which began soon after he resigned his professorship in 1919 and culminated with the publication in 1936 of his book on the medieval English borough. In the middle period the emphasis lies on his work for the *Victoria County History of Lancashire* and the Chetham Society. Throughout this time he enjoyed the literary companionship of his friend William Farrer. Tait's fine obituary notice of this remarkable man² is his best bit of writing. It betrays the warmth of feeling which made him such a firm and loyal friend. And, with unusual care and freedom, it brings out the significance in Farrer's work of those qualities which he himself possessed in a still higher degree. Except in his indifference to municipal history—for Farrer, a country gentleman and sportsman, avoided cities and everything to do with them as much as he could—Tait found in him a kindred spirit. Farrer

¹ *Historical Essays by members of the Owens College, Manchester* (1902), pp. 193–216. Twenty-one years later the late A. E. Stamp, Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, produced evidence which cast doubt on Tait's conclusions; *E.H.R.* xxxviii (1923), 249–52; cf. R. L. Atkinson, pp. 563–4; but in 1932 Mr. H. G. Wright, in an able paper, showed that other evidence confirmed them; *E.H.R.* xlvii. 276–80; cf. Tait's review of A. Steel's *Richard II*, lvii (1942), 382.

² Printed in the *E.H.R.* for January 1925, xl. 67–70. Another brief memoir of Farrer, based in part upon this, appeared later in the year as the preface to the third volume of *Honors and Knights' Fees*.

was not a local historian of this place or that, but studied local history as a key to the history of England. 'Like Robert Eyton, the historian of Shropshire, whom he took for his model, his historical curiosity carried him far beyond the bounds of merely local antiquities. As Eyton became the pioneer of Domesday study, Farrer's real distinction lies in his detailed researches in the lower ranges of the Anglo-Norman feudal hierarchy. His *Honors and Knights' Fees*, so far as it goes, supplies the under side of Dugdale's great work on the *Baronage of England*.' Tait pointed out how the arrangement of Yorkshire charters (in his *Early Yorkshire Charters*) under the Domesday fiefs 'gradually shifted his main interest from the documents to the general Norman distribution of baronial estates upon which they cast only a broken and local light'.

Some years before he transferred his attention to this wider subject Farrer had secured Tait's co-operation in the *Victoria County History of Lancashire*, in which he had merged his earlier plan to prepare a history of the county to the death of Queen Elizabeth. In 1895 he had bought the collections of J. P. Earwaker and 'he spent large sums in completing them'. A man of means, he was able, after he had 'taught himself the technique of research' to work from transcripts of public and other records, and his great collections were at the disposal of his colleagues, in so far as they were not already printed in his numerous books.¹ Tait's interest in the history of Lancashire and Manchester was finding expression at the same time. He gave two public lectures, as I well remember, on 'Manchester under lords of the manor' on the Warburton foundation, and a few years later his first book, *Mediaeval Manchester and the beginnings of Lancashire*, which had grown out of these lectures, was published by the new Manchester University Press as the first volume of its historical series (1904). In the interval Farrer's publications, especially his *Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, had appeared. They had, in Tait's words, 'put the study of Lancashire history in the middle ages on an entirely different footing', and the necessity to take full account of them was one of the reasons for Tait's delay in publication. 'My debt', he wrote in the preface, 'to Professor

¹ Most of Farrer's transcripts are now in the City Library or in the John Rylands Library in Manchester. His Yorkshire material was secured by the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, which has sponsored the continuation of his *Early Yorkshire Charters* by Mr. Charles Clay. His library, which, in Tait's words, 'may well have been the finest private library in the country of books on local and feudal history', was unfortunately sold and scattered.

Maitland, Miss Bateson and Mr. Farrer is apparent on almost every page.' This book is both a piece of baronial history and a study in borough origins. The growth of a town as distinct from the manor of Manchester raises many problems, and, assisted by Miss Bateson's recent investigations, Tait sought to 'reconcile Manchester's possession of burgesses, a borough court and a borough reeve with the formal decision of 1359 that she was no borough but only a market town'. The gradual process by which the county of Lancaster came into existence, by the amalgamation of districts within the wider honour of Lancaster created by William Rufus, was traced through a careful analysis of baronial charters. How tricky inquiries of this kind can be is illustrated by an attempt made by a competent young scholar over thirty years later to question Tait's crucial distinction between the district 'between Ribble and Mersey' and the honour as it was in Stephen's reign. The critic overlooked the fact that the place which is the subject of two precepts of King David of Scotland and the place from which he dispatched them were not, as one might well think, in the district south of the Ribble, but places of the same or similar names in North Lancashire and Cumberland.¹ It was always dangerous to challenge Tait on a point of this kind.

The book has been rightly regarded as a model. Mary Bateson spoke of it with enthusiasm. Its influence has been far-reaching, though not far-reaching enough. Tait, for example, in his discussion of the barons of Manchester, called attention to the fact that 'barons who held of mesne lords and not directly of the crown were commoner in the first age after the Norman conquest than is usually supposed'. But the subject was still generally ignored until Professor Stenton explored it in his masterly way in the third chapter of his *First Century of English Feudalism* (1932). More important at the time, however, was Farrer's desire, which the book must have intensified in his mind, to have Tait's co-operation in the preparation of the *Victoria County History of Lancashire*. The great book in eight volumes, 'as near to the ideal county history as can be expected in a world of compromises', appeared at the average rate of a volume a year between 1906 and 1914. Farrer himself, of course, wrote or directed the sections whose subjects he had made his own. Tait wrote in the second volume (1908) the important sections on the political history to the reign of Henry VIII, the ecclesiastical history to the Reformation, and the

¹ *E.H.R.* 1 (1935), 670-80, with Tait's correction in li (1936), 192.

detailed histories of every monastic house, priory, and cell except the account of Furness abbey, which he asked me to undertake. It was a privilege to be introduced to the study of local history under such auspices, to have the run of Farrer's transcripts, and to see something of the two men at work.

Tait was as interested in Cheshire as he was in Lancashire. He busied himself with plans for a Victoria County History of Cheshire, and made friends with the two men, Fergusson Irvine and R. Stewart-Brown, who were almost as capable as Farrer himself to direct the enterprise. This plan came to nothing, but it encouraged Tait to turn his attention to the county and to use the Chetham Society, just as Stewart-Brown and Irvine used the Record Society for Lancashire and Cheshire, as a medium. The Chetham Society was founded in 1843 for the publication of 'remains historical and literary connected with the palatine counties of Lancaster and Chester'. In forty years, under the guidance of its main founder and president, James Crossley, it issued more than a hundred volumes. In 1883 a new series began after the Society had surmounted a crisis and with it began also a very much closer connexion than had existed hitherto between the Society and the Owens College. The new president and 'second founder' was R. C. Christie, then professor of history and other subjects in the College. In 1901 he was succeeded by Ward, and in 1915 Ward was succeeded by Tait, who held office for ten years.¹ Tait took this pleasant duty very seriously. Having got the chronicle of John of Reading off his hands, he had already set to work on the *Domesday Survey of Cheshire*, published by the Society in 1916. Other contributions which he made to its publications were the first (and only) volume of *Lancashire Quarter Sessions Records*, an edition of the Quarter Sessions Rolls 1590-1606 (1917), *The Chartulary or Register of the abbey of St. Werburgh, Chester*, in two volumes (1920-3), and *Taxation in Salford Hundred, 1524-1802*, an edition of the records of four lay subsidies, 1524, 1543, 1563, 1600, of the hearth tax of 1666, and of the land tax, 1780-1802 (1924). This last volume owed its being to a suggestion by Farrer.

¹ Tait was invited to contribute an account of the Society to the hundredth volume in the new series *Chetham Miscellanies*, vol. vii, shortly after the election of Professor Jacob as president and Dr. Tupling, lecturer in local history, as vice-president, the first time that both offices had been held by members of the University staff. This retrospect gives a full account of the work of the Society and of the share in it of members of the University.

In his edition of the Cheshire survey, originally intended for the abortive Victoria County History, Tait was following up his work on the survey of Shropshire (1908). In his introduction¹ he emphasized exceptional points, rather disappointing, as he says, to the student of the status and organization of a palatine earldom, but important to the student of borough customs and of the salt industry. In 1086 the shire comprised much of the Welsh borderland, all the later county of Flint except Faenol, and in 1925 Tait reprinted the entries relating to Flintshire, with a special introduction and map, for the *Flintshire Historical Society's Journal*.² In his edition of the *Chartulary of St. Werburgh's*, one of the most valuable of his books, he broke new ground, for which his comprehensive history of the Lancashire monastic houses had prepared him. He spent much time and trouble in tracking down the copies in royal *inspeximus* or made by seventeenth-century antiquaries, of the original charters, 'of which summaries only, with the witnesses omitted, are usually given in the register of the abbey' (Harley MS. 1965) and he met with a good deal of success. He examined the life of St. Werburgh and the history of the foundation to distinguish fact from legend. And he attempted to sketch from the charters the administrative system of the palatine earldom in the twelfth century. His elaborate discussion of the charters of earls, including the 'great charter' issued by Ranulf III to his barons, is perhaps the most valuable part of the book. He put the early history of the shire and earldom on as firm a foundation as the evidence admits and brought to bear upon his task, at the height of his powers, his unrivalled knowledge of feudal institutions, social conditions, and local topography.

Tait's work upon the quarter session rolls and taxation returns of Lancashire, to which should be added his edition of a few scanty port moot records of Salford in the sixteenth century,³ took him farther afield than he was wont to go. Here he was a pioneer in a subject which has received much attention in recent years, the history of local government and local judicial administration in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He was able, moreover, to examine the matter with knowledge of the medieval background; for example, of the intimate relations between the hundred and town of Salford. No student of the history of the justices of the peace and of early modern taxation can afford to neglect his luminous introductions to these volumes.

¹ For a few criticisms see F. Morgan in *E.H.R.* xxxi (1916), 632-6.

² xi. 1-37.

³ *Chetham Miscellanies*, vol. iv (1921), no. 5.

In 1919 Tait resigned his chair and, subject to the need to avoid strain on his eyesight, was free to devote his working time to historical work. During the next five years he pressed on with the *Chartulary of St. Werburgh's* and prepared his book on taxation in Salford Hundred for the Chetham Society; but two other interests, in place-names and in medieval boroughs, took a more purposeful place in his mind than they had had before. In 1923 he accepted an invitation to become the first President of the English Place-name Society, founded by the late Sir Allen Mawer and Professor Stenton. Professor Stenton, in the annual report of the British Academy for 1944-5, has paid an authoritative tribute to Tait's work for the Society, and I cannot do better than repeat his words:

He took an active part in the discussions which preceded its establishment, made suggestions of the highest value towards the determination of its plan of work, and contributed to our Introductory Volume an article on the feudal element in place-names, of which the importance becomes steadily more apparent with the passage of time.¹ In those early days he brought to our help the support of an historian, eminent among English medievalists, who was one of the first modern scholars to appreciate the significance of place-name studies as an aid towards the solution of historical problems. It would be hard to over-estimate the value of the service which Professor Tait rendered to the Society through his unique combination of feudal and agrarian learning, and the balanced judgement with which he always approached the practical difficulties incidental to our work. His interest in the studies of which he was a master was maintained until the end of his life, and although he felt himself compelled, by advancing years and by the distance from London at which he resided, to resign the Presidency in 1932, his advice continued to be at our service.

Tait's interest in boroughs, like the strong attraction which place-names had for him, began early, and, as we have seen, sprang naturally enough from his study of Domesday Book and feudal institutions. The steady impetus which it received about 1921 was due to a casual suggestion. The Syndics of the Cambridge University Press were looking for an editor to prepare the second volume of Adolphus Ballard's *British Borough Charters* for publication. They approached Tait, who came to an arrangement with them in the spring of 1921. He had the book ready by the summer of 1923. Although Ballard had left the text nearly complete, Tait put much work into the volume. In a long intro-

¹ 'The Feudal Element', the sixth chapter of the *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names*, edited by A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton (1924), pp. 115-32.

duction, he anticipated in tentative outline the problems and developments with which he was to cope during the next twelve years; also, his work on the book suggested to him the theme of his lecture to the British Academy in May 1922 on the study of early municipal history in England.¹ As he wrote later, the invitation to complete Ballard's book 'induced me to lay aside other plans of work and confine myself to municipal history'. The Academy lecture, the best introduction in our historical literature to a difficult subject, was followed in 1925 by his paper *Liber Burgus* in the essays presented to Tout, and by four other papers contributed to the *English Historical Review* between 1927 and 1931. As he approached his seventieth year he worked more slowly and wrote less than in earlier years. His book on *The Medieval English Borough* appeared in 1936.

In each of his books Tait made it his practice to explain exactly, in a lengthy preface, how and why he had come to compose it. He regarded himself, not as an isolated worker who had staked out a claim to a subject, but as the modest continuator of a noble succession of scholars whose traditions it was his duty and privilege to maintain. His preface to *The Medieval English Borough* is especially instructive. During the greater part of the century which followed the Municipal Corporation Act a true understanding of the medieval borough had been prevented, as he points out, by the influence of Merewether and Stephens, whose big book had appeared in the same year (1835). The false trail which they set had been deserted by Charles Gross, F. W. Maitland, Mary Bateson, and others, but hopes of an adequate history were deferred 'by the early death of nearly all the leaders in these investigations'. Tait, after his decision to finish Ballard's book on the municipal charters of the thirteenth century, had decided to resume, at any rate for the later twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, the work which these distinguished scholars had left unfinished. He worked for a decade upon half a dozen papers. He would probably in any case have collected them in a volume; but whatever his plans may have been, they were revised by the appearance in 1930 of a revolutionary article by an American scholar, Carl Stephenson, upon the Anglo-Saxon borough. Professor Stephenson already had behind him a fine record of stimulating and forceful work, part of the abundant harvest of the seed sown by his master, Henri Pirenne. He writes with energy and clarity. He looks at his

¹ Reprinted, after some revision, from the Proceedings of the Academy in *The Medieval English Borough*, pp. 339-58.

subject all round, with a wide comprehension of the medieval history of Europe. When he turned his attention to England he approached the history of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman boroughs with the outlook of a continental scholar. He saw in our island an outlying product of western civilization, subject to the same influences which had shaped the municipal destinies of the Low Countries. In Tait's view he both exaggerated the bearings of Pirenne's views and misunderstood the structure of Anglo-Saxon England. He suffered from a 'tendency to interpret ambiguous evidence in the light of a theory'.¹ He virtually made the Norman Conquest, with the mercantile elements alleged to have come for the first time in its train, the starting-point of English urban development. He was a victim of the garrison theory and misunderstood Domesday Book. 'Hence', says Tait, 'my attention was diverted to the pre-Conquest period.' In the meanwhile Stephenson was at work upon a larger survey, his *Borough and Town: a study in urban origins*. He came to England to pursue the detailed topographical study on which he rightly insisted,² and in the course of his inquiries stayed with me in Oxford. I suggested that he ought to meet Tait, whose work he very properly appreciated, and hoped to bring the two men together, but it was not possible to arrange a meeting. I got the impression that Tait was biding his time. In the summer of 1933 he was, as usual, on holiday in Eskdale with his friend Mr. H. L. Joseland, and joined us in some of our family excursions. We still retain a vivid memory of one walk, when the professor, in the service of historical truth, did violence to a perfect day. He was not his care-free self. On the top of Bowfell he sat apart on a rock to eat his lunch. The grandest scenery in three counties, from Skiddaw to the Pennines and the sea, was around us; but Tait seemed to take no notice. I had a sudden thought and, going over to him, engaged him in conversation. I asked him if he had read Stephenson's book. At once his tongue was unloosed. He lifted up his voice and talked for twenty minutes. Snatches of speech were wafted to the scandalized ears of the other members of the party. 'He says that the burgesses of Colchester. . . , the *bordarii* of Norwich. . . '. Tait had been thinking out his review.

¹ From Tait's review of Stephenson's *Study of Urban Origins in England*, in *E.H.R.* xlviii (1933), 644.

² It was not pursued far enough; see Helen Cam, 'The origin of the borough of Cambridge: a consideration of Professor Carl Stephenson's theories', in the *Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Communications*, xxxv (1935), 33-53.

The *Medieval English Borough*, therefore, consists of two parts, the first on the Anglo-Saxon period, largely concerned with a detailed examination of Stephenson's theories, the second a revised version of the papers written between 1922 and 1931. Although Tait had not been able to write his projected chapters on borough jurisdiction and the history of formal incorporation, the book is the most comprehensive study in existence on the origin, history, and developments of the English borough in the middle ages. It puts the whole subject on new and firm foundations. Perhaps its most important contribution is the study of the town councils, which finally dissipated the democratic *aura* with which former historians, before the days of Gross and Miss Bateson, had mystified the story. Tait will be mainly known, to many only known, by this book, the only book which he ever wrote on a large scale about a great subject. This outcome will not altogether do justice to him either as a scholar or as a writer, for the book is not easy, is written in his more austere manner, abounds in detailed disquisition of a learned and critical kind, and lacks those lighter touches which make some at least of his earlier work so readable and attractive. It is a pity that he never tried his hand at sustained biography or narrative. His chief efforts in this kind, the life of Richard II in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and his political and ecclesiastical history of Lancashire in the *Victoria County History*, had to be compressed to the scale of the volumes in which they appeared. There is nothing elsewhere in his writings so intimate as his little sketch of James Crossley, the first President of the Chetham Society: Crossley presided at his last Council meeting on 20 April 1883 and signed the minutes of the previous meeting in his large, firm handwriting. He died on 1 August partly as the result of an accident in London a few months earlier. . . . He was the very reverse, Raines said, of the general editor who is reported to have said: 'I'd sooner drive a team of tigers than a team of editors.' His Johnsonian figure and fresh complexion even in his last years were familiar to me in my youth when living in Cheetham Hill and passing his book-crammed dwelling, Stocks House, Cheetham, on my way to Owens College and, if my memory does not deceive me, I once came upon him seated in the small shop of a second-hand bookseller in Oxford Street, which he seemed nearly to fill, turning over books which the proprietor was submitting to him.¹

Charles Haskins, the American historian, said to me in 1919, 'What has Tait written except reviews?' After I had recovered

¹ 'The Chetham Society: a retrospect', in *Chetham Miscellanies*, vii. 10, 11.

from my astonishment, I told my friend what Tait had written. He was reassured, but not so impressed as he might have been. Haskins, in a wider field, was as thorough, as scrupulous, as minute, and as impeccable a scholar as Tait himself, and, unlike Tait, he believed in periodic stocktaking. He republished his learned papers (as Tait did in the case of the boroughs) in convenient books and followed them up with more general and popular books on the Normans in European History, the Renaissance of the Twelfth Century, the Rise of Universities. With a few exceptions, everything that he wrote is easily accessible in handy volumes. In his own very different way Tout did the same and, in his later years, embarked on a great big book, compared to which, as Tait once said in a characteristic understatement, his own output was 'a mere hiccup'. Tait will never be known as he deserves to be known; but all serious students of our medieval and local history will read his work with increasing gratitude.

Before I leave this survey of Tait's historical work, I must refer to the loss to English learning due to his failure to continue his studies in Magna Carta. Tait, being but mortal, had his heavy days and even his bad days, but his note on '*waynagium* and *contenementum*' (1912),¹ was written on his very best days. Poole wrote, 'I rejoice to have the Wainage and Contenement which will be very much in place in this Review. Wainage had long troubled me, and your explanation seems for the first time to account for the facts. Contenement I had blinked at, feeling certain that I did not really understand it and silently suppressing the *con.*' Tait intended this masterly piece of exposition to be the first of a series of studies, but it had no successors. Nothing that he wrote gives a better idea of his range and insight. His vindication of Spelman's gloss on *contenement*, '*aestimatio et conditionis forma*' (1626), and his exposition of the underlying idea common to it and to the word 'wainage', as used in the Great Charter, brings us to the heart of thirteenth-century thought about the social order. A series of studies of this quality would have been a boon indeed. But first the Chetham Society and then the boroughs stood in the way.²

¹ *E.H.R.* xxvii (1912), 720-8.

² For a wider appreciation of Tait's work than I have attempted here, the reader should turn to the admirable memoir by Professor V. H. Galbraith in the *E.H.R.* lx (1945), 129-35.

III

Tait's life was given to Manchester and the University. His partnership with Tout made the Manchester School of History. The epigram that they were 'dual manifestations of a single personality' is at any rate a tribute to a common devotion to a single purpose. It is unnecessary here to repeat a story which has already been told, and rightly told, in the memoir of the senior man.¹ While Tout took the lead, Tait kept the balance. His sagacity was never at fault, his reliability was taken for granted, his loyalty was unfailing. And, if Tout made himself a Manchester man, Tait was a Manchester man already, deeply rooted in the life and traditions of the city and university. After his appointment as a lecturer in 1896 he settled down. None of us knew anything about his earlier restlessness. He was a part of the place. His lectures, as Professor Galbraith has remarked, were dry but not dull; yet I doubt if his pupils minded very much whether they were dull or not, for he was Tait, the man with whom they felt safe, the constant sharer in their activities, their companion on walks and excursions, their minstrel. If he lived remote, he was always accessible. If he expected too much, he at least 'delivered the goods'. His retirement from his chair in 1919 seemed for a time to be a disaster, but did not in fact make so much difference as was feared, for his colleagues, the conference of teachers and research students, and for some years the undergraduates, saw almost as much of him as before. Personally I could never forget the help which he gave me after I had taken over some of his duties, and my successor, Professor Jacob, has on more than one occasion expressed his obligation to him for his wise counsel and constant aid.

Tait had become professor two years before the Owens College ceased to be combined with the colleges at Liverpool and Leeds and was merged in the Victoria University as an independent University of Manchester. He took his part in the discussions which preceded the change, and was always a force behind the scenes in academic life; but his most important contribution to University administration was made in the day-to-day work of faculty, senate, and council, on the committee of the University Press, of which he was chairman from 1925 to 1935, and in more incidental ways, especially as the chairman of the committee which was concerned with the erection and

¹ *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xxv (1929), 491-518, reprinted, with articles by Tout, in *The Collected Papers of Thomas Frederick Tout*, i (1932).

internal arrangements of the fine arts building, the home of the Faculty of Arts (opened in 1919). His closest friend and companion in Manchester happened to be the man who, with his long and detailed experience of academic administration, exercised a unique influence in the life of the University. This was Edward Fiddes, who had first come to the Owens College from Peterhouse in 1890 as a lecturer in classics. In 1895 he was appointed secretary to the Council and Senate. Later he became Registrar and then for some years Senior Pro-Vice-Chancellor. On his retirement from this office, his invaluable services were retained by his appointment as Professor of American History, a subject which had long engaged his attention but to which he was not required to give much time. I imagine that there were few problems of university politics which Fiddes did not discuss with Tait. The presence of the two men in and about the University was beneficent, whether they were in office or not, especially during the changes which began with Tout's retirement in 1925.

Tout and Tait, on first acquaintance with them, seemed as different as two men could be; but they relied on each other. Disagreement carried too much discomfort to be frequent or prolonged. The relations between them are mischievously hit off by a remark, attributed to Tout but, I suspect, shaped by Fiddes, their common friend: 'The worst thing about Tait is that, if one loses one's temper with him, he sulks for a week.' The affection which long and tried association and mutual esteem had forged between them is more positively expressed in the letter written by Tout to his colleague on 17 November 1918—a few days after the armistice—when Tait had told him of his intention to retire—

Your letter is a great blow and I shall feel very lonely if I survive after October. We have had a very happy and harmonious dyarchy for nearly thirty years, and despite our both being constantly pulled in other directions we have no reason to be ashamed of the school of mediaeval history that we have established. What the effect of your withdrawal will be on that fills me with alarm, and I hope you will still see your way to taking some sort of hand in the research side of your work, for without that I should feel lonely indeed, so lonely that I should feel rather disposed to follow your example. But I can't even attempt to persuade you that you are acting unwisely in getting rid of the ordinary pass and honours grind, for it is clearly best both for knowledge and for yourself that you should henceforth put your whole energies into the kind of historical work that you like best. That you may have many years of health and eye-sight to do so, will be the wish of all your friends.

What Tait felt about Tout may be read in words which he wrote after his death:

The passing of his sturdy and vivid personality after more than half a century of strenuous work and ungrudging service to his day and generation leaves English medievalists bereft of their acknowledged head and wisest counsellor. For them his memory will remain green, and for those who come after and knew him not he has left a more enduring monument.¹

In 1920 Tait was made an honorary professor and Litt.D. of the University. In 1921 he was elected a Fellow of the British Academy. In 1933 he was elected an honorary fellow of Pembroke, and was given an honorary D.Litt. by the University of Oxford. I still feel keen regret that he could not see his way to accept an invitation in 1929 to deliver the Ford Lectures in Oxford.

In the year 1933 Tait had his seventieth birthday. The event was commemorated by the preparation of a splendid volume, *Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait*, edited, with a drawing by Ronald Allan and a bibliography, by J. G. Edwards, V. H. Galbraith, and E. F. Jacob. The book was given to Tait after a dinner on 19 December. Lord Crawford, the Chancellor of the University, presided. It was a happy occasion. Tait and the editors received many letters. An old Balliol friend, Mr. H. D'Arcy Hart, the painter, who had succeeded to Tait's former rooms in St. John Street in 1887, was 'very proud to have had the early friendship of so distinguished a historian'. One old pupil wrote of an affectionate esteem felt for thirty-two years, not long in the mind of a historian, 'yet how much of kindness and loyalty can be comprised in so short a time'. A Liverpool colleague wrote of 'a man of whom nobody has ever spoken ill or—rarer still—ever had occasion even to think ill'. 'Many others like myself', wrote a fellow-medievalist, 'would have endorsed the remark made last night, that we were all your pupils.' Among the thirty-four contributors to the book were most of the English medievalists, also Eilert Ekwall, Robert Fawtier, F.-L. Ganshof, Martin Weinbaum, James F. Willard. Edward Fiddes, very fittingly, wrote for it an essay on the university movement in Manchester between 1851 and 1903.

During the greater part of his life as a teacher and for about six years after his retirement Tait lived in Fallowfield. Many of

¹ *E.H.R.* xlv (1930), 85.

us could not pass 9 Beaconsfield without recalling, as some of the most satisfying of our lives, the hours we spent in his sitting-room, among his books. In 1925 he bought a house at Wilmslow, where he lived with one or more of his sisters for twenty years. He continued to spend every Thursday afternoon in Manchester and to take tea in the Senior Common Room at the University. He served on committees, was for three years a Governor of the John Rylands Library, and for a longer period a member of the Art Gallery Committee in the city. If he did not attend the Hallé Concerts so regularly as he had been wont to do, he had his piano and, though not a trained pianist, frequently played upon it. He had his garden and fruit-trees, his favourite cat, his regular clock-like walks, his carefully arranged holidays in Langdale and Eskdale, and above all his study. 'He was', writes Miss Beatrice Tait, 'as methodical in the home as in his work. He rarely gave advice unless sought for and it was always worth having. He considered the matter from every angle, then gave his opinion. He was very rarely angry and I always admired him for apologizing when on consideration he felt he was in the wrong; not an easy thing to do, but it proved the kind of man he was.' And in another letter she says 'One of his many good qualities was his generosity to anyone he knew who was really in need of financial help, provided of course the case was genuine.'

Tait had travelled much in his early and middle life. After 1887 there was hardly a year in which he did not roam, generally with one or two friends, in Germany or France, or, if this were not practicable, in England and Wales. I have before me as I write half a dozen of the note-books in which he described and sketched, in the manner of Freeman and quite as well, towns and buildings, with plans and architectural details. Few historical scholars have known England so well as he knew it. He liked to wander about London—where he always found time, if he could, for the Zoo—and to identify places of literary or historical interest, not antiquities only, but streets and houses associated with famous men or with the characters of Dickens and other novelists. His reading was very wide, especially in biography. He read a lot of novels but few of the very modern except detective stories. He constantly returned to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and liked to regale his friends on his walks with titbits from the previous day's reading. In his youth he was attracted by Walt Whitman, as passages copied into his note-books show; they come between his careful little accounts of

expenses. In later life he read less poetry. He preferred the company of poets as revealed in their lives. Scott's life and letters were often read, and the lives of historians, especially of Freeman, whose realism and range appealed to him. He never allowed himself to write essays as well as to sketch in Freeman's way; but I believe that he might have done it with success. Seccombe was delighted by an account which he wrote in the college magazine of a holiday which they had together in the Black Forest. His letters, if they could be put together, would be found to be full of raw material. He must have given of his best in them, for so many people used to consult him, as he liked to consult others, about historical and topographical details. When he ceased to wander far afield and settled down to regular holidays in the Lake country, especially in Eskdale, he gradually mastered the history of the district. With the aid of the very full verdict of an Elizabethan jury of twenty-four, known in local usage as the Twenty-Four book, he traced the site of every vanished farm in Eskdale, and followed up every sheep-walk, which, so far as they remain, are still the same.

Indeed, Tait's constancy to all his historical interests was very impressive. A list of his writings after he reached the age of seventy shows every one of them.¹ There are, of course, his big book on the boroughs, and reviews of books of borough records or about borough problems, but there are also his note on 'Common Assizes in the Pipe Roll and the *Dialogus de Scaccario*', his very important paper on knight-service in Cheshire, his retrospect over the history of the Chetham Society, illuminating reviews of an edition of unpublished parliament rolls, of new volumes of the Victoria County Histories, of Professor Galbraith's edition of *The St. Alban's Chronicle* (1406-20); also, two years before he died, his masterly review of Mr. Steel's *Richard II*. He wrote to me in November of that year, 1942, 'I am pegging away every morning and occasionally afternoons at Part II of *A Middlewich Chartulary* for the Chetham, Mrs. Varley having gone into full-time war work. I think I told you that it includes the lost deeds of B.N.C. relating to a little estate they bought in Middlewich in 1533.' This volume appeared in 1944. And there is still more to come. Tait, stirred by recent Domesday discussions and instigated by Galbraith, returned like an old war-horse to an old battle-ground, and plunged into the minutiae of the Herefordshire Domesday.

'Iuvat eum, ut fertur, per montes vagari; eundem iure dixeris

¹ The list is given as an appendix to this memoir.

*per ardua investigationis culmina prospere tulisse vestigia.*¹ Tait was a historian who took broad views. He was much more than a delver. He raised up his eyes to the hills in more senses than one. In the summer of 1943 he made with me his last ascent of Scafell. He kept a record of all the hills, of 2,500 and more feet above sea-level, which he had ascended in Great Britain. He wished to add one more, to reach, I think, the total of thirty-five. He had never been on the top of Grey Friar, overlooking the Duddon valley, so one day we crossed the moor between Eskdale and Birks Bridge and took the hill from the rear. Then we descended to Cockley Beck and trudged home over the Hard Knott pass. For his Easter holiday in 1944 he went as usual to Langdale with his friend Joseland. His former companion on these Langdale walks, Edward Fiddes, was dead, but Tait clung to his routine. One day, although Joseland was compelled to pause and return, Tait insisted on pushing on alone to the top of Pike o' Blisco. On his way down by a different route, he had a bad fall and lost his eye-glasses. Unable to see clearly, bruised and shaken, he took some hours, in the increasing darkness, to grope his way down to the dale, where he was found by a search-party. For a time he seemed to be little the worse for his experience, but it had been too severe. He died suddenly at Wilmslow in the early hours of 4 July 1944, a fortnight after his eighty-first birthday.

In order to make room for some younger scholar, he resigned his Fellowship of the British Academy in 1943. The Council feels that this act of generosity should not stand in the way of a memoir. I have tried to write about him as I think he would have preferred, step by step, under the guidance of documentary evidence² as well as of personal recollections, and in more detail than is usually required. Tait's life and work added distinction to the university in which he found his first opportunities and to the historical movements in which he took so large a share. He is part of their history, and they in their turn add significance to him. I trust that I have been able to do justice to a fine scholar, a faithful friend, and a good man.

F. M. POWICKE

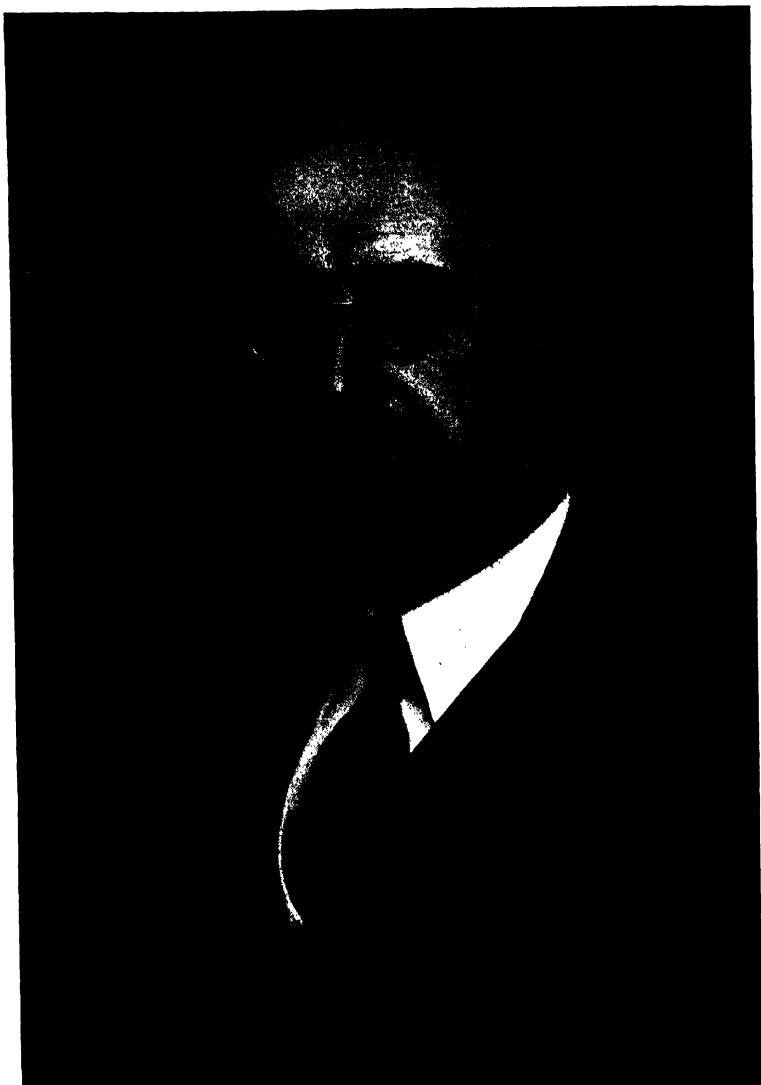
¹ From the oration delivered by Dr. Cyril Bailey, the Public Orator, when Tait received his honorary degree at Oxford on 9 May 1933.

² I am indebted to my friend Dr. Moses Tyson, the librarian of the University of Manchester, for going through Tait's papers, now the possession of the University, and allowing me to use those which seemed likely to be most helpful.

APPENDIX

In continuation of the bibliography compiled by V. H. and G. R. Galbraith for the 'Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait'.

1934. Review of MARTIN WEINBAUM, *London unter Edward I und II*, *E.H.R.* xlix. 511-13.
1935. Review of E. E. RICE, *The Staple Court Books of Bristol*, *E.H.R.* 1. 329-31.
1936. *The Medieval English Borough*, M.U.P., 1936.
1937. Reviews of RICHARDSON and SAYLES, *Rotuli parliamentorum Anglie hactenus inediti*, *E.H.R.* lii. 122-4, and V. H. Galbraith, *The St. Alban's Chronicle, 1406-1420*, *ibid.* 508-11.
1938. Note, 'Common Assizes' in the Pipe Rolls and 'Dialogus de Scaccario', *E.H.R.* liii. 669-75.
1939. Review of the *Victoria County History of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely*, vol. i, *E.H.R.* liv. 698-9.
 'The Chetham Society: a retrospect', in *Chetham Miscellanies*, vol. vii, 26 pages (new series, vol. c).
1941. Review of the *Victoria County History of Oxfordshire*, vol. i, *E.H.R.* lvi. 112-14.
1942. Article on 'Knight-Service in Cheshire', *E.H.R.* lvii. 437-59.
 Review of ANTHONY STEEL's *Richard II*, *ibid.* 379-83.
1944. *A Middlewich Chartulary*, vol. ii, edited by JOAN VARLEY and JAMES TAIT (Chetham Society, new series, vol. cviii).



WILLIAM HOLDSWORTH

Vandyk: London

SIR WILLIAM SEARLE HOLDSWORTH

1871-1944

WILLIAM SEARLE HOLDSWORTH was born at Beckenham on 7 May 1871. His parents were Charles Joseph Holdsworth and Ellen Caroline Searle. On his father's side he came of a Yorkshire family with collateral branches in Devonshire and Lancashire. The Searles claimed descent from Oliver Cromwell. W. S. Holdsworth was educated at Dulwich College, which he attended as a day-boy. His headmaster was Mr. A. H. Gilkes, an inspiring teacher, who gave Holdsworth his first inclination for historical study. His father was by profession a solicitor, a partner in the City firm of Redpath and Holdsworth. His mother's brother, Richard Searle, practised as a barrister in the Divorce and Admiralty Courts.

In 1890 Holdsworth went up to New College with a History Exhibition. He took first classes in History (1893) and Law (1894). Meanwhile he had joined Lincoln's Inn. He won the Barstow Scholarship in 1895 and a studentship of the Inns of Court in January 1896, and in the same term was called to the Bar. Holdsworth contemplated practice at the Bar, and read in Chambers. But his uncle's death changed his plans and he returned to New College as a Lecturer in Law. He took the B.C.L. degree in 1897 and proceeded to the D.C.L. in 1904.

In 1897 he was elected to a tutorial fellowship in Law at St. John's College, a position which he retained until he succeeded Geldart as Vinerian Professor of English Law in 1922 with a consequent migration to All Souls. In the interval from 1903 to 1908 he was also Professor of Constitutional Law at University College, London.

From 1910 he had been All Souls Reader in English Law. In 1919 he was elected a Foreign Associate of the Royal Belgian Academy. In 1920 Lord Birkenhead gave him silk.

The rest of his life is a tale of uniform success and accumulated honours. In 1922 he was elected Fellow of the British Academy. In 1926 he became an honorary fellow of St. John's College. He received the Ames Medal from Harvard University in 1927 and the Swiney Prize of the Royal Society of Arts in 1934. He was a member of the Indian States Inquiry Committee in 1928 and of the Ministers' Powers Committee from 1930 to 1932. In connexion with the first he visited India. Ten years later he

returned there to give a course of lectures as Tagore Professor, and on the same occasion received an honorary degree from the University of Calcutta. This was one of many such distinctions. In 1926 the University of Cambridge gave him an honorary LL.D. Next year, in the course of a triumphant progress through the United States, he delivered the first lectures on the Julius Rosenthal Foundation of North Western University, published under the title *Some Lessons from Our Legal History* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1928), and another course of lectures on the James S. Carpentier Foundation of Columbia University on *The Historians of Anglo-American Law* (Columbia University Press, 1928), as well as the W. L. Storrs lectures at Yale, mentioned in Professor Winfield's Memoir, and many sporadic lectures up and down the States. He received degrees from North Western University and from the University of Southern California, not to speak of the offer of others, which he found himself unable to take up. Birmingham (1928), Edinburgh (1931), Uppsala (1933), and Leeds (1939) complete the list. In 1923 he was appointed Assistant Reader in Equity in the Inns of Court, Reader in 1929, and in 1937 Reader in Constitutional Law. From 1925 he was a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn. He received the honour of Knighthood in 1929, and the crowning distinction of the Order of Merit in 1943, when he was already stricken by the illness which proved fatal. He died on 2 January 1944.

Holdsworth did not read much outside his subject, but this afforded a pretty wide range. He was fond of music and very fond of dancing. Perhaps his chief enthusiasms were Gilbert and Sullivan's operas, Dickens, and Rudyard Kipling. He directed a punt with skill and a motor bicycle with discretion. But like many academic persons he did not trust himself to drive a car.

In 1903 Holdsworth married Jessie A. A. G. Wood, daughter of Gilbert Wood of Bickley, Kent, who survives him. His only son 'Dick', a young man of high promise, who held the rank of Flight Lieutenant in the R.A.F., met his death on active service in a flying accident on 30 April 1942 at the age of 31. Educated at Shrewsbury School, he stroked the boat in the Oxford and Cambridge race in 1931 and 1933, and again rowed in the boat in 1934. In the same year he took a first class in the Honour School of Jurisprudence and in 1936 was elected to a Stowell Law Fellowship at University College.

The Law Faculty of Birmingham University, which from 1928 has made notable progress under the able direction of its Dean, Professor Smalley-Baker, established an intimate relation with

Holdsworth by the foundation of a Club called after his name. Year by year he delivered a 'Patron's address' and presided at a Club dinner. By his will he left in trust for the Club a pair of candelabra with the request that at each annual dinner they should be lighted in memory of the happy evenings he, his wife, and his son had spent with the Club.

If ever there was a man who was all of a piece it was Holdsworth. There was nothing capricious or unexpected about him. His character expressed the Roman quality of *aequitas* in the two senses which the dictionary gives it of 'just or equitable conduct towards others, justice, equity, fairness (governed by benevolence)' and 'a quiet tranquil state of mind, evenness of temper, moderation, calmness, tranquillity, repose, equanimity'—not a bad equipment for one who professed the *ars boni et aequi—veram nisi fallor philosophiam, non simulatam affectans*.

R. W. L.

SIR WILLIAM SEARLE HOLDSWORTH

THIS memoir of Sir William Holdsworth is intended to be limited to his published works and their influence on the study and development of law. Some references to his personality are inevitable, for he honoured me with his friendship, and in some degree the personality of a writer appears in his work and helps to a fuller understanding of it; but it is of Holdsworth, the author, rather than of Holdsworth the man, that I wish to speak.

Holdsworth's outstanding achievement is, of course, his *History of English Law*, the twelve volumes of which occupied him for more than fifty years of his life. Between 1903 and 1909 he produced a first edition of this in three volumes, but a bare mention of this suffices, for from 1909 to 1922 he was working out a much wider plan which involved revising and rewriting these three volumes and carrying on the story from 1485 onwards. The first volume of the new edition appeared in 1922, the twelfth in 1938. A brief account of the contents of each volume is necessary in order to estimate the value of the series as a whole.

Vol. I contains the history of the English judicial system from its dawn down to the Judicature Acts, 1873, 1875. There is no doubt that this was the right way of beginning the work, although it might well puzzle the historian of any continental legal system. The explanation is that English law, throughout its history and until quite modern times, has been closely implicated with legal procedure. The substantive law has been developed in many of its branches by many different courts. The English judicial system is, as Holdsworth said, 'the skeleton round which the rules of English law have grown up; and the gradual evolution of the form of this skeleton has determined the large outstanding characteristics of the ever-growing body of English law'. It would be a grave error to regard legal procedure as the shell within which the living organism of our law must be sought throughout the centuries, for that procedure is a vital part of the organism itself. Professor Hazeltine has pointed out that, in contrast, the histories of continental legal systems show that the courts have usually been regarded as of secondary importance compared to the legislative authorities, because the codifications of Roman Law profoundly influenced the processes of legal

growth as well as the character of the law itself, which may be described as the 'written' law of the legislator rather than the 'unwritten' law of the courts. Thus, the primary concern of the continental historian is the legislative code that generally embodies the law of his country and not the courts that administered the law.

Vol. II takes in Anglo-Saxon antiquities and these are succeeded by Part I of the Medieval Common Law. Part I gives the background of the topic down to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Part II, which occupies Vol. III, fills in the details of the picture by giving the development of the rules of law during that period. Much of the ground in these two volumes had been covered by Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, but Holdsworth had to take account of research during the period since the publication of the second edition of that work.

Vols. IV to VII cover the period 1485 to 1700. Vol. IV consists of but two chapters, the first on the public law of the sixteenth century, the second on the enacted law in that century and in the early seventeenth century. In this volume Holdsworth wrote the first constitutional history that incorporated the results of recent research. Its opening sentence is an epigrammatic justification of his selection of most of the subjects treated in Chap. I: 'English law owes as much to the narrowness of the English Channel as to its existence.' Hence, the reader is taken on the Continent and is kept there for pages together, but then he is brought home again to see how French or other alien systems had positive or negative effects on English contemporary law. After all, it was Henry VII's foreign policy that averted an invasion of this kingdom; and if we have to explore the Renaissance of letters and learning, we must remember that Francis Bacon was a Lord Chancellor in whom were epitomized the influences of the Renaissance and the Reformation. Indeed, again and again when we are on the point of doubting the pertinence of what may appear to be pure constitutional history, Holdsworth deftly shows us the effect of it on the development of the law. This is notably so with the account given of the activities of the King's Council, whether its purposes were achieved by commissions or by the consolidation of local government or by the use of the Judges of Assize as rods for the backs of the Justices of the Peace. The tale of Chap. II on the enacted law is taken up again in Chap. VII, which comes in Vol. VI. In less skilful hands this might have been a perilous mode of isolation; it

certainly would have been even more dangerous in the pre-Tudor period, for some of the criminal, or quasi-criminal statutes, taken by themselves, might give a false impression of the power of the law, whereas, taken in conjunction with contemporary events, they prove to be nothing but futile threats of severity against offences which a feeble executive could never check when they were committed by great men who were strong enough to ignore the government. The Tudor monarchs, however, changed all that, and Holdsworth was careful to point out circumstances that modified the effect of any particular enactment.

Vol. V opens with two chapters on 'Developments outside the sphere of the Common Law'. Here are discussed the activities of the civilians, international law, the origins of maritime and commercial law, and the influence of the Council and the Star Chamber and of the equitable jurisdiction of the Chancellor. Chap. V returns to the Common Law and includes, among many other things, important bibliographical matter. In this connexion, Holdsworth corrected a persistent error in many books of reference—the identification of *Intrationum Liber* (1545–6) as a reissue or second edition of *Intrationum excellentissimus Liber* (1510), the two books being in fact different publications.

Vol. VI begins with a chapter on the public law of the seventeenth century. It is necessarily of considerable length, for while the conflict between King and Parliament is accessible in its entirety, or in its details, in scores of books on constitutional history, Holdsworth made the new approach of treating it from a purely legal standpoint. The historians are apt to grind axes in their narratives of the events that led up to, or succeeded, the Civil War, but it is common knowledge to most lawyers who have studied the period that each side had an arguable case, and that what made a peaceable solution wellnigh impossible was that most of the precedents cited were too obsolescent to meet new problems. The next chapter (VII) takes in the enacted law of the latter half of the seventeenth century. Chap. VIII concludes the volume by tracing the professional development of the law during the second half of the seventeenth century. In speaking of the Chancellors of this period, the author did not take them in chronological order, but adopted the much more original course of grouping them according to types stamped out by varying political conditions. It is questionable whether the more orthodox plan would not have suited better the purposes of legal history. Bearing those purposes in mind, would it be wise to classify the Chancellors of, say, the last fifty years, according to

whether they owed their appointments to sheer merit, to current political exigencies, or to a lucky accident?

Most of Vol. VII relates to the history of land law during the period 1485 to 1700, though the author often continues the story to a later date; this was a wise extension, for it was essential to clarity of exposition. The importance of this volume is that there is no branch of English Law more technical and intricate than that concerned with land. No fair estimate of the difficulties that Holdsworth had to overcome can be formed without considering how far the soil had been cultivated before he turned his hand to it. Of the older books, there were Blackstone's second volume and the *Digest* of Cruise, who owed a good deal to Blackstone; but neither of these was primarily a history of the law. Each caught its rules as they stood at a particular era, Blackstone on the institutional side, Cruise on the professional side; though both incorporated references to earlier matter simply because no treatise on the law of real property can avoid that method if it is to be moderately intelligible. Then, in more recent times, there is Digby's *History of the Law of Real Property*, useful enough as an elementary outline of the subject but incapable of meeting the needs of anyone who wants a solid foundation for research into it. Challis's book is really an amplification of a lucid introduction to the Conveyancing and Settled Land Acts of the last century, and it incidentally includes historical matter, but naturally it is not intended to be a history. Sir Frederick Pollock, in his *Land Laws*, gave in astonishingly small compass a fascinating story for the general reader. Finally, brilliant monographs like those of Fearn on *Contingent Remainders* and Gray on *Perpetuities* professed to do no more than isolate special subjects. Holdsworth therefore had plenty of virgin soil before him, and the cultivation of it was perhaps the most severe task that he had set for himself. This volume needs harder reading than any other in the series, not because there is the least abatement of skill and clearness in it, but because the subject itself is so exacting in sustained thought. Lawyers bred in another system might marvel how our ancestors tolerated the crabbed language and technical complications in which the land law abounded. Its expense was perhaps a minor matter, for most of it was borne by men who were wealthy enough to accept a family lawsuit in the same spirit that they inherited the family gout. But the law itself was tougher in the grain than any other branch of what was a tough tree from bark to pith. Yet, oddly enough, some of the driest parts of the law of real property attract a respectable number of students. This is notably so with

the law as to future interests and especially as to remoteness of limitation. Here is what appeals to those who revel in abstractions. Here are the pure mathematics of law, and one might read case after case relating to it without realizing that any of them are supposed to deal with anything so vulgar as the material welfare of a human being, much less to keep pace with the changing needs of the community. Here Holdsworth had his opportunity and he seized it with the firmness and dexterity that characterize his work. He makes the topic digestible to all readers and palatable to the enthusiasts among them. If the law here gives the student plenty of stone in his bread, he is at least taught how to avoid breaking his teeth on it. Moreover, Holdsworth shows that, even when due latitude is given to modern criticism of the older system, it is a mistake to deride too hastily our land law as it stood at the end of the eighteenth century. The Real Property Commissioners' statement in their report of 1829 that it was 'almost as near perfection as can be expected in any human institution' looks like purblind conservatism unless we recollect that what they had in mind was the substance of the law rather than its form. 'No doubt', says Holdsworth, 'some of its rules were clumsy, some were uncertain, and some were inequitable. But on the whole they were just and flexible rules.' This illustrates the sympathetic understanding that study of the history of our law gives. To show the reason for a particular rule is the best way of guaranteeing sound reform of it, if reform be needed.

The latter part of Vol. VII deals with chattels personal. Vol. VIII opens with about a hundred pages on contract and quasi-contract, and then passes to the Law Merchant on which, in its various details, there are good monographs of which the author made free use while, at the same time, displaying plenty of originality on his own account. The last chapter of the volume examines the history of criminal law and the law of tort.

One of the best appreciations of Vols. X, XI, and XII is Dr. E. C. S. Wade's in *Law Quarterly Review* (1939), lv. 250-6, and it is better to give a bare outline of it here and to leave the reader to consult the article for details, rather than to attempt an independent expression of opinion when the writer could say scarcely anything different from Dr. Wade's review. These three volumes deal with the Centuries of Settlement and Reform, 1701 to 1875. They include the first complete history of English law during the eighteenth century. Vol. X, after establishing the historical background, gives an account of local administrative

agencies and then proceeds to the development of central government; a point that is rightly emphasized is the extent to which the autonomic powers of local bodies were left alone by Parliament and the law courts. The first part of Vol. XI is occupied with the relations of Great Britain during the eighteenth century to Ireland, to India, and to the Colonies. Then the development of Parliament is discussed and there is particularly valuable matter on the technique of private Acts and local Acts, and on the history of the drafting of legislation in general. The subject of Vol. XII is the professional development of the law. It begins with a history of the legal profession, including legal education, and naturally passes to legal literature. Then follows a series of biographies of the leading judges and other lawyers of the period 1700 to 1756, on the principle that it is essential to know not only the tools at the disposal of those who administered the law, but also the way in which they used those tools. Next comes an account of the sphere of the Civilians in our law, and finally an investigation of Blackstone and the part played by his *Commentaries* on the development of our law.

In assessing the value of the *History of English Law* as a whole, the outstanding fact about it is that it gives for the first time a practically complete history of our law. No one can appreciate so well the magnitude and difficulty of this achievement as those who undertook research in legal history before Holdsworth had begun the publication of these twelve volumes. That was the position of the writer of this memoir, and it involved a great deal of extra work in settling the method of approach to the particular subject of research, especially as to the bibliography of it and the relation of it to other parts of the law. Of course, Pollock and Maitland's *History of English Law* was available as far as the reign of Edward I, but beyond that period it was impossible to resort to any one book that could form the starting-point of a piece of investigation. Reeves' *History of English Law* stopped at the reign of Philip and Mary, though a fifth volume, added in 1814, included the reign of Elizabeth. It was a generally reliable work so far as it reproduced the knowledge available when it was written; but, for the modern reader, it was dull in style, sparse in its references, and hopelessly out of date in the light of later research. The tide of modern learning had obliterated many of its landmarks, and one could only speculate whether our own era would produce anyone sufficiently courageous and well equipped to take up the tale where Pollock and Maitland ceased speaking. 'C'est des difficultés que naissent des

miracles', and into this breach Holdsworth stepped and successfully filled it, so far as any scholar could be reasonably expected to accomplish the task. How far was that? The answer to that question involves consideration of the classes of readers most likely to use the book. They include the general reader, i.e. the person, with no special qualification as a lawyer, who seeks information on legal history as ancillary to some other purpose; the law student; the practitioner of law; the law reformer; and the researcher in law. For general readers, the *History* is full and sufficient for the period that it covers, and the same may be said of the ordinary law student. Practitioners do not commonly find it needful to cut deep in the historical side of law, but the law reports furnish us occasionally with cases in which either judges or counsel, or both, have found it necessary to examine the history of a rule or of an institution in order to understand how to apply it to the best advantage for the current purposes of justice. Here, Holdsworth's work achieved notable success. It has been cited in the courts and references to it occur in several judgments, especially those of the Court of Appeal and of the House of Lords. For the law reformer the book is also helpful. It would be claiming too much to insist that study of the history of a rule of law is always essential to adequate reform of it, but there is no doubt that amendment of the rule is more likely to be well balanced in relation to the needs of the community and to the rest of the legal system if account is taken of its history. A good example of the unfortunate consequences of imperfect knowledge of the history of the law was the decision of the House of Lords in *Admiralty Commissioners v. S.S. Amerika*, [1917] A.C. 38. There, the House had an opportunity of reforming the law by overruling earlier cases, but they did not do so, and one reason for their decision was the defective investigation of the history of the rule at issue by two of the noble and learned Lords. A correct account of that history had been given by Holdsworth in 1916 in *Law Quarterly Review*, xxxii. 431.

For the researcher in law, the *History* will nearly always be found useful as a starting-point. For several reasons it cannot always be either exhaustive or conclusive of the matter in hand. First, wide as the regions are that are covered by the *History*, it cannot give a picture of every detail, nor does it profess to do so. It bears the same relation to a monograph of intensive research into any particular topic of the law as a map of England does to the largest-scale Ordnance Survey map of any minute part of England. Secondly, there are and always will be unexplored or

partially explored places in our legal history; frequently, one consequence of research is the discovery of such places as an incident in an investigation that began with the aim of solving a different problem; moreover, there is a steady increase in the accumulation of material for research, owing to the work not only of individuals but also of bodies like the Selden Society. The history of our medieval law will never be complete until we have fuller printed accounts of the transactions of local courts, although excellent work has been, and is being, done on these. Thirdly, a true researcher is bound to verify the conclusions of those who have traversed the same ground, for those conclusions may be based on facts that make them debatable or sometimes that do not support them. Finally, an historian may have overlooked some authority relevant to what he is narrating. These considerations apply to the *History of English Law* as much as to any other classic of legal literature, and it is merely to establish my proposition, and not in any spirit of carping criticism, that I give instances of it. In Vols. II and III, where the history of the writ is given, more might have been said on its relation to its predecessor, the charter; for there is plenty of material on this in Haskins's *Norman Institutions* (which Holdsworth cites, but not in this connexion) and in H. W. C. Davis's *Regesta Anglo-Normannorum* (which he does not mention). In Vol. VII, Holdsworth seems to accept in its entirety an opinion of Coke as to the relation of maintenance to the assignability of choses in action, but Coke's view had already been shown to be true only of the late sixteenth and succeeding centuries. In Vol. VIII, in developing the history of negligence, the authorities which he cites for his linking up remoteness of consequence with this topic are not convincing with respect to civil liability during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and indeed the whole growth of negligence was tardier than he thinks it to be. Again, his thesis of 'absolute' liability for civil wrongs in our early law is not based on a sufficiently full examination of the material, which shows that it certainly does not give unqualified support to the thesis.

It is impossible to exclude the personal predilections of an author from his works, and Holdsworth's tendencies were conservative, although he was by no means averse from reform of the law. Nothing could ever convince him that the theory of implied contract as the basis of quasi-contractual obligation has, in our time, become an outworn technicality, however useful it may have been in the eighteenth century. And, as

Dr. Wade has pointed out in his critique of Vols. X and XI, Holdsworth did not conceal his distaste for modern developments of administrative law.

However, the *History of English Law* deserves all that has been said in praise of it, and no one has more reason to be grateful for it than the writer of this memoir. The best test of a book is the extent to which it is used, and those who are concerned with the literature of English law must continually take from their bookshelves one or more of these twelve volumes.

Holdsworth found time to write other books besides his *magnum opus*; indeed, the first was published before any volume of the *History*; it was a students' book written in collaboration with C. W. Vickers. Holdsworth's other publications were mainly either fuller developments of topics treated in the *History*, or abridgements of them for the use of students. Of the *Sources and Literature of English Law* (1925), it is difficult to say more than Lord Atkin did in his 'Foreword'. 'I know of no book of this size which deals so completely and in such just perspective with the manifold sources of the English Law.' The book is no mere epitome of the profound learning embodied in the eight volumes of the *History* which had been published at that date; it is a sympathetic study adapted to the needs of everyone who wishes for information on its subject. The *Historical Introduction to the Land Law* (1927) puts in a briefer and more accessible shape what the *History* had to say on the subject, and adds a chapter on the new property legislation embodied in the Acts of 1925. It is an excellent book for those who are beginning to study land law provided it is supplemented by the oral instruction of a teacher on some of the technicalities that are ingrained in this part of the system. Holdsworth disposes of the common idea that, until the nineteenth century, land law had never attracted much of the attention of Parliament. He shows that, far from this being the case, the legislature had intervened earlier on several occasions and that such reforms as it had made may rightly be regarded as the germ of the Acts of 1925. Indeed, in his opinion, no branch of private law better exemplifies the activity of Parliament. He certainly corroborates the view of Sir Leslie Scott, who, more than anyone else, was responsible for steering the legislation of 1925 through the House of Commons, that the Acts were 'not revolution, but evolution'.

Some Lessons from Our Legal History and *The Historians of Anglo-American Law* embodied courses of lectures delivered in America. They were published in 1928.

Some Makers of English Law (1938) comprises the Tagore Lectures delivered in Calcutta. As the author says, much of the matter in them will be found in the *History of English Law*, but treated at greater length there. The range is a wide one, for it stretches from Glanvill and Bracton to Sir Frederick Pollock. It is a survey of the chief stars in the legal firmament and their influence on the law either as contributors to its literature or as occupants of the Bench. 'They have done for English Law', said Holdsworth, 'what the great Roman jurists, whose writings are preserved in the Digest, did for Roman Law.'

Charles Dickens as a Legal Historian (1928) consists of lectures delivered at Yale on the Storrs Foundation. Nothing that Holdsworth wrote illustrates better his genius as a legal historian. The title of the book might raise the hasty inference that it is a literary diversion of the author rather than a positive contribution to the history of our law. Its contents entirely falsify any such assumption. The law and lawyers that appear in Dickens's writings belong to the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century. Many of Dickens's references to them relate to an era preceding modern reform of the law, while, at the time he wrote his later books, Parliament had begun to make amendments long overdue, although only in a tentative and cautious fashion. As Holdsworth says, 'There are two main reasons why Dickens's pictures of the courts, the lawyers, and the law of his day have this unique value. In the first place, they give us information which we can get nowhere else. In the second place, these pictures were painted by a man with extraordinary powers of observation, who had first-hand information.' Now, although Dickens was not a lawyer (indeed, once or twice he made 'howlers' about the application of particular legal rules), he had sufficient practical acquaintance with the law to make him much more familiar with it than the average layman. As a youngster he had been in the offices of two attorneys, and a reporter in Doctors' Commons and in Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst's court. Later, he figured as a successful plaintiff in five Chancery suits against literary pirates of the *Christmas Carol*, and he reckoned among his personal friends Thomas Noon Talfourd and other famous lawyers. Hence his use of the legal system and its personnel in his novels and sketches is highly instructive to the historian, for he reproduced in vivid style the way in which the law affected the lives and feelings of the people who were governed by it. It is just this legal 'atmosphere' that a true historian of the law seeks to discover and that is so difficult to re-create from the technical

literature of the law. Holdsworth could think of only three really conspicuous lawyers who have given us descriptions of their legal world as they saw it—Fortescue in the fifteenth century, Roger North in the later seventeenth century, and, in a less degree, Romilly in the later eighteenth century. My own inclination would be to add Saint Germain, whose sixteenth-century *Doctor and Student* poured a great amount of light and fresh air into the dark and ill-ventilated technicalities of our medieval law. Be that as it may, Holdsworth's book not only illuminates a great deal of legal history, but is a pure joy to any Dickensian who happens to be a lawyer.

The books that he wrote by no means exhausted Holdsworth's literary activities. A mere bibliography of the articles that came from his pen would be an imposing list. Most of them are to be found in law periodicals and, though the *Law Quarterly Review* has, as a matter of course, the largest share of them, many appeared in one or other of the leading law journals of the United States, or of the over-sea Dominions, or of some continental country. Other contributions took the form of chapters in collections of essays like *Select Essays in Anglo-American Legal History* and *Essays in Legal History* (edited by Vinogradoff), or of parts of a book written in collaboration with others like the *Digest of Civil Law* (edited by Jenks). He also did work of especial value for the Selden Society. He was one of its literary directors, had assisted in editing a volume in the Year Books Series, and was engaged similarly on another volume at the time of his death. It was only natural that the tradition initiated by Maitland in the activities of the Society should be continued and maintained at its high level by Holdsworth; it is, of course, only fair to add that other workers for the Society equally merit the same praise.

In mere years Holdsworth had had a full life, but those who knew him personally felt that he was taken from us too early. His boundless energy, keen and full interest in current affairs, and sympathetic touch with the young always kept him young in spirit, and thus his long and painful illness was all the sadder for his friends. His services to legal history are a *monumentum aere perennius*. They are to be estimated not merely by his published work, wide as its influence has been in the United Kingdom, the British dominions, and the continents of Europe and America. Equally important were his personal contacts with all who were interested in law. He inspired the young student, helped the practitioner, and stimulated the researcher. The English legal

system is intensely implicated with its history and is deeply impressed by British national character. Holdsworth's life and work create a new landmark in that history.

P. H. W.

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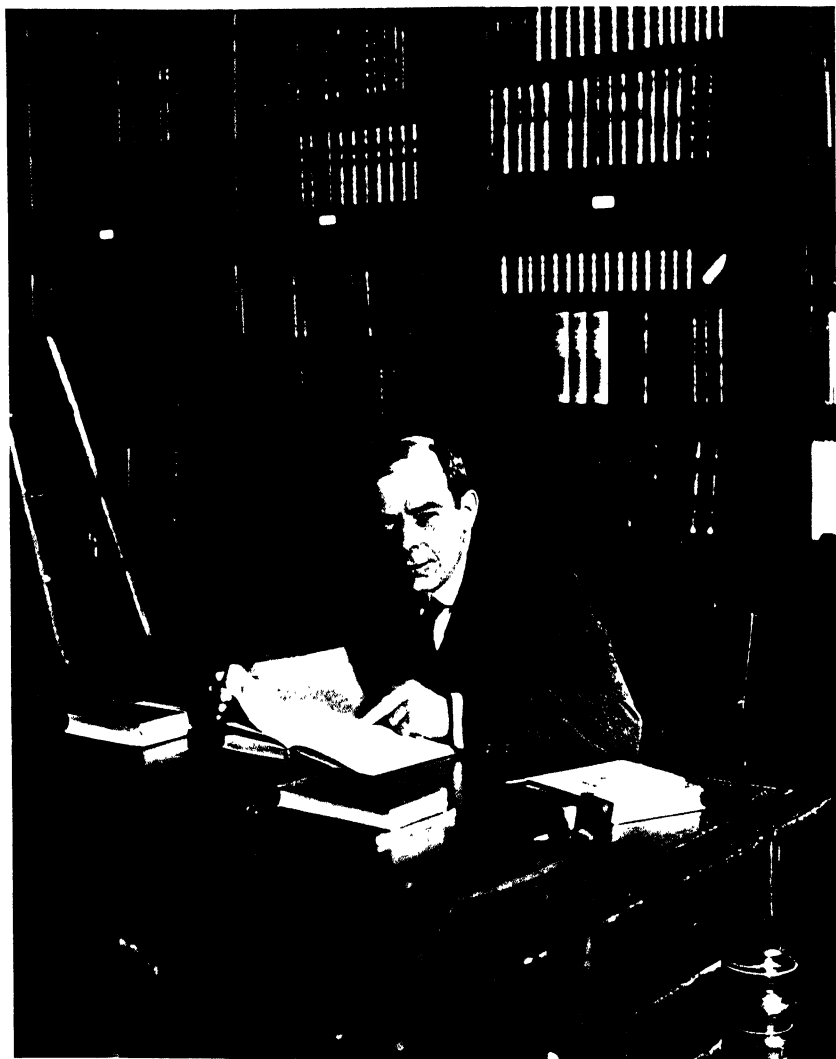
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R. W. CHAMBERS

RAYMOND WILSON CHAMBERS

1874-1942

CHAMBERS was not among those professors who encourage writers of detective stories. 'I never read anything', he once told the present deponent, 'that I do not intend to remember.' It is true that he read *The Times* newspaper and the *Daily Telegraph* daily, and thoroughly. But it is also true that his memory of even this reading was enduring, impeccable, and disconcerting to political opponents. Not only was he, in fact, one of the most widely read of men, but his reading was entirely at his disposal at all times. He gave his whole mind to whatever he did, or read, and was tenacious and attentive. When we add to this habit and quality a deep love of truth and of literature, an ambition to excel in scholarship, and the influence and example of great masters, something remarkable was likely to come of it. Chambers himself would have said that Yorkshire blood gave him a good start.

He was born at Staxton, at the foot of the Yorkshire wolds, on 12th November 1874, but was soon brought to London, and to the Grocers' Company's School. Thence he proceeded, not yet seventeen years of age, to University College, London, which became his abiding place and his club for almost the whole of his life, with annexes in the British Museum, Bodley, or wherever else books were gathered together or scholars were to be met. There he studied under that unrivalled trio, W. P. Ker, A. E. Housman, and Arthur Platt, who gave to many a taste for the humanities even on the high and severe plane of scholarship, and to Chambers a lifelong passion. He never ceased from proclaiming his veneration for them, and in his riper years for Henry Morley, Ker's distinguished predecessor at University College. He took his Bachelor's degree in 1894.

'Life was not all easy', as another Yorkshireman complained some five hundred years before, for the brilliant young student. He knew privation and anxiety, with a father stricken with early paralysis, and with the need to earn a living without delay. His love of books led him to contemplate a career in librarianship, and upon graduation he was employed in the library of the Medico-Chirurgical Society under Sir J. Y. MacAlister, then in the Guildhall Library for a short time, whence he moved to the library of the Royal Agricultural Society under

his friend Sir Ernest Clarke. He was thus away from University College for five years.

But in 1899 he returned, when Ker appointed him to be Quain Student, in succession to Israel Gollancz and Gregory Foster, the latter becoming Assistant Professor, Secretary, and subsequently Provost of University College. In 1902 Chambers took his Master's degree, and in 1904 he was made Assistant Professor. In the meantime, in 1901, he had been appointed to be also Librarian of the sadly neglected College Library, a post which he held and exercised with energy and vision, together with his considerable teaching duties, for over twenty years. Dr. Ofor, Brotherton Librarian in the University of Leeds, who began his career as his assistant in that year, has recorded 'Chambers' excitement when he unearthed, almost literally, a Coverdale Bible, a Nuremberg Chronicle, a first edition of *Piers Plowman*', from the long undisturbed dust of wired book-cases.¹ During his tenure of office the Library developed into one of the greatest of University collections of books, second in England only to those of Oxford and Cambridge, and admirably organized and equipped for the service of a community of scholars and students. In this work Chambers was most ably seconded by a remarkable group of assistants, Col. Newcombe, Dr. Ofor, and Dr. Bonser, who all rose to the direction of a great academic library, and the present Librarian of the College, Mr. Wilks. The delegation of responsibility thus made possible freed him in great measure for the pursuit of English scholarship and for teaching. When he left this post in 1922, to succeed Ker as Quain Professor, he had thus already achieved what for many would have counted as a life's work.

Chambers's attachment to the College Library was, indeed, second only to his devotion to scholarship, and he was one of a notable group of scholar-librarians to whose work so much is owed by learning in England. The first important piece of work in which he showed his quality and his powers was done in collaboration and in the background, at an early age. Ker's edition of Berners's *Froissart* in the Tudor Translations, 1901-3, owed much more to Chambers than appears. A long account of the origin of the edition appeared in *The Times Literary Supplement* in a letter from Chambers, dated 8 December 1927, rebutting a statement that the text was a reprint of Utterson. The 'help' given by Chambers, as he there modestly described his share in the joint effort, was indeed important. His own

¹ *The Library Association Record*, June 1942.

more private account of the matter was that he was responsible for both text and annotations after Volume I. He often spoke of the high praise which W. E. Henley expressed for the Index, under Chambers's name, and of his intention, defeated by death, of making public acknowledgement of its excellence. 'You must see to it,' he told his pupil and colleague Miss Husbunds, in a whimsical vein, 'that Henley's praise of my Index is mentioned in my obituary.' It is therefore duly recorded here. 'One of the great ones gone,' said Chambers, when Henley died in University College Hospital.

He never lost this interest in Tudor prose, which led later on to great results. But his main activity in this early period was in medieval studies. He was already busy with the text of *Piers Plowman*, with a view to an edition under preparation for the Early English Text Society, from 1909 onwards. But his chief effort was devoted to those Anglo-Saxon studies in which he soon distinguished himself by scholarly work of the highest order.

His first published book under his own name was his well-known and fundamental study of *Widsith*,¹ which appeared in 1912. Chambers's text and commentary upon *Widsith*, and his treatment in this volume of old Germanic heroic poetry and saga in general, established his reputation at once, and gave new life to Anglo-Saxon studies in England, according to competent opinion upon what one reviewer described as 'one of the finest works of Old English scholarship'. It was in recognition of this notable contribution to learning that the University of London conferred upon him the degree of D.Lit. in the same year.

Chambers then turned his attention to a new major task. In 1914 he published a first instalment of his labours upon *Beowulf*, his revision of A. J. Wyatt's edition of the poem. It was, in fact, a new edition in all respects, though it bore the names of both Wyatt and Chambers.

The Great War of 1914-18 interrupted his scholarly activities. But a humble duty well done ranked high in his mind and gave him great satisfaction. Physically unfit as he was to play the part he would have wished, he did what he could, manfully, as an orderly at a great base hospital in France. And the War Memorial Album, which recorded the part played in the War by students of the College, owed much to his pious, unwearied labours.

Beowulf had to wait. But in 1921 came his finest work in

¹ *Widsith: A Study in Old English Heroic Legend.*

this field, his *Introduction to Beowulf*,¹ concerning which the late Sir Allen Mawer wrote:

The Introduction finally and definitely places its author in the front rank of the great English scholars who have handled the problems of Anglo-Saxon literature and at the same time removes the last vestige of reproach that might be brought against English scholars of letting themselves be outrivalled by scholars of German and Scandinavian nationality. (*Modern Language Review*, January 1923.)

Tribute was paid at the same time to the style and personality of a scholar who could give life, wit, and excitement to a book of severe learning.

The British Academy set the seal upon his reputation as a scholar by electing him to its Fellowship in 1927, and upon his work on *Beowulf* in particular by awarding him its Biennial Prize for English Studies in respect of that work in 1928.

Again, when Chambers published a revised edition of the *Introduction* in 1932, bringing his survey up to date, and adding a great deal of new matter, with a fuller, exhaustive bibliography, the greatest of his rivals as a *Beowulf* scholar, Professor Klaeber, wrote of Chambers's work as a landmark in scholarship and a humanizing of a recondite subject. All the resources of archaeological study and knowledge, and a close and intimate familiarity with Scandinavian history and literature, were here combined with mastery of Anglo-Saxon studies to produce a work of the highest authority and importance.

The following year, 1933, saw the completion of Chambers's last major piece of work in this field, the magnificent collotype facsimile edition of the *Exeter Book*, in which he collaborated with Professor Max Förster and Dr. Robin Flower. No less perfect work could have superseded Sir Israel Gollancz's earlier, but incomplete, edition in type-facsimile, with translation, of 1893.²

Here, then, was a second achievement that might have satisfied a man as his life's work.

It brought further recognition of Chambers's standing, both at home and abroad. The University of Durham conferred upon him in 1932 its Honorary Doctorate of Letters. The Modern Language Association of America, in 1930, made him an Honorary Member. In 1933 the Johns Hopkins Univer-

¹ *Beowulf. An Introduction to the Study of the Poem, with a Discussion of the Stories of Offa and Finn.*

² E.E.T.S., o.s. 104. It was completed by Professor W. S. Mackie of Capetown in a second volume of 1934.

sity honoured him with an invitation to deliver the Turnbull Lectures in Baltimore. In the same year the Philological Society, so closely associated with University College, chose him to be its President. And in 1935 the University of Cambridge also honoured him, when Trinity College elected him Clark Lecturer for that year.

A third great achievement, however, was yet to come, and in a different field. The starting-point was that early interest in Tudor prose which had been aroused by his study of Berners's *Froissart*. The result in the end was that Chambers, so long known in the world of scholarship by his work upon *Widsith* and upon *Beowulf*, attained a wider reputation as scholar and writer among general readers as the biographer of Thomas More, and among students of literature as the author also of a notable essay upon 'The Continuity of English Prose'.

The first-fruits of these deep interests, so long set aside in favour of Anglo-Saxon studies, were a remarkable lecture delivered before the British Academy in 1926, upon 'The Saga and the Myth of Sir Thomas More', and a solid and conclusive article in the *Modern Language Review* for October 1928 upon 'More's *History of Richard III*', vindicating the importance of this historical work and More's authorship of it. This study of More was set in the frame of wider studies in the development of English prose, which in their turn led to consideration of continuity in the development of English poetry. It is impossible to dissociate these studies in continuity from the conservative trend of Chambers's political and historical thought, which forbade him to accept the point of view so ably represented by his colleague Professor A. F. Pollard, concerning the true interpretation of the Reformation, or those views which attributed to the Norman Conquest the entry of England into the European comity of thought and culture. These wider studies furnished the material for the two notable series of lectures already referred to, the Turnbull Lectures of 1933 upon 'The Continuity of English Poetry', and the Clark Lectures of 1935-6 upon 'English Prose between Chaucer and Raleigh'. But the focus of all this interest was More.

A profoundly religious man himself, Chambers had long been drawn to More as an Englishman of heroic quality in his religion, as an unbending protagonist of religious freedom, against the tyranny of State compulsion under Henry VIII, and as a man whose private life was at all points consonant with his convictions. He never wearied, in his teaching, of pressing

the claims of More to one of the highest places in the history of literature, as the father of modern English prose writing. And he saw in More not only the scholar, the judge, the writer, but also, and above all, the type and model of all that is best in the English people.

Chambers's enduring and close association with Professor A. W. Reed, whose life's work was devoted to this period of our history and literature, and to the editing of More's prose works, helped to concentrate and feed his interest in this great figure, as did also his contact with Catholic scholars, in particular Monsignor Philip Hallett. He collaborated with Dr. E. V. Hitchcock, his pupil, colleague, and close family friend, in her edition of Harpsfield's *Life of More* (1932), a prolegomenon to his own monograph, *Thomas More*, which appeared in 1935.

Chambers's long essay upon 'The Continuity of English Prose' formed part of the preface to Harpsfield's *Life*, and it was also issued separately. This was not merely a revolt in favour of More against Wyclif as the first great writer of modern English prose. It was a rejection of the concept that there was any breach of continuity in its development from Anglo-Saxon days through Middle English down to the essential fifteenth century, the fame of whose writers in devotional prose was fully vindicated by Chambers. The key to this continuity was to be found in proper attention to religious writings throughout this long period.

Apart from the literary and scholarly success of *Thomas More*, the book took its place with other devoted work, such as Monsignor Hallett's translation of Stapleton's Latin *Life of More*, in the movement which sought recognition of More's spiritual greatness. It was among Chambers's proudest memories that he received a letter of thanks from His Holiness Pope Pius XI, with an autographed photograph. I have it on the authority of Monsignor Hallett that Chambers's work helped on a cause that both he and Chambers had much at heart, the canonization of More and Fisher, which was accomplished on 19 May 1935. It is well to record that this was the work of a faithful son of the Church of England, who took pleasure in the reading of the Lessons and let nothing interfere with this duty in his parish church of Southgate during his long residence in North London.

When he heard of the canonization Chambers was in America on a second visit. In 1935 the Huntington Library in California had invited him to go again, with Professor A. W. Reed,

to study its Langland manuscripts. While there he gave a broadcast address, the only occasion I can trace when he did so, and the subject was Thomas More, on 6 July 1935.

It was not possible that Chambers should not also have 'attended to' Shakespeare, to use Ker's favourite phrase for literary studies. He had, in fact, much to say about Shakespeare. To this he was moved, in part at least, by his work upon More and by the attention directed to the now famous biographical play *Sir Thomas Moore* through the remarkable studies of Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, Professor A. W. Pollard, and Dr. W. W. Greg, which led to the attribution to Shakespeare of the 'Three Pages' of Addition D as his own holograph manuscript.

When that admirable book appeared, *Shakespeare's Hand in Sir Thomas More*, edited by Dr. Pollard, in 1923, it included an essay by Chambers, 'The Expression of Ideas in the Three Pages and in Shakespeare', upon relations between the thought and expression of Shakespeare in his known plays and in Addition D. To many readers this essay carried a conviction which even the most conclusive palaeographical arguments, or Professor Dover Wilson's acute analysis of the bibliographical parallels, failed to induce. He returned to the charge in 1931, with an article in the *Modern Language Review*, and again in 1937. The lecture then delivered in Manchester University was finally printed as the essay upon 'Shakespeare and the Play of More', a new and full survey, in *Man's Unconquerable Mind* (1939), a remarkable and widely read collection of essays and addresses.

Later studies took form in his British Academy Annual Shakespeare Lecture in 1937 upon '*Measure for Measure* and the Jacobean Shakespeare', and the inaugural Ker Memorial Lecture at Glasgow University in 1939 upon '*King Lear*'.

His last important public utterance was his 1941 British Academy Warton Lecture on 'Poets and their Critics: Langland and Milton', a counterblast to iconoclasts. The lecture concluded with words that give a clue to his fundamental attitude towards great poetry:

Let us beware how we give consent to the breaking down of one stone from the walls with which the sacred poets have fortified the town of Mansoul.

Such a warning, resting upon unrivalled scholarship, a powerful and faithful intellect, and a lifetime spent in close and familiar

communion with high literature in many tongues, may well be a watchword against that kind of criticism which, uneasy in the company of the great, seeks to reduce their stature to a level where envy ceases.

Chambers's latter years were marked by further honours for a scholar who had now become a public figure. The University of Leeds conferred upon him its Honorary Litt.D. in 1936, at the opening ceremony of its great Brotherton Library. *Thomas More* won for him, in the same year, the James Tait Black Memorial Book Prize 'for the best biography or literary work of that nature'. In 1937 the Bavarian Academy of Science elected him to be a Corresponding Member. And in 1938, the year before the Second Great War, he undertook a new and great responsibility. He had long been closely associated with the work of the Early English Text Society, and now, upon the resignation of Alfred Pollard, soon to be followed by the lamented death of that great and beloved scholar, Chambers was chosen to succeed him as Honorary Director of the Society. The choice was indeed inevitable. But the war years brought with this office many anxieties and troubles, despite the constant counsel of Dr. Flower and the devotion of Dr. Mabel Day, Assistant Director and Secretary of the Society.

A further distinction conferred upon Chambers in 1937 was his election to the Council of the British Academy. There was never a man more appreciative of the honours that fell to his lot, as never was scholar more worthy of them. In particular, he cherished greatly his Fellowship of the Academy and the society he enjoyed in its meetings or on its Council. The British Academy was his favourite audience, and he gave of his best in a notable series of Academy lectures, from 'The Saga and the Myth of Sir Thomas More' in 1926 to 'Poets and their Critics' in 1941.

It might hardly seem likely that there was room in this crowded life of scholarship for any further major achievement. Yet what might have been Chambers's greatest piece of work, indeed, remained unfinished at his death, his work upon *Piers Plowman*. He had long been deeply engaged in this task. As far back as in April 1909 there appeared an important article by Chambers and J. H. G. Grattan on 'The Text of *Piers Plowman*. I. The A-Text', and a second from his own pen, upon 'The Authorship of *Piers Plowman*' in January 1910, both in the *Modern Language Review*. These were followed in 1911 by 'The Original Form of the A-Text of *Piers Plowman*', by

Chambers, in 1916 by 'The Text of *Piers Plowman*: Critical Methods', by Chambers and Grattan, and in 1919 by 'The Three Texts of *Piers Plowman* and their Grammatical Forms', by Chambers. He was drawn away by other interests, and little progress was made for some years thereafter. The present writer later on asked him to survey the problem and to lay out a plan of work towards the completion of the task, for the same journal. In January 1931 a notable long article appeared, upon 'The Text of *Piers Plowman*', by Chambers and Grattan. In the arduous task of collating the many manuscripts of the poem, he was helped in the earlier years by colleagues, Mrs. Blackman and Professor Grattan, and in later years by young scholars like Dr. Mitchell and Mr. Kane, who came to study under his direction. He returned from his visit to California with much added material for his proposed definitive edition of the text. The war interfered with the progress of the work, as with so many good matters, though in 1941 *Work in Progress in the Modern Humanities* recorded him as occupied with 'an investigation of the fifty-one manuscripts of *Piers Plowman*'. The mass of material left towards this end awaits an Elisha to his Elijah, if the work is to be completed. But two completed achievements remain.

First, the text of the A-version was already in proof for the Early English Text Society as early as in 1913, though not yet published. Second, the theory of multiple authorship has been massively and conclusively rebutted. There remains one poet and thinker, among the noblest in any language. These achievements are monument enough to a great Langland scholar, who also defended and vindicated the memorable work of Walter Skeat, the founder of Langland studies in this country, from all belittling attack.

Having said all this, much yet remains. The admirably complete bibliography of Chambers's writings, compiled by Miss Winifred Husbands and printed here as an appendix, gives proof not only of his enormous and varied activity in scholarship but also of his loyalty to his masters and his friends. It was, he said, mainly 'for the pleasure of working with Walter Seton' that he collaborated with that scholarly Secretary of the College, a perfervid Scot and a devoted Franciscan student, towards an edition of Bellenden's 1531 translation of Hector Boece, at the end of the last war. Upon Seton's death, Chambers continued, in collaboration with his colleague Dr. Edith Batho, in pious duty to Seton's memory. It was not until 1938

that the first volume appeared, in the Scottish Text Society's publications, edited by Chambers and Dr. Batho. The work was completed by his colleagues under his direction, and the second volume appeared in 1944, edited by Dr. Batho and Miss Husbands.

So also, upon the death of Ker, his executors asked Chambers to edit certain lectures delivered in University College and taken down *verbatim* by Dr. Hitchcock at Ker's request. The whole Department of English joined with Chambers in the task of editing the book, which went far beyond the mere checking of text, even to some measure of rewriting, where Ker's known preciseness was wanting in these impromptu deliveries. Ker's *Form and Style in English Poetry*, published in 1928, was a considerable addition to the comparatively slight memorials in print of Ker's vast scholarship and reading. Chambers had intended to edit also two further sets of lectures of Ker, similarly recorded by Miss Hitchcock, upon the 'Eighteenth Century' and the 'Romantic Age', together with Miss Husbands's excellent bibliography of his writings, and an enlarged version of Chambers's own *Memoir* of Ker, all of which remain unpublished as yet, in the possession of Chambers's executors, as are also Chambers's own Turnbull Lectures, carefully revised for press.

The loyalty of Chambers to Ker was the measure of his own colleagues' loyalty to him. He was an inspiring and active teacher all his life, and attracted his students to the highest standards of scholarship. In due course some of his pupils and Ker's came to be his colleagues and his helpers in many ways. He was the central figure in a busy and friendly hive of industry, in which interests and views were shared in the service of all. When, in 1928, a second Chair was created by generous endowment in the Department of English, to which the present writer, then Reader under Chambers, was elected, to be Joint Head of the Department with the Quain Professor, a lesser man might have thought his position diminished and might even have offered resistance to this aspect of the proposals. The Northcliffe Professor, it is true, inserted a secret clause into the unwritten regulations for the duumvirate, the clause providing privately for a casting vote invariably to lie with the Quain Professor. But the need never arose during thirteen years of the closest collaboration. It was typical of Chambers's generosity, as of his unfailing wit, that he dubbed the Professors the Two Kings of Brentford and delighted in elaborating the jest. He was happy in the affection and admiration of his nearest col-

leagues, as of the whole academic body of the College. There was added satisfaction in his relations with other scholars, not least in his friendship with men like W. W. Lawrence and Kemp Malone in the United States, or Max Förster in Munich, among many. He was a generous and voluminous letter-writer, and gave greatly of himself in his letters. In his later years he took even greater comfort from sharing thoughts with other men of note, as the shadows darkened upon the world in the fateful nineteen-thirties.

Chambers never married. In his early days he and his only sister, Miss Gertrude Chambers, devoted themselves to the needs of a paralysed father, and in later days to each other in an ideal relationship which gave the scholar the comfort and home-life he needed. There is little to record in his private life. He spent many holidays in Switzerland, with his sister, and was led by the example of W. P. Ker, an enthusiastic Alpinist, to a successful assault upon Monte Rosa. His work on *Beowulf* took him to Norway, where he learned to ski, and to Denmark. And the present writer learned of a visit to Italy from a postcard recording his pilgrimage to the tomb of Romeo and Juliet in Verona. His visits to Florence and Assisi were events of great significance to the lover of Dante and St. Francis. He was an indefatigable godfather, and in his relations with his god-children gave evidence of the kindly and serious earnestness and love with which he rejoiced in the hopeful excellence of the generations to come. We need not wonder, therefore, if, among the many activities associated with University College, St. Christopher's Working Boys' Club was especially a matter of concern to Chambers, its Secretary for many years. To it he gave much of his thought and his time. It was also one of the principal beneficiaries of his private, often secret, benevolence. It was a college beadle—and Chambers was popular with college servants, no mean judges of men—who recalled after Chambers's death festivities shared by him with the boys and young men of St. Pancras, a Christmas Treat in College, a Ramblers' Club on Saturdays, and the fortnight's camp at the seaside.

The war years filled the last chapter of Chambers's life. He had scarcely recovered from a grave operation which aged him, when the blow fell. The deep roots of his being, in University College and in London, were torn up when the College moved to Wales. Even the hospitality of Aberystwyth, or the presence of his friend Dr. Robin Flower with some part of the British

Museum Library housed in the National Library of Wales, could not fill the void. The grievous damage done to University College, the destruction of much of the great library which he had helped to build up as its Librarian for over twenty years, and the annihilation of Chelsea Old Church, in which More worshipped, scarred Chambers too, mentally and physically, though not spiritually. Upon the loss of my own library, Chambers sent me a book to encourage a fresh start, *The Whole Workes of W. Tyndall, Iohn Frith, and Doct. Barnes, 1573*. And on the fly-leaf he wrote:

'Our souls be not faint, though our bodies be weary'

Mortui resurgent.

October 18, 1940.

There was no wavering in his faith, nor diminution of his activity, during these troubled last years. He ended as he had begun, absorbed in scholarship and in University College. He retired from the Quain Chair in 1941, a Chair made great by Henry Morley and W. P. Ker, made yet greater by Chambers, and now a Siege Perilous but also an inspiration and a challenge for their successor. But he consented to continue as Special Lecturer. His last work of all was the preparation of a lecture upon the history and significance of the College, to be delivered to its scattered groups in Welsh centres, at Aberystwyth, Bangor, and Swansea.

I have ended my teaching exactly as I should have wished. Two crowded lectures to students on the History of University College; the third stopped by my sudden illness the night before.

So he wrote to a friend from Swansea. The journey had brought on a fatal illness, and he died there a few days after this letter was written, on St. George's Day, 1942.

The history of criticism has hitherto been inclined to disqualify professors of literature from consideration, in favour of non-academic writers. But it would be a queer and incomprehensible survey of critical thought and writing which, in fifty years' time, were to leave out Saintsbury, Bradley, Ker, Elton, Chambers, and Grierson, if we may make a selection from among professors of critical stature within our own personal knowledge. The sweep and scope of Saintsbury's histories, or of Elton's great surveys; Bradley's masterpiece of critical exegesis upon one great theme; the essence of vast reading compressed into Ker's highly original and stimulating writings; the masterly and masterful approach of Grierson to seventeenth-century prose and poetry and to Donne in particu-

lar: none of these is the precise claim of Chambers to rank among the highest. But as absolute scholar, in a wide field of learning, he was perhaps unequalled among the professors of our day in English. His work upon *Beowulf* and *Piers Plowman* remains as the firm foundation upon which all further study must rest. It would, moreover, be difficult to deny the claim of his *Thomas More* to be considered among the greatest biographies in English, or the claim of 'The Continuity of English Prose' to a high place among critical essays of classical quality. In all his writings, the personal note, the all-pervading humour, the lively gusto, the vast allusiveness, the unswerving faith in what is best in the life and the art of man, the warm recognition of excellence in others, which mark them: all give a picture of the man and of his mind and heart which is for ever on record for future generations.

C. J. Sisson

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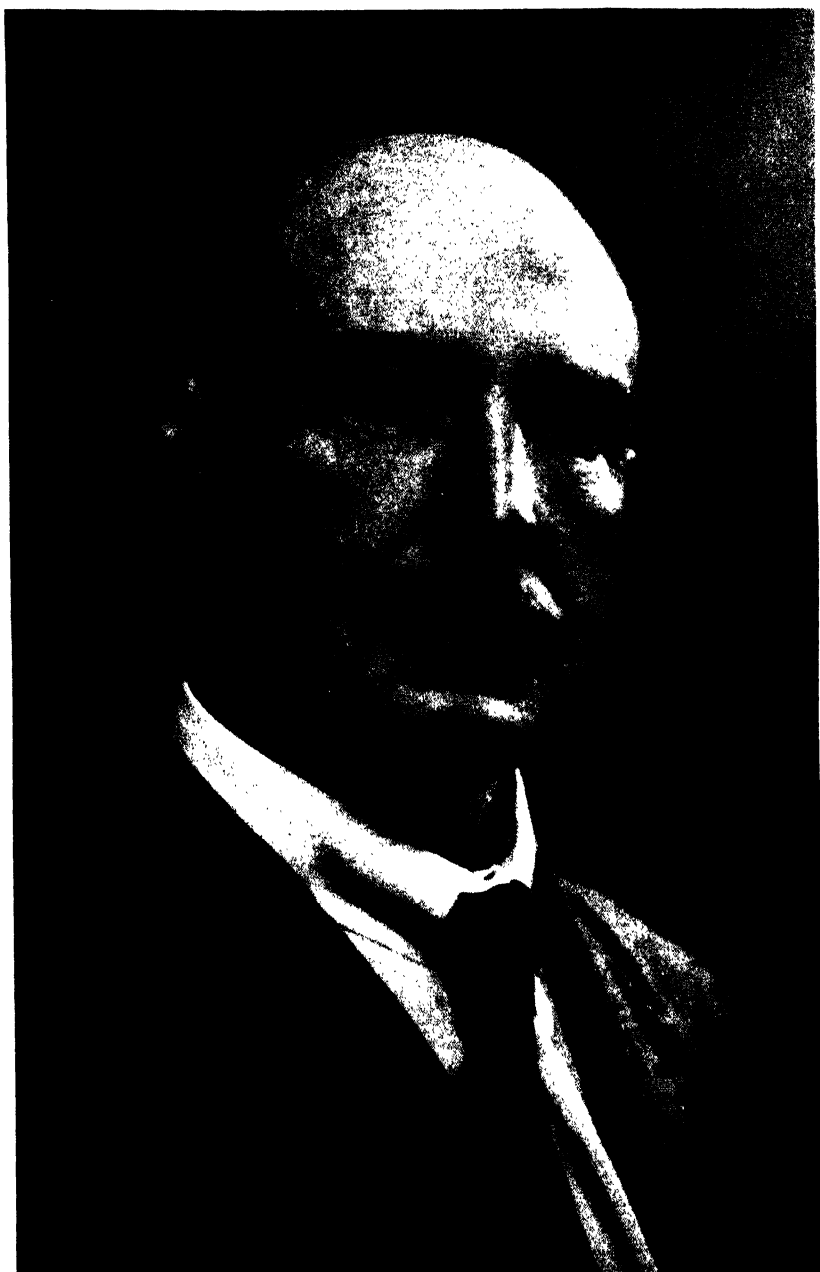
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

E.E.T.S.	Early English Text Society.	R.E.S.	<i>Review of English Studies</i> .
H.J.	<i>Hibbert Journal</i> .	S.H.R.	<i>Scottish Historical Review</i> .
L.A.R.	<i>Library Association Record</i> .	T.L.S.	<i>Times Literary Supplement</i> .
L.M.S.	<i>London Mediaeval Studies</i> .	U.C.G.	<i>University College Gazette</i> .
M.L.Q.	<i>Modern Language Quarterly</i> .	U.C.M.	<i>University College Magazine</i> .
M.L.R.	<i>Modern Language Review</i> .	U.M.	<i>University College London Union Magazine</i> .
N. & Q.	<i>Notes and Queries</i> .		
N.P.	<i>New Phineas</i> (Magazine of University College London in evacuation).		



REGINALD CAMPBELL THOMPSON

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1876-1941

THE subject of this memoir, Reginald Campbell Thompson, was born on 21 August 1876 at Cranley Place, South Kensington, being the eldest of the five children, four sons and one daughter, of Reginald Edward Thompson, M.D., F.R.C.P., and his wife Anne Isabella De Morgan.

Several of Thompson's near ancestors, both paternal and maternal, deserve a brief notice; for heredity accounts for much in his character and career.

Thompson's maternal great-grandfather William Frend (1757-1841), Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, was an Anglican clergyman who vacated the living of Madingley near Cambridge on becoming a Unitarian, and who in retirement made himself a proficient Hebrew scholar but was chiefly famous as a prolific writer on scientific subjects and as a reformer. His maternal grandfather, Augustus De Morgan (1803-71), a son of Colonel De Morgan of the Indian Army and of his wife who was a granddaughter of James Dodson, the author of the *Mathematical Canon*, had a distinguished career at Cambridge, where he graduated fourth Wrangler in 1837. Though a notable mathematician, he obtained no post there; for, rebelling against the rigid Evangelicalism of his parents, he became heterodox but remained a convinced theist with a leaning towards Unitarianism while calling himself an 'unattached Christian'. After attempting the law and giving it up with dislike, he became first Professor of Mathematics at University College, London (1828-66), which was just being started; he became a Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society and was a voluminous writer on mathematical and philosophical subjects. His brother Campbell Greig De Morgan (1811-76) was a noted surgeon in his day.

Dr. Thompson (1834-1912), the father of the Assyriologist, was a son of Mr. Sergeant Thompson, and was educated at Brighton College and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he proceeded B.A., and St. George's Hospital in London, where he took the degree of M.B. in 1860; in 1862 he became a member of the Royal College of Physicians and proceeded M.D. in 1863. He was by birth and inclination a Londoner but also a man of wide interests which in the early 'sixties led him to accompany the then Viscount Milton to shoot buffalo in the Canadian

North-West at a time when Canada was still to a considerable extent a *terra incognita* even to Canadians. On returning to England he became Medical Registrar of St. George's Hospital, working there throughout an epidemic of typhus which he himself contracted; while lying ill he compiled notes of his symptoms and recovered to make use of the experience thus gained. He was the author also of several works on the diseases of the chest. In 1868 he became a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians and in 1869 was appointed Assistant Physician to the Brompton Hospital for Consumptives, of which he was Physician from 1880 to 1894 and Consulting Physician from 1894 to 1901; he was also, from 1871 to 1873, Physician to the Seamen's Hospital at Greenwich, and he became in 1880 Secretary and in 1883 Vice-President of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society. He was a learned but genial physician, making his home in a fairly spacious and detached house, long since demolished to make room for a school, in Lillie Road at West Brompton; he retired early from general practice but retained work as a consulting physician and a medical referee to several companies for a number of years. His wife, Anne Isabella De Morgan, was on the maternal side granddaughter of William Frend the reformer, already mentioned; her father was the mathematician Professor Augustus De Morgan, also already mentioned, and her brother was William De Morgan, potter and novelist. Two of her five children, a son and a daughter, died in infancy, and upon her own death in 1885 the upbringing of the three surviving sons fell entirely on the father. He was fortunately assisted in this task by Alice Pennington, who had entered his service as a nurse when the first child was only a month old and remained with the family till old Dr. Thompson's death at 13 Cheyne Gardens, Chelsea, on 10 September 1912, when she retired on an annuity; but she maintained close contact with his family till her death in 1938 at the advanced age of 94 years.

Heredity played no small part in moulding the characters of Dr. Thompson's three boys. The mathematical tastes and abilities of their great-grandfather William Frend and their grandfather Augustus De Morgan came out strongly in the second son, Augustus Perronet Thompson, who in October 1898 entered Pembroke College, Cambridge, as a scholar and became fifth Wrangler, winning also the Smith's Prize which is awarded annually to 'those candidates who shall present the essay of greatest merit on any subject in mathematics or natural philosophy'; his early death by a drowning accident in the Cam

shortly after this event cut off a most promising career. The same factors, combined with the presence of several lawyers and public men of some eminence in the family in the early nineteenth century, account for the choice of a career by the third son, Edward Vincent Thompson, C.B., who, after joining King's College and taking his degree at Cambridge, became a solicitor and entered the Solicitor's Department of the Treasury, where he became Principal Assistant Solicitor in 1941. Finally, there was on both sides of the family a background of sturdy independence of thought and judgement, especially in regard to religious problems, which, combined with the outlook of Cambridge in the 'nineties of the last century, will explain the agnosticism of the eldest boy.

At home Dr. Thompson encouraged his three boys to indulge their interests, intellectual and athletic, to their utmost ability. Here the eldest Thompson made a museum containing his collection of flints and similar objects, all carefully catalogued by his own hand. The house contained also some fine specimens of Persian pottery of which the boy grew proud as he learned to appreciate works of art; and there was also a piano in the mathematical son's study, a room where the boys could play billiards, and a gymnasium. At the same time books came in abundance to the house, whether bought or borrowed from the London Library, so that ample provision was made for the educational needs of all three boys. Dr. Thompson, equally solicitous for their physical welfare, saw that they had plenty of opportunity for change of air and occupation whenever it might be necessary. He would give them an outing in London, accompanying them to a play or a billiards match, or he would take them sailing on the Thames or shooting in Scotland; and at one time he had a cottage in Cornwall where they spent a great part of their holidays. Thus Thompson became an enthusiastic yachtsman and an accomplished marksman, while he acquired the muscular frame and burly form to belie the scholar's tastes which his ancestry alone explained.

Thompson, as a young boy, was sent to the preparatory school now called Colet Court, and he stayed there till 1889 when, like his brothers after him, he entered St. Paul's School. The High Master was then Mr. Frederick William Walker (M.A., Oxon., Hon. D.Litt., Manch.), for whom Dr. Thompson entertained a high regard. Thompson walked daily to the school, which was about a mile's walk from their home. He was indeed unusually strong for his age, being already on entering the school an excellent

swimmer, and he paid some attention to gymnastic exercises at which, however, he never became sufficiently expert to gain a place in the team representing the school in the Public Schools' Competition at Aldershot. He was not, indeed, built to be a gymnast or a runner and regarded physical fitness rather as a moral obligation than as a sport; such exercises bored him, and he used them merely as a means of keeping himself fit. He was also a keen member of the Cadet Corps, which often obtained permission to be drilled in the large grounds of Beaufort House not far from Lillie Road, and became supreme at rifle-shooting; he was by far the best marksman in the school and captain of the Eight. He took, however, no part in games of ball, of which indeed he always spoke rather slightly; but games were not then compulsory at St. Paul's, and the boys were left entirely to themselves to pursue what sport they liked.

St. Paul's, as a day-school, exercised control over the boys only in school-hours and left Saturday to them as a free day. Thompson, like most Paulines, was on the classical side, and he rose steadily if not rapidly for a reason that ultimately became public; and he was not too well known beyond the Cadet Corps for the same reason. He was in fact already beginning to devote all his leisure to the self-chosen task of mastering the cuneiform inscriptions exhibited in the British Museum, and so he would at times appear in school carrying a stout manuscript volume of cuneiform texts copied by himself for surreptitious study when he ought perhaps to have been giving his time and attention to a Greek or Latin author. One or two intimate friends knew of this mysterious hobby, but none had means of judging how far it was serious. At length the mystery was revealed. In 1894 Thompson offered some translations made by himself from Assyrian texts for a Smee Prize annually awarded for work of an inventive or original kind. These translations were not eligible for the particular prize; but Walker, on hearing of them, immediately submitted them to the authorities at the Museum and, learning that they were the work of a genuine Assyriologist, induced the Governors of the School to award a special prize of £10 in books to Thompson. The note-book containing this work, still extant, contains copies of fifteen texts from the collections of Ashurbanipal copied in the cuneiform script, transliterated into the Roman alphabet and translated with a brief introduction and a glossary. The texts were not copied directly from the original tablets, to which a schoolboy would not have access, but were taken from copies accessible in published works,

though only in cuneiform script at that time; what was new were the transliterations and translations which reflected quite unusual, possibly unique, industry and knowledge in so young a scholar. The interest of this exploit was enhanced by the fact that the selected texts were for the most part letters which presented unusual difficulties of style and content. It was an incident dear to the heart of Walker, who never failed to recognize a scholar, and he at once took Thompson out of his classical form and set him to Hebrew studies with a view to going up to Cambridge; and shortly afterwards Thompson was elected to an open exhibition at Caius College, where he went into residence in the following autumn.

Thompson entered Caius on 21 October 1895 and proceeded to read Oriental (Hebrew and Aramaic) Languages; in 1897 he won the Stewart of Rannoch Hebrew Scholarship and in 1898 he was put by the examiners in the First Class in the Oriental Tripos. At the same time he kept up his other interests, being an enthusiastic Volunteer and becoming captain of the Shooting Eight.

Thompson would probably not have wished to stay at Cambridge, and he certainly had no desire to become a typical don. Quite free from 'side', pedantry or affectation, possessing a fund of learning in his own chosen field, yet capable of enjoying light pursuits and amusements, loving life in the open air, he had his own predilections and prejudices, his own conception of the career that he would like to follow. In 1899, soon after taking the degree of B.A., he entered the British Museum as an Assistant in the Egyptian and Assyrian Department under E. A. Wallis Budge; he had there L. W. King, the outstanding British Assyriologist, and H. R. Hall, the historian of the Near East, as his colleagues, and was undoubtedly happy in companionship of work with them. Holidays at the week-end or on Sundays were spent tramping Surrey, Hertfordshire or Buckinghamshire, alone or with a chosen friend, notably Henry Robinson; and every conceivable subject was discussed by the friends on these tours. No day was too long for Thompson, and a walk of 25 or 30 miles never seemed to tire him, so strong was he. He also joined the Bath Club, where he regularly swam and made himself so expert a trapeze-diver as to give annual performances on special occasions; but when he left London and married a wife, he was compelled to resign his membership of the club as it had then become a luxury that he could not properly afford. He kept up, however, his membership of the Territorial Association,

joining the Cyclists' Battalion of the Inns of Court, and had been awarded the Territorial Medal for Efficiency before the outbreak of war in 1914.

During these years Thompson generally spent his vacations abroad. On these occasions he kept a full diary in which events, whether trivial or exciting, were entered, illustrated by rough sketches or snapshots. At the end of the diary he was wont to add lists of the kit taken on the journey, which would include such unusual articles as a Sandow exerciser and boxing-gloves, and of the stores bought, together with a detailed statement of the expenses incurred. Thus these diaries gave proof of a healthy enjoyment of the good things of life, while foreshadowing the work of a careful archaeologist in the field, who must perforce collect his equipment in advance and account for every penny spent; and they served ultimately as the basis of *A Pilgrim's Scrip*, in which Thompson told the story of many wanderings in parts of the Near East, then little known to Englishmen, in lively style.

The first of such holidays, however, in 1900, was spent not in the Near East but in Norway with friends, stalking deer on the Vidda above the Stavanger Fiord. The next holiday, in October 1902, which took him for the first time to the Semitic East, to whose study he was intending to devote his life, was a journey to Sinai. On this occasion he travelled with no European companion and only two Arabs hired with their camels in Egypt, and he thereby laid the foundation of his knowledge of colloquial Arabic dialects. He visited the now famous Sarâbîṭ-alḤâdim where the Egyptians mined turquoise, noted the inscriptions but did no work on them, and picked up a small number of beads and potsherds; thence he followed the Wâdi-alMukattab, again noting the numerous inscriptions with which the rocks are sprinkled, and returned by way of Fêrân and Sirbâl, where he lingered for a week's shooting, to Suez. He had thus covered 150 miles on camels and brought back a few miscellaneous objects which he gave to the Museum of Natural History. In September and October of 1903 he spent a similar holiday in the 'Barbary States', as he called them in his diary; there Tripoli was still an unspoiled Eastern town whose luxuriant vegetation by the blue Mediterranean Sea was in striking contrast to the arid sands of the Sinaitic Desert, and the district had hardly been visited by any Englishman beyond the eminent archaeologists Sir Arthur Evans and Sir John Myres. Again he started alone but joined forces with a young American named Weissberger who was visiting the country in search of reptiles and

whom he had met on board ship; and so these two travelled together on the best of terms, riding by day and bivouacking in the open air by night, southwards by Zanzûr to al'Ageilat, through hills in which they lost their way to Qasr 'Ifrîm, thence to Ghariyân where they visited the village of the Troglodytes and an extinct volcano, and so back by Râs-al'Aswad, Homs and LebDAH, famous for its Roman ruins, to Tripoli. Such holidays might yield few tangible results of archaeological or scientific value, but they taught Thompson to travel in often wild or lonely places with little regard to personal comfort, to observe the ways of nature and of man, to look out for unconsidered trifles of possible interest or value when compared with similar objects found elsewhere, to pick up the varying forms of native speech and to familiarize himself with Eastern ways of life. These, the formative years of his life, therefore, were wisely and profitably spent.

The experience thus gained of Eastern travel was soon to prove its use. In 1833-5 and again in 1844-7 Sir Henry Rawlinson had been at Bahistûn, now Bîsitûn, which lies about 65 miles from Hamadân on the road from Teheran to Baghdad, working on the famous trilingual inscription of Darius I (522-486 B.C.) and had made the copies of the text on which the decipherment of the Babylonian, Susian and Old-Persian, languages was based. These copies, however, made when the knowledge of the three languages was rudimentary, were no longer of the standard of accuracy required by the scholarship of the twentieth century, and subsequent study had shown the need of a revised text; at the same time Rawlinson's original squeezes had been worn and injured by frequent use. Moreover, the surface of the rock on which the inscriptions were engraved was reported to be suffering considerable damage from the percolation of water. Accordingly, in 1904, the Trustees of the British Museum resolved to make a final effort to obtain a definitive text while it was yet legible; and in 1904 they instructed Thompson to join King, of the same department as himself at the Museum, at Mosul, where he was already working, and to proceed thence with him to Bahistûn for this purpose. Thompson went out by boat by way of Smyrna, Mersina and Alexandretta, searching each place for stray antiquities as he passed it, and then by road from the last-named place to Dêr-azZôr on the Euphrates, where he was held up for a week waiting for an escort to accompany him on the next stage of his journey. He spent this enforced leisure paying local visits and translating Neo-Babylonian letters, of which he

had brought copies of the text with him in his baggage, having foreseen much delay of this sort. These were afterwards published in a volume entitled *Late Babylonian Letters* (1907), being one of the first publications of that type of Accadian literature. That these translations are not now up to standard is not Thompson's fault; they were pioneering work, and much water has flowed under the bridges since then. They showed, however, a promising if not a mature scholar and proved his determination to devote himself to studies of good learning in spite of every discomfort and inconvenience; but they also reveal a certain weakness in philology that was apt to appear even in his latest work. In due course a caravan was got together at Dêr-azZôr, an escort was provided, and the party started for the troubled Jabal Sinjâr, which they crossed with little molestation, due rather to misunderstanding than enmity on the part of the Yazîdis; and at some distance from Mosul Thompson met a watchman whom King had posted by the road to meet him and guide him to his journey's end. After a brief sojourn at Nineveh to close down the work there and to make final preparations for the journey onwards, King and Thompson proceeded with a caravan by a route between the Tigris and the Persian frontier, by way of Arbela or Irbîl, Altun Kupri, Kirkûk, Khânîqîn, and Kirmânshah to Bîsitûn. This, like many another of his journeys, fully described by Thompson in *A Pilgrim's Scrip*, was marked only by a brief delay due to local plague and the consequent quarantine, and some slight inconvenience caused by a rumour going the round of the bazaars that an English doctor had been poisoning his patients!

Arrived at their destination, the two scholars found themselves confronted by a task enough to appal the stoutest heart. The texts which they had come to recopy were carved on the sheer face of a rock overhanging a precipice. In order to approach its inscribed face they drove crowbars into crevices in the limestone on a natural ledge 200 feet above the text, fastened ropes to them and then, with some difficulty, shook them down the unequal face of the rock until their ends reached another and lower ledge (from which Rawlinson had worked) hewn in the surface below the inscriptions; they then had cradles made of wood from packing cases and mule-girths and slung these from the pendent ropes, having them raised and lowered by native workers stationed on the upper ledge so as to bring and maintain themselves in position opposite the lines of the text which they were copying. The task, arduous and often risky, of taking

squeezes or hand-copies of the text and photographing the sculptures, occupied sixteen days and was hastened, perhaps, by the desire to leave a district where cholera was raging. Its results were subsequently given to the world in *The Sculptures and Inscriptions of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistûn in Persia* (1907), which contains an introduction and photographs of the rock and many of the sculptures, as well as the entire text in all three languages reproduced in cuneiform script and furnished with a transliteration into Roman characters and an English translation; the work is likely to be final so far as the actual text is concerned, and only small improvements in matters of detail can be expected in its interpretation. The two travellers returned by way of Sir-i-pul, where another Babylonian inscription engraved on the sheer face of a precipitous cliff and two or three others in the neighbourhood were copied; and so, delayed again by a brief quarantine, they made their way back to Mosul. In June King returned to England, but Thompson remained there for some months, finishing off the work that had been begun on the mound of Quyunjuq; and in the course of this operation, the first piece of work that he had undertaken alone, he succeeded in discovering the temple of Nabû, the Biblical Nebo, on which he was to resume work many years afterwards.

In February 1905 Thompson left Mosul to return home, taking a different route from that by which he had come out to it in order to increase his knowledge of the East. He made a long circuit by way of Qal'at Sharghât, where he went over the German excavations with Andrae, passed through the territory of the Shammâr Arabs without mishap, and proceeded by Takrît and Samârrah to Baghdad, where he stayed long enough to rest the horses and shake off a mild attack of fever. He then rode through 'Aqarqûf to 'Anâh, where he picked up a palaeolithic instrument on the river-bank and had a dispute with a tax-collector who tried to levy a tax on his horses; he successfully invoked the aid of the local *qaimmaqâm* to ensure exemption on the ground that he was a European, only to learn on reaching Damascus that European exemption had been withdrawn! He was a second time delayed at Dêr-azZôr by the need of finding an escort but, wiser than on the first occasion, he got what he wanted in two days by a judicious mixture of firmness and bribery. Thus protected, he hastened on through severe sandstorms across the undulating desert plain, picking up ancient flints as he went, past Tadmûr and Qariyatên into Damascus,

which he reached after a journey of sixteen and a half days on horseback. Thence he took train to Beirut, where he caught the boat for England.

Thompson for some time enjoyed his connexion with the British Museum; yet things irked him. During most of his time there he was engaged in routine duties, mainly cataloguing and transcribing cuneiform texts. He disliked, however, being tied to London, as he wanted to travel and explore places and countries on a scale not compatible with duties in Bloomsbury. He also, as he said, liked 'to see his own label on his own pot of jam', and disliked working in comparative anonymity on official publications. Life at the Museum was perhaps not suited to his temperament, and he could not easily endure the necessary restrictions of official life. Here perhaps he was unreasonable, but this attitude was typical of him, not because he was in the least degree addicted to bragging, but that he was too independent to fit into other people's moulds, although there was nothing eccentric about him. Inevitably therefore he decided that he must seek a career elsewhere, in a way which would enable him to follow his own bent and give him liberty to come and go as he liked, and in December 1905 he resigned his position and left the Museum.

Thompson, with the help of Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, now entered the service of the Sudanese Government and proceeded at once to Khartum, whence he was sent to join an English engineer then engaged on surveying what he called 'the awful black mountains of the Hadendowa country'. They were the only Englishmen in an unmapped country where the heat was so great that work was possible only in the early morning and the late evening, and where the spaces were so vast that on one occasion his companion, a trained surveyor, was lost for several days on end, and he himself missed his way for the most part of a day while seeking for him. The survey took barely six months, and in the summer of 1906 Thompson was back in England looking for another job.

Finding nothing suitable in England, Thompson in 1907 accepted the post of Assistant Professor of Semitic Languages in the University of Chicago, which he held for two years. He certainly enjoyed these years, difficult though they were. For example, as a sportsman he resented what he declared to be an unnecessary act on the part of the umpires in a swimming match when they interfered, on the ground that the water was dangerously cold, with his chance of winning a three miles' race when he was left the last competitor who had not yet entered the water;

his protest was heard, and he won both point and race, for which he received a medal. Again, he kept a small yacht in the harbour on Lake Michigan flying the British flag in season and out of season, and echoes of his bluff Englishry were still heard in the American university nearly twenty years afterwards. His comments, too, on the wealth of endowment which he found there and his frank and free criticism were by no means always acceptable to his colleagues; he was by nature outspoken, and any man who failed to come up to his standards was 'no man' to him. Finally, the University was by origin a school of divinity endowed by and largely supported on Baptist funds, whereas Thompson was an agnostic on religious questions; consequently, a somewhat uneasy partnership came in 1909 to an early, if not unexpected, end.

During these strenuous years of public service and travel, both unofficial and official, Thompson had found time to publish a number of Assyriological works which were winning him an assured place in the learned world. All these early works were the fruit of the opportunities which the British Museum, with its unrivalled treasures, offered him and which he eagerly grasped. The long series of *Cuneiform Texts in the British Museum* had been inaugurated by the Trustees in 1896, and ten volumes had already been published by King and Pinches when Thompson brought out his first volume (No. XI) in 1900; and he followed this up with seven volumes (Nos. XII, XIV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX) undertaken alone, and two others (Nos. XXII and XXIII), prepared in collaboration with King, between that date and 1906. Ten volumes of such texts in six years was a very considerable achievement; for each contained fifty plates in which the texts were photographically reproduced from hand-drawn copies, a method which allowed the niceties of the various scripts current at different times and places to be adequately represented but which made the work of preparation necessarily slow. The texts published by Thompson dealt with a wide range of subjects: five were devoted to lexicography, which enabled great advances to be made in philology, two to demonology, one to omens and one to magical practices, and one to letters of the late Babylonian and Persian periods. The whole series, which has now reached forty-one volumes, is indispensable to the student of Assyriology, and of these the majority are from the hands of King and Thompson, fifteen from the former and eight from the latter, with two jointly edited. The view of posterity will probably be that these and other texts which Thompson published in facsimile were his best work; and it is indeed surprising how

so muscular and almost clumsy a man could have made copies of minute cuneiform signs which, when reproduced by photography, gave the appearance of having been printed, so neat and clear was every line that he drew; hardly a tremor can be detected in any stroke or sign even under a powerful glass. Further, so far as his copies have been checked by other scholars, the degree of accuracy has been found surprising for the first copies of often extremely difficult texts; and, as such publications of the original texts are not subject to fluctuations of interpretation in so far as the accuracy of the copy is not concerned, it may be safely asserted that Thompson *exegit monumentum aere perennius* in them.

Thompson, however, was not content to be a mere copyist of cuneiform tablets, he sought also to interpret what he copied. Accordingly he began by bringing out a small monograph *On Traces of an Indefinite Article in Assyrian* (1902), in which he tried to show that the form of the noun with a termination corresponded to the Aramaic 'emphatic state', while its absence resulted in a form identical with the 'absolute state'; his explanation, however, was not generally accepted as successful, to a certain extent perhaps because he had not understood the full implications of these forms, but chiefly because he relied for his evidence principally on late texts or late copies of early texts, as he had of necessity to do at a time when few early texts with correct syntax had been published. The study of Accadian syntax can be profitably pursued only when it is begun with or is based on Old-Babylonian texts, especially on the Code of Hammurabi, which however was then only just on the point of being made available. Meanwhile, he had already started on another line of work, in which he was destined to achieve a considerable measure of success, by issuing the two volumes of *The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon* (1900), another two volumes of *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia* (1903-4), and one volume of *Late Babylonian Letters* (1906). The first of these works consists of one volume of fresh texts, printed unfortunately in a cuneiform fount and not photographically from hand-drawn copies, so that the vagaries of the scribes' hand-writings are obscured, and another of transliterations and translations; the other two works contain transliterations and translations of texts which he had already published for the British Museum, with select glossaries of rare and difficult words. The transliterations in these works were for the most part accurate according to the standards of those days, but the translations showed defects inseparable from pioneering work. Thompson

did not and could not know what was subsequently discovered, for example, of rules of syntax or meanings of words, but what he did was of outstanding importance for collecting and drawing attention to groups of texts dealing with a number of abstruse and then hardly known subjects in various single publications; and their very mass allowed much worthless nonsense that had been written on these subjects to be disproved and discarded and enabled phenomena found in them to be subjected to principles of interpretation on which all subsequent studies have rested. The least satisfactory part of this work was the Sumerian portion, of which the Babylonian text was merely an interlinear translation, in the *Devils and Evil Spirits*; for the knowledge of the Sumerian language was then very imperfect, no trustworthy grammars or dictionaries existed, and Thompson had never apparently given himself to any close or serious study of the language. While, therefore, his cuneiform texts have been the basis of much subsequent study of this language and will certainly stand the test of time, his interpretation of them is apt to go astray and will require to be redone at some future date. Finally, a by-product of this period that calls for mention was his *Semitic Magic: its Origin and Development* (1908). This contained a large amount of miscellaneous information collected from Babylonian sources and illustrated by matter drawn rather at haphazard from the rest of the Semitic world, as well as from other races. Thompson had, apparently, at this time difficulties with the authorities at the British Museum, since he felt himself justified in complaining in his preface that 'my two applications for permission to copy unpublished tablets of this nature [i.e. illustrating the practice of taboo] were refused', so that the material for his study of a most interesting branch of primitive religion was incomplete, and his work was to that extent somewhat ill balanced. Its author, too, was not very deeply read in comparative religion and was somewhat out of sympathy generally with the subject. However that might be, he gathered together much useful information otherwise obtained only with difficulty, and the book ought not, for that reason alone, to be allowed to pass entirely into oblivion.

In the late summer of 1909 Thompson was again wandering in the Near East, having decided to spend his vacation filling in the blank spaces between Angora, now Ankara, and Eregli in Kiepert's map of Asia Minor, and looking for the relics of the ancient Hittite civilization. After taking train from Constantinople to Ankara, he there formed a caravan and rode through

a number of Turkish and Turcoman villages, for the most part living and sleeping under the open skies, although the nights were often cold while the days had been hot. He went by way of Denek Ma'den, where curiosity took him down the lead-mines, to Boghazköi, the capital city of the Hittite empire, where Winckler had found large numbers of clay-tablets inscribed with cuneiform texts in the Hittite language, since deciphered; and there he explored the Hittite palaces and temples and climbed up the hillsides to look for and examine the sculptured rocks. The caravan was then broken up, and Thompson continued by Yuzgat and Boghazlian, where he found a Roman milestone of A.D. 249-51 in the cemetery and sent a copy of its text to Sir William Ramsay, and so over the shoulder of Ismail Dagh to Caesarea, the modern Kaisariyeh, where he spent five days with Dr. and Mrs. Dodd at the American Hospital nearby at Talas. On 28 September he turned his steps homeward and struggled, feverish but still plotting sites on the map, by Feraklin, where he found some carved Hittite rocks, and the classical Tyana back to Eregli, whence he took train for Constantinople and so returned to England. Thus he was preparing himself for his study of the Hittite hieroglyphs, while at the same time, as in the course of all these journeys, widening his outlook on the history of the Near (or, as it is now miscalled, Middle) East, and observing keenly whatever might throw light on the people's forefathers from the customs and habits of the living inhabitants of those parts; he picked up also a wide variety of information about Eastern plants, which subsequently came in useful for his studies in Assyrian botany, and was constantly collecting evidence which he afterwards used in his publications on Assyrian geology, chemistry and medicine. He fully understood that to interpret ancient remains the proper study of mankind is man, and this realization gave a freshness of outlook and a wide scope well beyond the range of the legendary dry-as-dust antiquary to all his archaeological work.

In February 1911 Thompson left England to undertake excavation at Carchemish with Dr. D. G. Hogarth, proceeding alone to Aleppo, there to await the coming of his chief; and while staying in this town he saw the Turkish governor welcoming back eight hundred weather-beaten Turkish troops who had returned from a campaign against the Druses in the Haurân. Towards the end of April Hogarth returned to England and Thompson was left in charge of the excavation, assisted by Woolley and Lawrence, who was then at the threshold of his

brilliant but all too brief career. The season's campaign was eminently successful and produced a rich harvest of sculptures and bas-reliefs, many of them furnished with long Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions, and both Thompson and Lawrence spent much time in taking rubbings of these hieroglyphs and in searching the neighbouring site of Tall 'Aḥmar, the ancient Til Barsip, on the opposite bank of the Euphrates for other inscriptions known to be there and in copying those that they found. It was not till twenty years after this work that Thompson found two other Hittite hieroglyphic texts, one on limestone and the other on a unique clay-tablet from Nineveh. He also made a survey of Carchemish which was published by Hogarth in his report on the excavations of that historic site, but little else is recorded of any other part that he played in its excavation, which he left for a characteristic reason. He had recently become engaged to Barbara Brodrick, daughter of Sir Richard Atkinson Robinson of Whitby in Yorkshire, and was anxious to marry her and have her with him at Carchemish. Hogarth, however, as director of the excavation on behalf of the Trustees of the British Museum, refused permission on the ground that the country was not safe for an English lady who might often be left alone in the camp. Thompson therefore, with his usual independence, resigned his job and came home to be married.

On reaching England Thompson took a house near Hindhead, where he and his wife lived for three years while he worked at the decipherment of the Hittite hieroglyphs with a success neither more nor less than that attained by other workers in the same field at that early date. Hindhead, however, was soon found too far from the specialist kind of library required by Thompson for his Oriental researches, and husband and wife debated the rival claims of Oxford and Cambridge. The choice was nicely balanced on personal and other grounds. Both places offered the necessary facilities for Thompson's research. Further, he was related to Professor N. V. Sidgwick, F.R.S., the eminent chemist, who was a Fellow of Lincoln College, and to Lady Warren, the wife of the President of Magdalen College, Oxford; for she was the sister of Sir Benjamin Brodie, Bt., and they were the children of the second baronet and his wife Philothea Margaret Thompson, who was the sister of Thompson's father. At the same time his surviving brother had married the sister of Mr. J. F. Cameron, Fellow, and afterwards Master, of Caius College, and Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University. Thompson, too, was an old member of Cambridge University, while his wife's brother,

afterwards killed in the war, was then an undergraduate at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. This young man claimed to be able to find them a suitable house near Oxford; both were averse to a low-lying place like Cambridge and, hearing through him of a suitable house on Boars' Hill, just outside Oxford, they immediately took it. This district was not the fashionable suburb that it afterwards became and was admirably suited to Thompson's needs. Here, therefore, he settled himself down to an extremely happy domestic life; and here all his family were born, a daughter Yolande and two sons, Reginald Perronet and John De Morgan. His home, too, lay near enough to the Thames to enable him to indulge his favourite recreations of boating and bathing without undue expense of time or money, and many friends still remain to tell of days, idle or strenuous, spent on the river in the neighbourhood of Abingdon.

In the winter of 1913-14 Thompson for the first time took entire charge of a small archaeological expedition, when he went on behalf of the Byzantine Fund, accompanied by F. A. Richards as architect, to excavate a Coptic site in the Wâdi Sargah, lying about fifteen miles to the south of 'Asyût in Egypt. The place was in fact of little importance but was thought to be just worth scientific investigation, and Thompson made good use of the chance thus offered to him. The site was in a cleft of the hills formed by an ancient watercourse, and the work fell into two parts, the excavation of the ruins of the ancient town and the exploration of some caves in the hillside. These caves, which had been in human occupation in pre-Christian times, yielded an Egyptian relief, a fresco in colour of the Last Supper which though in a fair state of preservation was too fragile to be moved and of which a coloured tracing was made, and many Coptic potsherds; and a neighbouring villa produced a charming little fresco of the Three Holy Children in the Fiery Furnace, which was brought home, and some other frescoes which were left in position. A late Egyptian cemetery, too, was partly excavated, and two Coptic cemeteries were examined. The excavation of the main site revealed remains of a densely populated quarter, with houses built on terraces with narrow public stairways running up the hill between them; many of the houses had each a *masṭabah* at the back and strange little vaulted cells large enough to take a man lying at full length. Much crude pottery decorated with geometric patterns or else animal or human heads, miscellaneous objects of use or ornament, inscribed vellum, some papyri, and very many inscribed ostraca, were also

found, evidence of occupation by a poor but industrious population.

Thompson, from being a leading spirit in the Cadet Corps at school and a keen Volunteer at the University, had in due course become a Territorial officer. Naturally, therefore, on the outbreak of the War in the autumn of 1914, he immediately applied for and obtained a commission as an officer on Special Service, being gazetted to Military Intelligence for service in the East. He was posted to the Indian Expeditionary Force 'D' under the command of General (afterwards Field-Marshal) Sir Arthur Barrett and reached India late in the year. After a month there he was attached to the General Staff with the rank of Captain and accompanied one of the first contingents of troops proceeding to 'Irâq, which he reached in time to be present at the battle of Shu'aibah in April 1915. He remained for four continuous years in that country, where the campaign, from a beginning of resistance that was not too formidable became, in the course of those years, one marked by the most bitter fighting, combined with the most rigorous climatic and other hardships; but his powers of endurance and his knowledge of the people, their country, customs and languages, both Arabic and Turkish, made him an invaluable member of the Staff. He was with the advance to Kut and beyond, narrowly escaped capture in the siege of that place, being with one of the last parties to leave it, was with the retreat in November 1915 past Ctesiphon to the base, and then returned with General Maude's force in 1917 to enter Baghdad.

As a normal routine Thompson spent many hours every day unostentatiously interrogating all sorts and conditions of men, sedentary shopkeepers in the bazaars and nomad Arabs from the open country and, whenever the chance came, enemy prisoners in the cages. He was also employed, about the time when the capture of Baghdad became imminent, on special work of very high importance in which his peculiar knowledge was invaluable; this work, which is still an unrevealed secret of the war, continued until he was relieved of military duties for other tasks. During the whole campaign he and his devoted batman were undefeated by any mishaps or incongruities; thus, although many officers lost kit or equipment on the stricken field of Ctesiphon, none probably but Thompson emerged less only one complete suit of civilian evening dress-clothes! He threw all his boundless energy into every task that came his way, scarcely flagging when the temperature in his office in Baghdad reached

nearly 123° in the shade in July 1917 and withal maintaining his keen sense of humour through the long trying days of a Mesopotamian summer. No small strength of character and power of endurance are implied in such conduct, and his unfailing services were recognized by his being four times mentioned in dispatches. He saw, however, little if any actual fighting, which rarely falls to the lot of an officer of Intelligence, but his record shows how much useful and valued work he did while on active service. Meanwhile he kept himself fit by various physical exercises, chiefly practising cut and thrust with a sabre on the roof of the mess, and these were the subject of much good-humoured chaff amongst his fellow-officers. In March 1918 he was released from military duties and left G.H.Q. to undertake political duties in connexion with the vast country that had by then come under British control and administration.

The reason for this change of occupation was that the Trustees of the British Museum had become anxious about the conservation of the antiquities of 'Irâq and had made representations to the military authorities on this subject. Consequently Thompson, whose archaeological work was a matter of common knowledge, was attached to the Political Service and detailed to undertake a general supervision of antiquities, with power to conduct excavation, for which he was allowed to employ Turkish prisoners of war. In accordance with his instructions, he surveyed a large district to the south-east of Nâsirîyah; he then cut some exploratory trenches at the ancient Ur, now Tall-al Muqaiyar, but abandoned this work as beyond his resources and turned his attention to the site of the ancient Eridu, now 'Abû Shahrên, which he decided to submit to detailed examination, although he had been warned against it on the score of danger from nomad Arabs, in a district lying across an old tribal raiding ground and not yet wholly pacified, and of the difficulty of getting water, where no fresh water was, and other supplies. It was a truly lonely site, and Thompson wrote that 'as far as eye can see there is naught but awful solitude'. He was not, however, a man to be daunted by such difficulties, and he made some interesting archaeological discoveries on the site which was traditionally known to the Babylonians as one of the oldest Sumerian cities, built when the day of creation dawned and the first place on to which 'the rule of kings came down from heaven'. He had, however, only four weeks before him and was thus restricted to digging a number of trial pits and trenches. The main interest of this excavation lay in the abundant evidence of

the occupation of the site in prehistoric times, as shown by the numerous fragments of the painted pottery known as the ware of al'Ubaid; and many specimens of sickles of clay, of scrapers of chert flint and obsidian, and of hoes of stone, represented this same period. Thompson showed great acumen and prescience in recognizing the affinity of this pottery with the Iranian fabrics of Susa and in suggesting that its origins might be sought eastwards of Mesopotamia. The illustrated records of his finds further prove that remains also of the periods of Uruk and Jamdat Naşr exist there. Thus numerous painted cornets and clay-pegs lying amongst the lumps of limestone round the *ziggurat* or stage-tower were witnesses to substantial relics of the former period, and amongst other objects the petal of a rosette in shale was certainly a piece of the decorated façade of some important building of the latter or of the early dynastic epoch *c.* 3000 B.C. He was able also to lay bare a part of the face of the ancient stage-tower where Taylor, the British Consul, had made soundings nearly three-quarters of a century before him. In the course of this operation he found stamped bricks bearing the names of Ur-Nammu (*c.* 2135 B.C.) and his grandson Bur-Sin or Amar-Sin (*c.* 2075 B.C.), kings of Ur who had refaced the tower, and also of Nûr-Immer or Nûr-Adad (*c.* 1890 B.C.), king of Larsa, thereby proving that building continued on the site for over a century after the downfall of the third dynasty of Ur (*c.* 2025 B.C.). His careful examination of each stage also revealed pottery of the Sargonid period and produced evidence that there was little or no occupation of the mound between the early epoch of Larsa and the late or New Babylonian period (626–538 B.C.).

Thompson's work at Eridu suggests that objects of great value and fine quality still lie buried within the mound. Fragments of sheet-gold and nails of copper with golden heads and a beautiful piece of a vase of aragonite carved with a figure of a woman in relief, in the best Sumerian style, were turned up amongst the rubbish. He has thus proved that the site is especially suitable for excavators looking for remains not later in date than the third millennium B.C., since it is not heavily encumbered with buildings of any subsequent age, although there must be evidence of the last Assyrian and Babylonian dynasties on some part of the site. His soundings, therefore, which characteristically have produced the maximum of result for the minimum of expense, may perhaps induce the Archaeological Department in Baghdad to go to work on the site.

Incidentally, too, he proved that the statement in an early chronicle that Eridu lay 'on the neck of the deep water' meant not on the shores of the sea (i.e. the Persian Gulf) but on the edge of a lagoon, since only shells of mussels living in fresh water were found there. The report, like Thompson's other reports, contained detailed information regarding implements of bone and stone and the pottery, illustrated now by photographs and now by neat black and white drawings, and also copies of the text of the few tablets recovered from the ruins. Such work, as a mere παράγγελμα of military service, would have been remarkable if it had not been carried out by a European scholar exhausted after over four years of continuous duty and excessive strain in the worst climate of the Middle East; it was merely typical of Thompson's energy and courage.

Two of Thompson's books were published during the War. The first, which had been finished before his departure from England in 1914, was *A Pilgrim's Scrip* (1915) which, after an opening chapter of advice addressed to intending archaeologists, contains descriptions, illustrated with snapshots, of his travels in the East whether for pleasure or on business. It is packed with the results of a keen observation of the ways of man and beast, and with lively accounts of antiquities seen or acquired by the way, written in a readable but somewhat mannered style, characterized by an Elizabethan vocabulary and the syntax of Doughty, whose *Arabia Deserta* Thompson had read and re-read. The second of these works was *A Small Handbook to the History and Antiquities of Mesopotamia* (1918), of which the preface was signed at 'Eridu (Abu Shahrain)' but which was printed at Baghdad in the usual shoddy style of Oriental publications. This contained a useful summary of Mesopotamian history from c. 4000 B.C. to the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C. and a chronological list of the principal events after that date till the end of the Sassanian epoch in A.D. 652, with a brief account of the chief sites excavated up to the War. It was much appreciated by the troops, for whom it was intended, and was something of a best seller.

In the same year Thompson returned to England after four years of arduous service broken only by one month's leave in India, and early in 1919 he was demobilized.

Thompson, with a young wife and growing family, on whose upbringing he expended the utmost care and pains, now lived quietly on Boars' Hill, devoting himself to Assyriological study. By way of recreation he tried his hand at the writing of novels

and under the pseudonym of 'John Guisborough' published two stories of life in the East, the one *A Song of Araby* (1921), which went into two editions, and the other *A Mirage of Sheba* (1923). These are healthy robust tales in an Arabian setting, the first about an enemy agent and the second about a wandering archaeologist. The plots are slight, but many of the descriptive passages are vivid and perhaps in part reflect the author's own experiences; the style is the author's own, vigorous but archaistic, being modelled partly on the Elizabethan and partly on Doughty, of whom Thompson was a great admirer. During these years Thompson also found time for serious work, notably three chapters in the *Cambridge Ancient History*; these were those on 'Isin Larsa and Babylon' in the first, on 'Assyria' in the second, and on 'The New Babylonian Empire' in the third volume of that great work (1923-5). Here there was little or no scope for original treatment, but these three chapters give a lucid and generally trustworthy account of the events described and possibly the liveliest and most human account of Accadian civilization yet written by an English scholar.

Any need to look out for paid work was now fortunately removed by the wise action of Merton College, which in 1923 elected Thompson into a stipendiary Fellowship. The recognition thus accorded to his work gave him the greatest pleasure, but whether, as a late-comer into the University, he was able to enter whole-heartedly into the subtle spirit of Oxford might be doubted. A Fellow elected not for tutorial or administrative duties but for research might have little contact with the undergraduate members of his College, but Thompson was punctilious in fulfilling all such duties in College as fell to him, and he took his turn as Sub-Warden in 1933-5; but election to a Fellowship, and that in a University of which he was not originally an *alumnus*, came to him too late in life to allow him ever to learn his way about College or University in the fullest sense. He was, however, extremely good-natured and was always ready to do any job for the College for which others were perhaps not enthusiastic; but at its meetings he practised a rare economy of words, unlike some of his colleagues, speaking seldom except when the discussion seemed to require a dose of sturdy common sense. He enjoyed, however, the social life of the Common Room and, whatever the weather might be, he would regularly descend on a cycle from the height of Boars' Hill to dine at High Table, ready on the least provocation to quote Dickens or with the greatest good humour to endure the chaff

of his colleagues about his love of early rising and physical exercises, his latest archaeological exploits, or his hatred of motor-cars and motor-boats.

The settled life which Thompson now enjoyed enabled him to turn his attention fully to the natural science of the Babylonians and Assyrians, on which he had been collecting information more or less at haphazard for many years. He was perhaps impelled to this branch of Assyriology by the subconscious influence of heredity, and throughout his life he had evinced a deep interest not only in flints and potsherds but also in flowers and beasts as subjects ancillary to archaeology, and his powers of observation were as much those of a scientist or naturalist as of an antiquary. It is therefore no matter of surprise that he made noteworthy contributions to an almost totally neglected field of Assyriological research. He brought out three books in quick succession on this subject, his *Assyrian Medical Texts in the British Museum* (1923), then the *Assyrian Herbal* (1924), and lastly *On the Chemistry of the Ancient Assyrians* (1925). Of these books the first is a collection of cuneiform texts published in facsimile in the style of the well-known *Cuneiform Texts in the British Museum*; it contained copies of 660 medical tablets or of fragments of such tablets which he had been bringing together in the British Museum since 1906, and on which he had read a preliminary paper before the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1913. All these texts come from Ashurbanipal's library at Quyunjuq, now in the British Museum, but are to a considerable extent copies of older tablets, and scarcely one is undamaged; they range from large tablets of forty or fifty lines to the merest fragments preserving scarcely half a dozen signs, but all alike are copied with Thompson's meticulous care and faultless script. The labour of sorting and arranging all these texts and of identifying and joining the scattered fragments to others to which they belong must have been immense, but it has put the study of Assyrian medicine on a secure footing. The interpretation of these texts, too, was not overlooked but was carried forward in a number of separate articles in which the editor probably extracted all that can be got out of them, thereby greatly advancing the understanding of these and similar texts in other collections. The other two of these works contained little fresh matter but represented a reworking of previously published texts containing lexicographical information of importance for the study of medicine and a considerable number of chemical recipes, such as those on glass-making, some

of which seemed to be written in a form of code or cypher by way of keeping their contents a mystery. Here Thompson was at his best as an interpreter; the niceties of syntax hardly came into question, and his wide knowledge of natural history not only suggested proper lines of investigation but also enabled him to avoid the mistakes of the unscientific scholar, and his independence helped him to see that the narrow rules of philology governing the transmission of sounds might not necessarily be applicable to words of rare or local use and often exotic origin, possibly corrupted, too, in the mouths of traders who carried them across many different countries. He was thus enabled to refer several well-known European words like 'cherry' and 'ochre' to unsuspected Oriental sources. Naturally, all his identifications were not accepted, but his massive collection of relevant facts has removed both the botany and the chemistry of the Assyrians from the realm of guesswork and has enabled numerous texts which had hitherto defied interpretation to be satisfactorily explained. Both books were unfortunately, owing to the exigencies of the times, reproduced from Thompson's manuscript, so that the text is not always as clear as the reader might wish. The *Assyrian Chemistry* has, however, been enlarged into *A Dictionary of Assyrian Chemistry and Geology* (1936), printed and published by the Clarendon Press with their usual care and skill, so that scholars now have an indispensable handbook of over 260 pages, bringing all the available knowledge on this subject up to date; and a revised manuscript of the 'Herbal', left almost complete by Thompson at his death, waits only on the completion of its editing by Mr. C. J. Gadd and the convenience of the printers.

In 1927 Thompson submitted proposals to the Trustees of the British Museum for continuing the excavations begun more than twenty years ago on the temple of Nabû at Nineveh, offering to pay his own expenses if they would augment these resources and give him control of the expedition. This scheme was approved by the Trustees, who made a grant of £300 towards the cost, while other contributions were received from Merton College and the Percy Sladen Memorial Fund. Thompson was on this occasion accompanied only by R. W. Hutchinson; and he noted in his memoirs that on this, his second venture at Quyunjuq, following a route which had taken him six days on horse-back on the previous occasion, he travelled from Baghdad to Mosul in a little over twelve hours. Thereafter he was able to dig the site for another three seasons, largely owing to his economical

methods of work and to the munificence of Sir Charles Hyde, to whose newspaper, the *Birmingham Post*, he sent several general accounts of his work.

In estimating the value of Thompson's work at Nineveh it must be remembered that the prizes had already been extracted from the mound by a long line of distinguished predecessors, including Layard, Ross, Hormuzd Rassam and George Smith, over a period of fifty years, and spectacular results were now scarce and unlikely. Layard alone, who dug out the great palace of Sennacherib, could claim to have laid bare seventy-one halls, chambers and passages, between 1845 and 1847, and nearly two miles of sculptured bas-reliefs, in addition to many thousands of tablets, which constituted the nucleus of the famous library of Ashurbanipal at Quyunjuq. Between 1851 and 1854 Rassam, too, had found many more thousands of tablets in the palace of Ashurbanipal at the opposite end of the mound to Sennacherib's palace, and George Smith, in the course of three more expeditions between 1873 and 1876, had met with outstanding success so far as the discovery of tablets was concerned, including additional texts of portions of the legend of the Deluge which had been the primary object of his quest. After another spell of work by Rassam between 1878 and 1882 Wallis Budge, who between 1888 and 1891 had been sent out by the Trustees of the British Museum, wisely decided to confine himself to clearing out old trenches, and had the sagacity to report that there was still work on the mound not for months but for years.

When Thompson joined King in 1904, the latter had dug a series of fifty-two shafts at intervals of fifty to eighty feet to an average depth of forty feet in the broad patches beside and between the two palaces. This work turned out to be so much fruitless labour but convinced Thompson that he had been provided with valuable negative evidence 'proving that it is the backbone of the mound and its neighbourhood which will keep a generation of students busy'. Whether in fact the remaining portions of the mound are as bare as Thompson thought they were, will not be confirmed until another generation of excavators goes to work on it. The policy which Thompson consistently pursued, of concentrating on the spine of Quyunjuq, involved digging over what must once have been the richest part of the mound, in levels that had been ruthlessly plundered by Medes, Parthians, Sassanians, and generations of others in search of loot. Tunnelling was no longer practicable, because working in darkness when there are no bas-reliefs to guide the pick is an im-

possible method of excavating. Moreover, Thompson was further handicapped by having to fill in his trenches as soon as he had dug them out, and he therefore never obtained a clear view over a wide area. This handicap, combined with centuries of ruthless destruction, made it impossible to discover continuous ground-plans or to make conjectural restorations of buildings in outline; but with the limited funds at his disposal this method proved both practical and profitable, and it is certain that no other excavator could have spent less and found more over the same ground. Any other system of work in that area would have involved the spending of thousands of pounds with a negligible amount of additional information to show for the money, and posterity owes him a debt for the patience with which year after year he plodded along, gradually consolidating our knowledge of the ancient city. He harvested a rich crop of inscriptions, many of them intact, and was able, from the great quantity of scattered fragments of tablets, to make scores of 'joins' with other portions of cuneiform texts which had been found in earlier expeditions. He was able, too, from the hundreds of small objects which he discovered season after season, to throw sidelights on the history of many different periods, finally reconstructing the main stages of occupation at Nineveh from the first settlement on virgin soil till the abandonment of the site in the fourteenth century A.D. He was a most conscientious recorder of every variety of object discovered in the excavations, and his accounts of each season's digging are source-books which no student of Mesopotamian archaeology can afford to neglect. The need for economy often prevented him from producing his illustrations in an attractive form, but this defect was outweighed by the rapidity with which he published his results after each season's work, and he left nothing of importance unrecorded. He enlisted the help of technical experts on a wide variety of materials including bones, beads, glass, and coins. He noted the discovery of a brooch of bronze belonging to a Roman soldier exactly matching three other specimens found so far afield as Silchester, York, and the Roman Wall in Britain. Further, in the medieval levels, Hutchinson and Hamilton noted Mesopotamian imitations of Chinese ceramic, an echo of the ebb and flow of trade between the farthest corner of Western Asia and the Chinese end of the silk-route. The mobility of man was also suggested by the quality of fabrics at a far earlier period, in the prehistoric epoch.

Before Thompson's work only two palaces had been located. In the course of four seasons he was to discover the sites of many

different historical buildings and several inscribed prisms giving important information concerning Assyrian kings. Yet it is a curious fact that, when one comes to put together the evidence for the early Assyrian occupation of Quyunjuq, there are so many blank intervals in its history. There is a long gap between the building of the Sargonid temple called E-mashmash and the eighteenth century B.C.; and there is an almost equally empty period between the reigns of Shamshi-Adad I, a contemporary of Hammu-rabi king of Babylon (c. 1792–1750 B.C., a reduction of nearly three centuries on the old chronology necessitated by recent research which is of cardinal importance for Babylonian archaeology) and of Ashur-uballit I (c. 1376–1336 B.C.), to which only the pieces of the white painted ware from Nuzi found by Thompson and Tushratta's sending of Ishtar to Nineveh may be assigned. These historical gaps cannot be explained entirely by the comparatively restricted area of excavation, even though work on the flats is quite likely eventually to produce some of the missing evidence. In all probability, however, these gaps reflected the varying fortunes of Nineveh, marking periods in which the sites of the great palace and temple were practically abandoned, while the unobtrusive farmer continued his work in some neglected spot untouched by the rod of Empire.

In the season of 1927–8 Thompson, assisted by Hutchinson, excavated the temple of Nabû of the eighth to seventh centuries B.C. and also uncovered some chambers of the palace of Ashurnāsir-apli (882–839 B.C.) and part of a house built by Sennacherib; they proved that the site, having been finally razed in 612 B.C., remained unoccupied till after the Seleucid period and they also uncovered traces of a succession of buildings from that period down to the fourteenth century A.D. They recovered many cuneiform tablets ranging from Ashur-uballit I (1376–1336 B.C.) to Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.) and several historical prisms or parts of prisms of Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.), Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal (668–626 B.C.), numerous other objects of archaeological interest, and much pottery dated from c. 3500 B.C. onwards. Thompson also made a brilliant topographical discovery by identifying the fine stretch of stone-walling, which lies across the river Khusr in the 'Ajilah gorge two miles to the north of Quyunjuq, on an Assyrian dam, one of the main reservoirs built by Sennacherib; this was described by the king in inscriptions as the *agammu*-pool whereby, in the king's own words, 'he made everything luxuriant, the vine, almond, cypress, and mulberry thriving, while the storks nested in

the thickets and the wild swine increased'. The correctness of Thompson's conjecture was confirmed some years afterwards by Seton Lloyd and Jacobsen's discovery of Sennacherib's aqueduct at Jarwân; here the king had recorded his name and the style of masonry was partly similar to that of the dam at Nineveh. Thompson also made another survey of the mound in an attempt to locate the ancient city-gates built by Sennacherib, of which eighteen were recorded on a prism discovered in the flats. His knowledge of the whole locality also enabled him to criticize the proposed solution of the problem respecting the course of the river Tebiltu given in Olmstead's map, which unwittingly implied that the water at one point flowed uphill!

In the second season, that of 1929-30, Thompson and Hutchinson worked on the precincts of a small palace of Ashur-nâsir-apli which had been rebuilt and completed by Adad-nirâri (809-782 B.C.). They failed apparently to find the actual palace but uncovered other buildings, notably one of burnt brick 'decorated with beautiful paintings, rosettes, patterns, figures and scenes of the king himself', and they found 'special bricks with more delicate pictures, the king in a castellated crown, himself in his chariot, tribute-bearers, horses being driven as tribute from the mountains, and a besieged fortress', where the colours most commonly used were white, yellow, green, black, rarely brown, and very rarely red. This site further yielded a most interesting collection of some 10,000 early dynastic beads, as well as a number of amulets now paralleled from deposits in the square temple at Tall 'Asmar, many cuneiform tablets of the Assyrian period, most of them unfortunately broken, and much pottery reaching down into the Parthian and Christian eras.

In the following season, that of 1930-31, Thompson had R. W. Hamilton, now Director of Antiquities in Palestine, as assistant, and they uncovered the platform of mud-brick supporting the temple of Ishtar, which they found to have been built and rebuilt by eight different kings, from Manishtusu king of Agade (c. 2400 B.C.) to the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal, and to have been finally destroyed in 612 B.C. Amongst the architectural remains was a series of massive vaulted graves of brick with blocked doorways; these had been plundered and partially destroyed in antiquity, and no precise evidence for fixing their date was brought to light, but the hoard of 10,000 beads found in the previous season, as well as a small Sumerian figure of lapis lazuli, might originally have belonged to them. Architecturally these graves were more massive and better

constructed than the so-called 'royal tombs' of Ur, and they might also be compared with those of the later third dynasty of Ur; the high level, too, on the mound at which their roofs stood was surprising, but the much earlier levels of the period of Jamdat Naşr revealed themselves just below the foundations of the tombs. The *chef d'œuvre* of the season's work, however, was a magnificent head in bronze of life-size, possibly a portrait of Sargon of Agade (c. 2475 B.C.), which must take rank among the artistic masterpieces of antiquity; no Mesopotamian monument can match the beauty of this noble head, sensuous and alive, majestic in poise and delicately stylized, a portrait worthy of one of the great monarchs of antiquity. The season was noteworthy also for the recovery of numerous fragments of limestone from inscriptions of Ashurbanipal, discovered in the floor of the temple of Nabû and belonging to his repairs of the foundation of Ashur-nāşir-apli, whose sculptures were found *in situ*; some 120 of these pieces came from a triplicate text of one of the latest of his inscriptions. These were, so far as possible, put together, and squeezes were taken of their texts, but the stones had to be reburied owing to the difficulty, if not impossibility, of removing them; and enough of the text was reconstituted to show that it was of exceptional importance as proving that Cyrus I, whom it mentioned, was contemporary with Ashurbanipal, thus putting his date back nearly a century. Another important inscription unearthed during this season was a perfect six-sided prism of Esarhaddon, throwing fresh light on the extraordinarily interesting story of the events immediately following the murder of Sennacherib. The excavators found also a quantity of painted ceramic ware, assigned to a date early in the third millennium B.C., and also coins of the Roman and Parthian empires, as well as foundations of buildings as late as the thirteenth century A.D.

In the final season of 1931-2 Thompson was joined by M. E. L. Mallowan, who was already well known for archaeological work elsewhere; they resumed operations on the temple of Nabû and also examined Sennacherib's palace and a large building on flat ground below the mound of Quyunjuq, where traces of occupation running from the Neo-Assyrian into the Roman and Parthian periods were found. Two Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions, the sole specimens found at Nineveh, added lustre to the last season that Thompson spent there. Glass, too, and other objects ranging from the Roman to the Middle-Arab period, approximately the fourteenth century A.D., were found in considerable quantities.

This same season, however, saw Thompson triumphantly set the seal to his life-work as an archaeologist, not so much by the discoveries that he made in, or the objects that he recovered from, the historic levels as by the results which he obtained from devoting a large part of his resources to an examination of the pre-Assyrian levels. He had for some time been impressed by the long sequence of early Mesopotamian settlements revealed by deep excavation at Ur, Uruk and Kish, and he determined to see for the first time what lay hidden within the lowest levels of Quyunjuq. This deep sounding was carried out in collaboration with Mallowan. Starting on one of the highest points of the mound, they dug a deep pit from its top down to virgin soil, a formidable operation which necessitated digging through ninety feet of the accumulated rubble of more than four thousand years which separated the medieval levels from the first prehistoric foundation. After many weeks of anxious work the picks struck virgin soil, a clean red shale on which the earliest Ninevites had built their first settlement. This sounding proved that no less than four-fifths of the great pile which goes by the name of Quyunjuq belongs to pre-Assyrian times. The ceramic ware found in the successive pre-Assyrian levels could be broadly divided into five distinct periods, of which the latest, Ninevite V, existed some time near the beginning of the third millenium B.C. Beneath this lay a long series of plain wares covering the epoch of Jamdat Naşr and the lengthy cycle of periods of Uruk which have since been revealed in detail on more southerly sites in the Mesopotamian valley. Ninevite II, which lay about sixty feet below the Assyrian level, showed yet another complete change in character and yielded a large collection of painted sherds of the ware of Tall Ḥalâf and Samârrah, which were thus for the first time revealed in their proper sequence as the earliest forms of painted Mesopotamian ceramic ware, made many centuries earlier than had ever been suspected. It followed that Ninevite I, a simpler version of Ninevite II, lying at the bottom of the mound, must have been considerably older in time than the earliest painted fabric of al'Ubaid, which is found in the first settlements in southern Mesopotamia. This evidence agrees with the geological formation of the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates, of which the southern half is alluvial, much later in formation than the northern soil.

The general framework of this sequence of settlements at Nineveh fits in well with subsequent discoveries on other sites and is a valuable yardstick by which to measure the successive

fabrics of early man in the Mesopotamian valley, from the dawn of agriculture to the beginnings of fully developed urban life. In that long sequence of stages writing was invented, the wheel was introduced, metallurgy developed, and architecture weaned from rush-work to the magnificent structures, first of mud-brick, then of stone and burnt brick ornamented and embellished with the rare and subtle devices that mankind in course of time devised. Inevitably one thinks of the early whisperings of Sumerian man ushering in the beginnings of human development:

O Reed-hut, O Reed-hut! Wall, wall!

Hearken O Reed-hut, consider, O Wall!

The richness, depth of accumulation, and wide extent of these early levels of occupation can leave no doubt whatever that Nineveh must have exerted as wide a domination in the upper Mesopotamian valley in the prehistoric and proto-historic periods as it did in later Assyrian days. To reach these levels on an extensive scale and work in them over a period of years would probably cost not less than £50,000, and it is unlikely that this task will be undertaken in the present generation, but whoever undertakes it will assuredly reap a harvest corresponding to the outlay in metal-work, architecture, statuary, jewellery, ceramic ware, and inscriptions. This much can be deduced from these soundings and from discoveries made at much smaller mounds such as Gawrah and Arpachiyah in the neighbourhood.

Briefly, the results of these four seasons of excavation at Nineveh, although the site had been dug by previous archaeologists, were eminently satisfactory. Thompson and his colleagues made soundings in the prehistoric levels beneath the classical Nineveh which enabled them to determine the sequence of prehistoric occupation from the time of the first dwellers in huts to a period between 3000 and 2500 B.C., and thereby to throw much light on the dating of neighbouring civilizations, whose relations to the scheme of prehistory had not yet been fully settled. Thus a detailed examination of impressions of primitive seals and other miscellaneous objects showed Elamite influence on early Assyrian art which could be brought into connexion with that of Ur and Uruk, the Erech of the Bible. They revealed also a gap when no building of importance was done between this period and *c.* 1800 B.C., after which an era of vigorous Assyrian building began. Finally, they confirmed what had been previously noted, that little or no information could be obtained from the site after *c.* 640 B.C., although Nineveh itself was not

destroyed till 612 B.C.; hence Thompson was led to make the plausible suggestion that Ashurbanipal, conscious of the steady approach of the enemy who eventually destroyed the city, had moved the seat of government to Ḫarrân.

From this general account of Thompson's work and discoveries it is evident that his name will take an honoured place in the annals of those who have devoted their lives to research into ancient history between Tigris and Euphrates. At Nineveh he kept alive the high tradition set by Layard and those other early excavators whose memory he always cherished. His scholarship was of the best Victorian standard, robust, penetrating and alive. Those who worked with him had good reason also to admire other qualities in him, his alert bearing, his physical and mental vigour, and the generous quality of his mind revealed in the encouragement and credit which he readily gave to those who assisted him and particularly to young workers setting out on the path that he had trod. He lived hard and enjoyed life, and he handled his Arab workmen with zest, humour and understanding, thereby maintaining the high prestige which went with the English name in the Middle East. In conclusion, there is perhaps no clearer memory of 'C.T.', as his friends all called him (curiously reflecting the well-known abbreviation of the title of the volumes of 'Cuneiform Texts' to which he had contributed so much) than the half-glimpse of him riding out before dawn to the mound which he loved so well, to try the fortunes of yet another day at Quyunjuq. This section, too, of this memoir will hardly be considered complete without mention of the constant companion of his labours, his wife, who shared the hardships of 'Irâq with him for three seasons, those of 1929-32, welcoming friends and making colleagues feel themselves at home in the little house with its garden of roses looking out on one side towards Mosul and the Tigris and on the other to Nineveh and the snow-capped top of the Jabal Maqlûb.

In the intervals of these extensive and arduous labours Thompson and Hutchinson found time to compile *A Century of Exploration at Nineveh* (1929), which they described as 'a city of prime importance in the history of the ancient world', and where the work of exploration was carried out for ninety years, from Rich till Thompson himself, entirely by Englishmen or under English auspices. In this book of some 150 pages they gave an admirably readable account of these excavations with the purpose not merely of glorifying their own countrymen but also of rousing the interest of Englishmen at home with a view

to raising funds to continue and extend the work; for, as they say, the larger mound of Quyunjuq, covering the actual remains of ancient Nineveh, is half a mile long by a quarter of a mile broad and not yet fully investigated, while the smaller mound of Nabî Yûnus is left for future investigation. They then reckoned the cost of a season's work at £1,000 on such a site. The book is attractively written and well illustrated by drawings and photographs, and it contains a wealth of information, the fruits of Thompson's observation, on other subjects than archaeology.

Excavation in the field in winter by no means interfered with literary work at home in the summer, and Thompson was able, in addition to issuing reports of his work at Nineveh, to bring out several new books. The first was *A Catalogue of the Late Babylonian Tablets in the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (1927), reproduced in typescript. The Library had three small collections of about 130 or 135 whole or fragmentary tablets, mostly private contracts of the Neo-Babylonian and Seleucid ages, and the Catalogue contains a brief account of each tablet, with three plates of the cuneiform text of the eight most important documents, transliterations and translations of many others, and a list of all the proper names occurring in every document. Thompson used also to tell a curious story of one of these tablets, that once in the East he had 'forged' a tablet to show a curious friend how the ancient Babylonians wrote and that he was many years afterwards astonished to find this very 'forgery' in the Bodleian collection, to which some innocent donor had given it! It is now discreetly entered in the Catalogue as such without any other description.

Thompson had now for some time been at work on the text of the legend of Gilgamish, of which he had newly collated and recopied all the known tablets in the British Museum. The first-fruits of this toil appeared in *The Epic of Gilgamish: a New Translation . . . rendered literally into English Hexameters* (1928). Here he knew that he was taking risks; for in speaking of the poetry of the Accadian version of the story he said:

Expressed in a language which has perhaps the simplicity, not devoid of cumbrousness, of Hebrew rather than the flexibility of Greek, it can nevertheless describe the whole range of human emotions in the aptest language. . . . Whether there is a justification for taking the risk of turning it into ponderous English hexameters is an open question, but in doing so I have done my utmost to preserve an absolutely literal translation.

The version has, of course, been variously judged, and it will

suffice here to say with one reviewer that it betrays the same zest in the human story as the translator shows in everything to which he has put his hand. In fact, the rendering is spirited, though somewhat unpolished, and so not inaptly reflects the rather cumbrous diction and rude style of the original poem. This translation was followed by *The Epic of Gilgamesh. Text, Transliteration, and Notes* (1930), in which Thompson presented all the known text with not a little new matter. This is a magnificent piece of work; every fragment of the text, freshly copied in a bold cuneiform script, is put so far as possible in its proper place in the sequence of the tablets and furnished with critical notes, while the whole original text is transliterated with meticulous accuracy for the benefit of those who cannot consult or do not wish to follow the cuneiform text; and a brief introduction and philological commentary on obscure or difficult passages are added. Thus one of the most famous works of Accadian literature, of which the recovery from Mesopotamian sands is an achievement almost exclusively of English scholarship, is given to the world by an English scholar in an edition that is not likely to be superseded for many years.

The objects found at Nineveh included several important historical prisms, to which reference has already been made. Two of the best preserved and most important of these documents were now edited by Thompson in *The Prisms of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal found at Nineveh* (1931) in autograph with a transliteration of the usual accuracy and a translation that, if it was not correct in every detail, always caught the sense. The editor further added a brief but interesting introduction discussing the light shed on the obscurity in which the story of the murder of Sennacherib is shrouded by the new prism of Esarhaddon, who in his opinion ought now to be regarded as the instigator of his brother's crime.

Many of Thompson's friends, aware of his versatility, had long known that from time to time he sought relief from learned research in writing poetry, but they were hardly prepared for the announcement in 1933 that he had won the Seatonian Prize at Cambridge, which was open to graduates of the University without regard to age or standing for a poem on a religious subject. The theme set was 'Ignatius', to which Thompson was undoubtedly attracted by its Anatolian background, and the best parts of the poem, which is entitled simply *Ignatius* (1933), are those in which Eastern scenes are depicted. Thus Smyrna is described at the moment when

The big moon rising, half eclipsed by masts,
 And every boat in shadow'd silence still'd,
 (Or rarely scraping 'gainst her sister's gunwale,
 When some half-sleeping sailor stirred himself),
 Piled high with scines still salty from the sea,
 Meshed with a silver marquetry of scales,
 A hansel from the forenoon's booty reft,
 Tricked in the moonbeams, like the Galaxy,
 And ink-stained cuttle-fish and mullet red
 Flicked out their little lives in heaps on deck

in verse of vivid imagery, revealing a keen eye for just those little details that give life to a picture. It is beautiful stuff, showing here deep feeling for the sea as elsewhere an intimate knowledge of Eastern scenery and ways of life; but the hero of the poem was perhaps one with whom Thompson could not by temperament have had much sympathy. Some of the sentiments put into his mouth were hardly natural in an aged bishop on the eve of his martyrdom, and he tended to become something of a lay figure serving to convey the poet's own reflections on travelling by camel across a desert, on riding down some 'stately avenue' of cedars on Lebanon, or on the dust and flies of the bazaar. Yet there is much in this poem that strikes a chord and reflects a poetic cast of mind and a genuine love of nature. A different kind of poem is *Digger's Fancy* (1938). This is a play of which the scene is laid in an archaeologist's camp close by a Mesopotamian mound covering an ancient site; it is light reading with several good descriptive passages, and the language is not so artificial as that of Thompson's other literary ventures.

Apart from the books here mentioned, Thompson contributed numerous articles on archaeological and Assyriological subjects to various journals such as *Archaeologia* and the *Annals of Art and Archaeology*, the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* and the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* and *Iraq*, of which he became editor in 1936, the *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, and the *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* in England, to the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature* in the U.S.A., to *Babyloniaca* in France, and to the *Archiv für Orientforschung* in Germany; he was also a frequent reviewer of books on Assyriology and kindred subjects in the *Literary Supplement* and a contributor to the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. The long list and high quality of his miscellaneous writings in such publications is enough alone to

have won him a considerable reputation and is a sufficient proof alike of his industry and his perseverance. His gifts were widely recognized both by the University of Oxford and by learned societies; thus he became a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1910, took the degree of D.Litt. at Oxford in 1925, and became a Fellow of the British Academy in 1934. Finally, in 1937 he was elected to succeed Prof. S. H. Langdon as Shillito Reader in Assyriology at Oxford, thus becoming the second holder of this post; the duties of his office, however, interfered but little with his research, as the entire absence of financial assistance discourages all but the most enthusiastic students. Thompson therefore had had but a few, of whom one was O. R. Gurney, his destined successor in the Readership, when war broke out again and put an end to all such studies.

Thompson was a man who lived consciously for certain interconnected ideals. He was ambitious, as every pioneer must be, to advance the knowledge of his own branch of science, and to that end he was resolutely determined to keep himself physically fit for the field-work that might fall to his lot; for he had small confidence in Assyriological studies conducted wholly from books and at home. He thought little of the Orientalist who did not know the East at first hand. In order to keep himself fit he gave up smoking when quite a young man, and he appeared to be always *modicus cibi* for one of his muscular frame. In consequence of this self-discipline, which had nothing of asceticism (except in the etymological sense of the term) about it, he was always in sound health and good spirits. His keen desire, as Cadet, Volunteer, and Territorial Officer at the various stages of his life, to be ready, if the time ever came, to serve his country as a soldier, led him in the same direction, and his physical strength and bodily powers stood him in good stead throughout the first war as it had served him well on holidays and archaeological expeditions. He was therefore naturally one of the first to offer himself for national service in the second war; for he had always lived in training. The ideal man in his view was one who could endure heat and cold, hunger and thirst, all the discomforts and hardships of Eastern travel, and he accordingly admired the Arabs of the desert, with whom he was wont to compare unfavourably those of the town, for their powers of endurance. Much, however, as his Arab foremen and servants were devoted to him, he recognized their weak points and would say that they were dull company, having commonly

but two subjects of conversation amongst themselves, money and women.

Thompson brought many subsidiary interests to his professional work. He had an excellent memory, which was indispensable for one who had to hold the cuneiform syllabary in his head. He had considerable skill with pencil and paintbrush, a useful accomplishment in an archaeologist. He knew much about various processes in arts and crafts and was able to turn his knowledge to full account in deciphering chemical texts. He had studied prehistoric implements and was a good judge of pottery, as an excavator must needs be. He was a botanist who could take a book on flowers and plants with him when sailing on the Norfolk Broads or shooting in Scotland; and he made good use of this knowledge in his study of Assyrian herbs and drugs. He was a capital sailor, latterly keeping his own sailing-boat at Eynsham above Oxford on the Thames. To sail and manage his own vessel for days on end, to cook his own meals and sleep on board, was his ideal holiday; once afloat, he had no desire to spend more time than he absolutely needed on land. A constant visitor at Boars' Hill and companion on these expeditions on the Thames was Gadd, the distinguished Assyriologist, now Assistant Keeper in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, who had been for many years his closest friend. He once, too, took his daughter, then a child of tender years, for a fortnight's sailing, rough as it might be, on the Broads and found the expedition a complete success. On such occasions few natural sights escaped him; he was as skilled in the flight of birds as in the forms of flowers, and he fished as readily as he shot.

He had other recreations indoors as well as out-of-doors. He was a great lover of Dickens and Mark Twain, quoting them easily and aptly, and he rarely travelled without a novel, usually of the one or the other, in his pocket, and he was almost equally fond of several of the lighter English authors; at the same time he was greatly addicted to reading detective stories. He enjoyed also light opera and the theatre and, above all, the cinema which he visited every week, and he used to say that he solved many of his hardest problems as he watched the pictures floating across the screen. Contrariwise, he had no tolerance for anything that he considered aesthetic or 'high-brow', using both words solely as terms of contempt. He was, too, no recluse but a man of many friends and, while he kept up old friendships, he easily made new ones, and he delighted to entertain all and sundry in

his house on Boars' Hill or in College, especially those from the British Museum. He was also an excellent letter-writer and by this means maintained regular contact with a number of friends and colleagues. Those who had once won his regard could be sure that no separation of time or place would ever be permitted διολύειν τὴν φιλίαν, and henceforth their memories will cherish the vision of a sturdy and upstanding man, of open countenance and transparent honesty, with the kindest and loyalest heart, modest about his own achievements but candid in his prejudices, which were those of a thoroughly sane, wholesome, vigorous, fearless Englishman.

As a scholar Thompson was the last representative in England of a phase of Assyriology that converted it from a discovery into a science. The original diggers and decipherers had been long dead and their *epigoni* had been busy for a decade, possibly two decades, producing the first grammars and dictionaries as well as catalogues of collections of tablets, when he went up to Cambridge. When he entered the British Museum the systematic publication of texts was already in progress, and his place was marked out for him in this, the third generation of Assyriologists. For forty years he contributed his share of the task, sometimes by steady and laborious work and sometimes with the brilliant success of the original pioneers. The long series of *Cuneiform Texts*, with much of which no future student of the subject will ever be able to dispense, belong to this first class; the second class is represented by the *Assyrian Herbal* and the *Dictionary of Assyrian Chemistry and Geology*, on which writers on the history of science have already heavily drawn. His integrity as a scholar was complete. He always went back to the original tablets and would accept no reading at second hand; his honesty compelled him immediately to discard any view that he had expressed so soon as it was proved wrong and to look for another solution of the problem. He showed, too, a singular aptitude in bringing together and joining fragments of tablets that had become separated whether in the original destruction of some ancient library or through the inevitable risks of modern excavation, and he was thus able to fill gaps in many texts. At the same time he had not the type of mind that delighted to spend years over an immensely complex problem but preferred a number of small but loosely connected or distinct problems that could each be separately attacked and be brought to their several conclusions; he pursued a wide variety of subjects, applying a sound common sense and a fund of knowledge that enabled him to answer

questions that had baffled others. Some of his work, as of all men, will be superseded in the light of increasing knowledge, but even here he will have carried the problem further than his predecessors; but much of his work will certainly stand the test of time and then pass into the common stock of accepted facts.

As Thompson once said of his revered teacher King, that 'he was a man of great energy and persistence with a love of the open air, and consequently not only in book-learning but in athletic habit he was fit to follow the footsteps of the earlier English Orientalists, who divided their time *domi militiaeque*, between the study and the field', so he himself might, and indeed would, have been delighted to be described; for the words exactly described both men, each a rare combination of archaeologist and philologist.

When the second war broke out Thompson left no stone unturned to serve his country once again in some active capacity and was bitterly disappointed that the military authorities refused to accept any man of his age. His chance, however, was to come, and he enlisted in the Home Guard on the very day that it was formed and in due course took command of the River Patrol on the Upper Thames. He at once threw himself heart and soul into this work, but he strained his heart by the excessive physical labour which it required of him, often already tired by a long and exhausting day of intellectual work; and on top of this strain he sustained a grievous blow, from which he never recovered, in the death of his elder son, a Flight-Lieutenant in the Royal Air Force Volunteer Reserve, while returning from a bombing raid over enemy territory in April 1941. Six weeks after this event, on 23 May 1941, Thompson fell down dead as he was coming off duty with the River Patrol. He died serving his country in uniform as he would have wished and *felix opportunitate mortis* in dying in a moment at the first attack and after no lingering or painful illness.

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Manuscript note-books of Dr. R. C. Thompson (lent by Mrs. Campbell Thompson).

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